THE SASKATCHEWAN ADULT ATTENDANCE CENTRE PROJECT (1979-84): A CASE HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this case history was to view the development of the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project through the perspective of currently accepted, but selected, adult education philosophy, principles, and techniques. The Project was a mandatory adult education component of Probation Services, a program for adult offenders operated by Saskatchewan Corrections. The story of the evolution from 1979 to 1984 of the two Adult Attendance Centres of the Project, based in the cities of Regina and Saskatoon, was presented in the context of an historical overview of the education of adults in the Corrections systems of Britain, the United States, and Canada. The Attendance Centres were not set up as adult education institutions. They were intended to be cost effective alternatives to incarceration. The study maintained that sentencing that included attendance at the Centres was more cost effective for the provincial government than incarceration or traditional probation. It argued that the kind of education presented to adult probationers in the Centre programs often strayed from currently accepted adult education philosophy, principles, and techniques. None the less, significant potential existed in the Centres for the creation of more meaningful adult education opportunities for persons on probation.

PREFACE

This thesis is a case history of the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project from 1979 to 1984. Ideologically, a case history adheres to humanistic philosophy and, therefore, avoids theoretical frameworks or premature interpretations. It seeks to avoid the case study approach that tends to assume that social science theory should be central to the analysis.

The case history presents a picture of one case. Techniques of humanistic history are employed by the researcher to draw together a view of the situation that is as complete as possible. To reconstruct the story, the author relies upon the verbal and written perspectives of persons who took part in the action at first hand. In addition, the writer draws upon secondary source material to set the case in social, economic, or political context. At this point, one may begin to point up conclusions revealed by the case material. The writer of case history utilizes the writings of others to assist in his analysis but, unlike case study, does not base his analysis on a single social science theory. Theory may become a product of the case material not a force which shapes it.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		iii
ABSTRACT		iv
PREFACE		v
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	ADULT EDUCATION IN CORRECTIONS SETTINGS: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE	14
III.	THE SASKATCHEWAN PROBATION SYSTEM	53
IV.	THE SASKATCHEWAN ADULT ATTENDANCE CENTRE PROJECT: THE REGINA CENTRE	71
V.	THE SASKATCHEWAN ADULT ATTENDANCE CENTRE PROJECT: THE SASKATOON CENTRE	111
VI.	ADULT EDUCATION IN THE SASKATCHEWAN ADULT ATTENDANCE CENTRE PROJECT: AN OVERVIEW	133
VII.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	160
BIBLIOGRAPHY		205

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Corrections literature of western industrialized countries suggests three competing points of view dominated discussion over the years about how to deal with criminals. The punitive approach of the traditionalists advocated incarceration and/or the death penalty for criminal acts.[1] The motto of this position seemed to be an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.[2] The humanitarians held another view. They maintained that capital punishment and the use of prisons as punishment did not deter crime or cure criminals. Such critics urged the implementation of societal changes to remove conditions they believed bred

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[1]Robert Miller, "Hanging," Maclean's, October 1984, pp. 48-53. Hanging was not done away with until 1976 in Canada. Miller reported that public opinion polls taken in 1984 indicated that 70 percent of Canadians favoured capital punishment.

[2]An example of this thinking is Gary Rosenfeldt, Alberta's 1984 president of Victims of Violence, a crime victims' rights organization. Rosenfeldt is quoted by Miller, "Hanging," p. 53: ". . . I believe that when you put a convicted murderer to death you are eliminating a blight from the country."

crime.[3] A third view, presented by the educationalists, was based on a belief that criminals should be given an opportunity to change their behaviour to fit more closely the ways of the dominant group in society. The promoters of the educative solution appeared more subtle in their methods of social control. They sought to teach criminals the wisdom of joining, rather than fighting, the dominant societal group.[4]

These different stances did not follow one upon another in lock step. A more complex process occurred, with one thought becoming more dominant in a certain place and

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[3]See William Ryan's account of this view in his book, Blaming the Victim (New York: Vintage Books, 1976). Ryan, a professor of Psychology at Boston College, is a writer, researcher, and consultant in the fields of mental health, community planning, and social problems. He characterized the humanistic approach as maintaining that crime is endemic in all classes of society. He stated that a system of social order that gives the top 2 or 3 percent of the people ownership of resources creates, in the humanitarian view, inequality between man and man and gives rise to dissension and criminal acts.

[4]Keith A. Couse and Rae T. Matonovich, Probation: North American Literature Review (1971-1981) (Regina: Prairie Justice Research Consortium, School of Human Justice, University of Regina, 1982), pp. 20-29. Couse and Matonovich stated that while free-will accountability theories were not, for the most part, openly punitive, an exception was the Justice Model put forth by David Fogel in his book, We Are the Living Proof--The Justice Model for Corrections (Cincinnati: W. H. Anderson Co., 1975). Fogel's work called for a Correctional system that is both humane and fair, with sentencing seen as part of a reasonable continuum of justice. But it also called for determinate sentencing and little discretion to be exercised by those in charge of persons on probation and parole. Release dates for offenders were to be "unhooked" from their progress or participation in programs.

time. For example, it proved quite possible for the rhetoric of a corrections system to espouse one philosophy while the courts, the prison guards and, indeed, the community appeared to espouse another, or combination of other, philosophies. About all that can be said is that during certain time periods a particular branch of the three streams of thought tended to preempt the others.

From 1970 to 1984 the educative belief system formed the main philosophical base of the Saskatchewan Corrections system. It gave rise to the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project of Probation Services, the topic of this history. This Project consisted of two Adult Attendance Centres, one in the capital city of Regina and one 157 miles north in the city of Saskatoon. These two Centres were mandatory educational institutions administered by the probation system of Saskatchewan Corrections. Originally conceptualized as one of a range of alternatives to incarceration available to the courts, the two Adult Attendance Centres evolved in different ways because of different circumstances. This difference in evolution affected the educational philosophy of each Centre, manifesting itself in the implementation, delivery, and evaluation of educational programming offered to adult probationers. It is not, however, the intent of this thesis to do a comparative study of the Centres. The background of the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project is

presented as an example of how organizations which use adult education[5] strategies to attain a goal can reflect different forms within a single system.

How a society chooses to deal with those who deviate from the norm differs according to the current dominant philosophy held about man and how he relates to the world around him. As the world changes economically and politically, so will people's views change about how man should live as a social being within the new milieu.[6]

The philosophical orientation of the Corrections system in Canada manifested itself in various forms through the years. In the latter part of the nineteenth and in the early part of the twentieth century, the system tended to rely on the punitive approach of the traditionalists.[7] The

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[5]Between 1979 and 1984, in the Saskatchewan Corrections system, the term "adult" referred to anyone who had attained the age of sixteen years. "Juvenile" or youth offender referred to any person under the age of sixteen years. The term "education" is used in this study to denote a set of processes by which one learns to become a mature person, an adult, who may take a responsible place in his society. The term "adult education" refers to a set of teaching techniques that are needed to impart education to adults, since adults are at a different stage of development than are children. For a more thorough discussion of these terms, see, also, Chapters VI and VII of the thesis.

[6]Lucien Morin, "Correctional Education As Practice of the Judicial Approach: A Contradiction," ed. Lucien Morin, On Prison Education (Ottawa: Minister of Supplies and Services Canada, 1981), p. 198.

[7]Shirley Skinner, Otto Driedger, and Brian Grainger, Corrections: An Historical Perspective of the Saskatchewan Experience (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1981), p. 14. Provincial corrections

goal was to "reform" the criminal from his innately sinful ways by a variety of physical punishments. When these methods did not bring about the desired results, the focus changed. The goal was still to reform the individual, but now medical treatment became the method of choice. The law-breaker was no longer viewed as innately sinful; he was sick and in need of "rehabilitation" or "resocialization." This "treatment" or "medical model" lost favour by the 1970s when it was rediscovered that one can lead a horse to water but one cannot make him drink.[8] Many offenders themselves became frustrated with "treatment," feeling that no matter how hard they tried when they left jail, few people would hire them and that the police would hassle them.[9]

With the failure of the punitive approach to re-socialize criminals into the dominant group, the humanitarian impulse came to the fore. Society, not the individual, was blamed for the situation. Create a just society, remove economic deprivation, do away with societal

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systems did not always adhere to the national philosophical trend. The early 1900s in Saskatchewan Corrections, for instance, reflected some evidence of educationalist thought even though the ideas of retribution and deterrence predominated between 1905 and 1945. From 1946 to 1966 rehabilitation or "treatment" predominated provincial corrections thought. The 1967 to 1975 period saw Saskatchewan Corrections adopting a community alternatives to incarceration approach which was a reflection of the educationalist stance.

[8]Couse and Matonovich, pp. 8-11.

[9]Skinner, Driedger, and Grainger, p. 107.

blocks to upward mobility, and the motivation for criminality would be eliminated.[10] The humanitarians thus supported social programs to "reintegrate" the wrong-doer and held society and its Corrections system "accountable" for the process.

By the early 1970s, however, the humanitarian programs and the philosophy on which they were based came into question.[11] Society did not appear to be changing very rapidly toward the goal of justice. The programs of the humanitarians did not prove to be a panacea. Other institutions and agencies did much of the prerelease planning for offenders. Such organizatons included the John Howard Society, Canada Manpower, the Saskatchewan Indian and Metis Department, the Salvation Army, Alcoholics Anonymous, and National Parole.

There were problems inherent in this. The John Howard Society's role, for instance, trended toward a parole function, with much of the Society's funding coming from the government. Critics felt that the original role of the Society, being the conscience of the Corrections system, was eroding.[12] Many of the programs for Indian and native peoples, funded by government and administered by either the

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[10]Ibid., p. 13.

[11]Ibid., p. 155.

[12]John Howard Society of Saskatchewan, Annual Report (Regina: John Howard Society, 1970), p. 2.

Department of Social Services or the Attorney General's Department, raised the question of who should control these services. A Farm Life Experience Program (FLEX), begun in 1974 by the Saskatchewan Corrections Department as a pilot project at Prince Albert, was short lived. The popularity of work camps as an alternative to incarceration began to decline when an evaluation of the White Gull Camp found that inmates did not benefit from the camp in terms of changing their social attitudes and previous patterns of life.[13] These programs did not work in a society that continued to be less than just.[14]

The humanitarian and the punitive-minded continued to struggle for predominance in Canadian Corrections but, toward the end of the 1970s, a compromise alternative began to show through which gained popularity among those engaged in corrections matters. This model, developed over more than a decade, was educational in orientation. In an address delivered at the University of British Columbia in 1977, Solicitor General of Canada Francis Fox outlined the

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[13]Skinner, Driedger, and Grainger, pp. 157-160.

[14]See John P. Conrad, "We Should Never Have Promised a Hospital," Federal Probation 39 (December 1975): 7; David F. Greenberg and Drew Humphries, "The Cooptation of Fixed Sentencing Reform," Crime and Delinquency 26 (April 1980): 218 and 222-23; and Claude T. Mangrum, "Corrections' Tarnished Halo," Federal Probation 40 (March 1976): 11.

philosophy of the educational model.[15] The responsibility for change, he said, was up to the individual. The responsibility of the Corrections system was to provide the criminal with enough information to make a rational decision to obey the norms of the dominant group in society.

"Opportunities for Change" became the slogan of the educative approach. It was another way of leading the horse to water, but now the onus for drinking was on the horse. If the horse refused to drink, society and the Corrections System were not responsible. The belief was that offenders would eventually find it to their advantage to drink of educative waters.[16]

Out of this context, the Province of Saskatchewan turned to the concept of attendance centres. It was not a new idea, for Sweden, England, and Australia had all utilized Attendance Centres, or near facsimiles, in

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[15]See Fogel whose account outlined a dual corrections model of opportunity and security, emphasizing the need for education as well as occupational and social development. He stressed the criminal's autonomy and capacity to make some choices and decisions for himself. At the same time, Fogel did not attach the release date of the offender to the progress or participation of the offender in educational programming. See, also, Ezzat A. Fattah, "Moving to the Right: A Return to Punishment?" Crime & Justice 6 (1978): 83-91. Fattah outlined four of the most popular corrections models: the Justice Model, the Opportunities Model, the Just Desserts Model, and the Security Model.

[16]Therese P. Klotz, "Mandatory Adult Education: Does it Work?" SALL CALL, Fall 1985, pp. 17-18. Klotz, Saskatoon Attendance Centre Coordinator since 1983, made the case that once the offender was enrolled in a program he became involved and found the experience worthwhile.

connection with youth or adult offenders.[17] Sweden established Swedish Youth Prisons in 1935 for 18 to 21 year old offenders. The youth prison idea played an important part in the development of the attendance centre concept elsewhere. The Swedish institution utilized 10 month to 4 year sentences to provide treatment of a "character building and education" nature.[18] The purpose was to instill into the offender a sense of responsibility and an acceptance of a duty to society. Centres located in Uppsala, Roxtuna, Ystad, Hallby, Nykoping, and Skennas differentiated a range of offenders from "normal" cases to "recalcitrant." A wide variety of educational opportunities, including considerable community contact, enhanced vocational training. Jailers provided a "long-term furlough" to attend a folk high school, a form of boarding school. The "pupil" was normally released from the school in about a year, if he was advanced educationally and of excellent conduct. For the more vocationally oriented offender, the furlough allowed an opportunity to be employed in the community and to live in a type of group home.[19]

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[17]Clas Amilon, "The Youth Prison in Sweden," Canadian Journal of Corrections 4 (January 1962): 1-20; Frederick H. McClintock, Attendance Centres (London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1961); and Dennis Challinger, "Victoria's Attendance Centre Programme," Melbourne: Criminology Department, University of Melbourne, 1983. (Mimeographed.)

[18]Amilon, pp. 1-5.

[19]Ibid., pp. 6-20.

In England, provision for youth Attendance Centres came into force on April 18, 1949. Soon about forty Youth Centres operated in various parts of the country. Other countries adopted variations of the British and Swedish examples. On June 7, 1976, for example, Adult Attendance Centres opened at Geelong and Thornbury in Australia.[20]

The first recommendation of Adult Attendance Centres in Saskatchewan came in the 1971 Saskatchewan Corrections Study Committee Report,[21] but it was not until early 1980 that they became a reality in the province.[22] The speech by

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[20]McClintock, pp. 6-8. While the provisions were made on this date, the Rules for Attendance Centres were not issued until 2 May 1950. The first British Centre was opened at Peel House in the Metropolitan Police District of London on 8 July 1950. According to McClintock, forty Centres were authorized to be opened in Britain by the end of 1955, but only thirty-seven had been opened by that time. See, also, Challinger, p. 3, and The World Book Encyclopedia, 1977 ed., s.v. "Australia," by C. M. H. Clark. Geelong, on the coast of Southern Australia, and Thornbury, which forms the northern edge of Melbourne, are heavily industrialized seaports.

[21]Saskatchewan Corrections Study Committee Report by Malcolm Matheson, Chairman (Regina: Saskatchewan Department of Welfare and Ottawa: Department of the Solicitor General of Canada, 1971), p. viii. The members of the committee suggested "that sentence alternatives be developed within the range of probation and designed to use the following: . . . Attendance centres in the community requiring attendance for a course or fixed number of evening hours per week." These sentence alternatives specifically stated that "for older offenders, a program such as the life skills course developed by Newstart could be used to advantage as well as special courses and experiences for adults with serious driving offenses."

[22]Therese P. Klotz, "The Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre: A History," paper written for the Faculty of Social Work, History of Social Work Class No. 468, University of

Solicitor General Fox in 1977 was important in contributing to a supportive milieu for offender education within the Canadian Corrections system. In the provinces, the rising cost of imprisonment to the provincial government was a factor which urged the members of the Saskatchewan Corrections administration to opt for innovative methods as alternatives to incarceration. By 1979, it was costing $29,000 per year to imprison a male offender in a federal maximum security facility.[23] This cost was similar to that incurred by the province of Saskatchewan in its prison system.[24] And no one could prove that the expenditures deterred crime.[25]

Regina, December 1984, p. 6. Klotz stated that the first Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre coordinator, Margaret MacDonald, was hired late in 1979. Because of a union strike, MacDonald was not able to open the Saskatoon Centre until February of 1980. Also, telephone interview with Tom Stickland, Saskatoon Supervisor of the Adult Probation Unit, 1973-1980, 15 April 1986.

[23]Robert Kaplan, Proceedings of International Conference on Alternatives to Imprisonment (Ottawa: Solicitor General of Canada, 1980), Opening Remarks. Kaplan reported that "the cost of maintaining a male inmate in maximum security was $29,000 last year."

[24]Telephone interview with Mel Robinson, regional manager, Saskatoon Probation Services, 17 April 1984. According to Robinson, the cost to keep an offender in a Saskatchewan provincial jail for a year was running between $24,000 and $33,000.

[25]James K. Hugessen, "Alternatives--The Judicial Dilemma," International Conference on Alternatives to Imprisonment Report (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1982), p. 12. Hugessen, associate chief justice of the Superior Court of Quebec, in his speech to the conference on June 11, 1980, stated ". . . there is an absence of any reliable data that would support the

Despite the Canadian Corrections philosophical context, despite the existence of a supportive milieu from a federal minister and from a provincial report, and despite the rising cost of traditional prisons, the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project would not have survived without the commitment of a few key people in the provincial Corrections System. This study will recount the efforts of these organizational leaders. Although the Centres had not been set up as adult educational institutions, these leaders sought to provide an educational focus to their work with adult probationers during the years 1979 to 1984. The development of the two Attendance Centres of the Project, Regina and Saskatoon, will be described and analyzed. They will be viewed against the historical background of the education provided for adult offenders within the Corrections systems of Britain, the United States, and Canada.

This study will provide a different lens than that provided by the Corrections system through which to view the Project. The organization, the adult educators, and the potential adult learners--the offenders--of these Centres will be viewed through the eyes of an adult education analyst. Currently accepted, but selected, adult education philosophy, principles, and techniques will be applied to

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proposition that the severity of a sentence will increase its dissuasive effect."

selected issues which emerge from the data. The study will maintain that the Corrections administrators, as well as the educators in the Centres, could have done more to incorporate adult education into their program planning. This, then, is the story of the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project.

CHAPTER II

ADULT EDUCATION IN CORRECTIONS SETTINGS: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project had its roots in the British penal system. European, American, and Canadian thinkers and reformers, as well as institutional forms of social control, influenced the evolution of the Project. The beginnings of adult education within corrections systems will be traced with emphasis on British, American, and Canadian developments. The chapter will attempt to show that some innovations visible in the Project had their basis in these early manifestations of the use of education as a method of reforming the offender to the dominant norms of society.

In considering early attempts at educating law-breakers, it is necessary to keep in mind that social control mechanisms have a complex conceptual base. Differing views are held concerning the function and purpose of law, legal sanctions, and the aim of punishment for the offender. These views tended to change over time and often co-existed simultaneously. Sometimes changing political and economic structures gave rise to these perspectives as in,

for example, the gradual move from an agricultural to an industrial society. At other times, a particular thinker influenced opinion and precipitated reform legislation. Then, again, rather than developing more appropriate methods of dealing with problems within a society, authorities sometimes found it expedient to label people "criminals" who did not or could not fit in.[1]

Society adopted various methods of dealing with offenders through the centuries based upon the dominant philosophy of the time. For example, prior to the seventh century, in England, the victims' families took revenge on the offenders' families through a traditional punitive approach, the blood feud.[2] After that time, a more humanitarian method, a compensatory fine paid one half to the victim or his family and one half to the king became popular, especially with the king.[3] By the middle of the tenth century a swing back to traditional philosophy had taken place, and punishment by mutilation and death replaced compensation.[4] This stream of thought continued into the

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[1]Shirley Skinner, Otto Driedger, and Brian Grainger, Corrections: An Historical Perspective of the Saskatchewan Experience (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1981), pp. 1-3.

[2]Christopher Hibbert, The Roots of Evil: A Social History of Crime and Punishment (London: Charles Birchall and Sons, Ltd., 1963), pp. 3-5.

[3]Ibid., pp. 3-5.

[4]Ibid., pp. 26-29.

early Middle Ages. Unless an offender had money or influence, he was likely to be imprisoned in the dungeon of a castle, powerless to escape.

By the sixteenth century in England, a motivation for the use of education within corrections settings emerged. The English used two types of facilities at the time: jails for debtors and felons awaiting trial[5] and houses of correction, known as bridewells, for the poor and transient. Should a person be apprehended for committing a crime, the ability to read often proved useful, for the offender might be saved from the gallows by claiming "Benefit of Clergy," i.e., claiming to be a cleric. Religious orders required that their prospective clerics be able to read. If an offender could read, it might be assumed he was attached to a religious order and was eligible to be released to a monastic jail. The bishop administered a reading test to the prisoner. If the offender could not read, he returned to the secular court

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[5]John Bellamy, Crime and Public Order in England in the Later Middle Ages (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 1-25, 162-98. Jails of some sort had existed in England since Saxon times administered in the shires and counties since the twelfth century by the justices of the peace. Bellamy reported they were places of filthy squalor run on extortion. If one had money, he could have almost anything while serving his sentence, including time out to attend to one's business matters. If an offender had no money, he died of starvation. Elizabethan houses of correction, on the other hand, were originally intended to discipline the unemployed wandering labourers. Both institutions were congregate and unheated, with no system of classification of offenders.

system to await his fate. A successful reader could be transferred to a monastic prison until the state of his truthfulness satisfied the religious authorities. "Truthfulness" did not have anything to do with innocence but rather referred to one's penitence. The penitent might be returned free to the community. Understandably, this possibility offered the offender considerable motivation to learn to read while he awaited trial. Other inmates became the first teachers of offenders, and Benefit of Clergy became the first reason for "education" to take place in a prison setting.[6]

The beginnings of an attendance centre concept, however, emerged from the bridewells, those holding tanks for the poor, the transient, and those judged immoral. Henry VIII built the original bridewell, Bridewell Palace, between 1515 and 1523. In 1556, the corporation of London obtained the palace to serve as a "House of Correction and Occupation" for "vagrants, beggars and immoral women."[7] Bridewell authorities incorporated the concept of education

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[6]Ibid., pp. 152-61, 106-12.

[7]Edward Geoffrey O'Donaghue, Bridewell Hospital: Palace, Prison, Schools From the Earliest Times To The End Of The Reign Of Elizabeth (London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1923), pp. 4-5, 198ff. When Henry VIII purged the Roman Catholic monasteries and nunneries to make way for his newly created Church of England, he turned many religious out to roam the land to make a living as best they could. Later, nobles and officials granted monastic property by Edward VI drove small farm holders and farm labourers off their land. O'Donaghue stated that, in 1569, some 13,000 "masterless men" were apprehended in England.

into their system by offering schooling to fatherless children. Here they acquired education in "music and the elements of learning."[8] Later, a system of apprenticeship was established for children of poor freemen as well as for the "young vagrants in the labour-rooms."[9] The bridewells spread throughout England, eventually numbering about 200. The concept extended into Europe, the most noteworthy European bridewell being the Rais Huis of Amsterdam, founded in 1595. It is here that we see, for the first time, education being provided by a correctional institution not only for the children but also for the adult offenders.[10]

In England, throughout the Tudor period, the homeless continued to swarm into London. With the onset of the Industrial Revolution, a new influx of people seeking work swelled the population of urban areas. In the first thirty years of the eighteenth century the population of the Greater London area rose from 865,000 to 1,500,000, and in

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[8]Ibid., p. 203.

[9]Ibid., p. 199.

[10]Douglas K. Griffin, "Can Corrections Be Correctional?" paper presented to the Learned Societies Conference: Canadian Educational Research Association Symposium On Education As A Cultural Alternative For Prisoners and Delinquency, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, June 1979. (Mimeographed.) Griffin described the Rais Huis as having nine rooms that served as both bedrooms and workrooms, each holding four to twelve prisoners. There was no heating in the bridewell, but it did have a school, a chapel, and a dining room. Men and women were segregated. A women's bridewell was opened in Amsterdam in 1593.

the next twenty years another million people moved in.[11] The subsequent overcrowding of British prisons with debtors and persons awaiting trial became a problem. The bridewells' facilities, stretched beyond their ability to provide for their clientele, became unsanitary holding tanks for offenders.[12] The time was ripe for corrections reform.

One of the best known reformers, John Howard, became the sheriff of Bedford in 1773 at the age of forty-seven. Appalled at the conditions he found in the prisons, Howard visited every British prison two or three times and travelled to Europe twice to gather information on all aspects of existing prison conditions. His book, The State of the Prisons, published in 1777, "reawakened the public conscience" against the traditional punitive approach to corrections.[13]

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[11]Peter Quennell, ed., Mayhew's London (London: The Pilot Press, 1949), pp. 16-17 and 527ff. This rewrite of journalist Henry Mayhew's London Labour and the London Poor, a sociological record of London first published in 1851, referred to these people as "anonymous toilers." They laboured at menial jobs in the streets of a London that Mayhew described as a "gigantic Augean stable." Those who found no work, the unemployed vagrants, came to the attention of the authorities when they committed petty crimes to maintain themselves. The "slop-workers," underpaid workmen of the trades, were also at risk for failure to pay debts.

[12]John Howard, The State of the Prisons in Howard's State of the Prisons, ed. Ernest Rhys, with an Introduction by Kenneth Ruck, No. 835 Everyman's Library (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1929; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1929), p. 5.

[13]Rhys, p. xiii.

Howard criticised the bridewells for their unsanitary conditions and lack of proper equipment for training apprentices. He attacked the jails for their gaming, harsh physical punishments, and lack of moral discipline.[14] For him, to reform prisoners meant to "make them better in their morals . . . and this should . . . always be the leading view in every house of correction . . . ."[15] To this end, he believed an ability to read the Bible was a necessity. The Bible, Howard thought, enabled offenders to contemplate their sins and helped them to change their way of life.[16]

Howard's recommendations strengthened the hold of adult education within corrections institutions. Up until this time, traditional jails were congregate: men, women, and children occupied the same room. Howard advocated separate cells for offenders to bring some semblance of order to the jails and to allow study, silence, solitude, and meditation to act as "agents of reform." This method of solitary confinement, used in many subsequent prisons, later came under criticism for the dehumanizing effect of isolation upon the offender.[17]

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[14]Howard in Rhys, pp. 37-41.

[15]Ibid., p. 41.

[16]Ibid., pp. 40-41.

[17]Janet Whitney, Elizabeth Fry: Quaker Heroine (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1936), pp. 228-29. Whitney stated that Howard's system of solitary confinement was one

None the less, Howard's work kindled a humanitarian ideal in the society of the time. His segregated cell idea brought order, security for the prisoners, and an opportunity for the inmates to study. His emphasis upon sanitation, adequate nutrition, and more humane treatment of the prisoner brought improvement over previous prison conditions. As well, his method of planning for change provided a base for future corrections reformers to draw upon. He used minute investigation, weighed the evidence, considered the methods used in other countries, and summarized his recommendations.[18] When members of a Canadian legislative committee met to look into building a new jail in Upper Canada, they followed this method of inquiry.

Other writers advanced the cause of adult education for offenders. A year after the publication of Howard's book, the writings of Cesare Beccaria, Marquis of Milan in Italy, were translated and published in Britain. Beccaria's An Essay On Crimes and Punishments pleaded for tolerance of human error and presented a strong case for reform of the traditional system.[19] He believed the law should be clearly

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of the most "dreaded and dehumanizing . . . in . . . British prisons to-day."

[18]Rhys, pp. xiv, and Howard in Rhys, pp. 293-95.

[19]Cesare Beccaria, An Essay On Crimes and Punishments, translator not named (Edinburgh: W. Gordon and W. Creech, 1778), pp. 25-83.

written so common people could understand the consequences of their actions. Beccaria stated that "crimes will be less frequent in proportion as the code of laws [is] read and understood."[20] Among his recommendations was a call to prevent criminal action by "perfect[ing] the system of education."[21] Yet, Beccaria wondered if this would actually happen. He lamented that ". . . education . . . is so intimately connected with the nature of government, that it will always remain a barren spot, cultivated only by a few wise men."[22]

Beccaria's Essay, a slim volume of 135 pages, was widely read and discussed. Reading it today, one might imagine his views written in contemporary times by a person of progressive and humanitarian persuasion. In eighteenth century Britain, Beccaria's beliefs must have presented a radical departure from the prevailing punitive corrections philosophy of the day.[23] The writing of this man, coupled

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[20]Ibid., p. 24.

[21]Ibid., p. 132.

[22]Ibid.

[23]See Skinner, Driedger, and Grainger, pp. 6-7. The authors credit Beccaria with being one of the founders of the classical school of criminological thought, a view that contained the seeds of humanitarianism. Beccaria believed in the free will of man and thought crimes were rational, deliberate acts. Punishment, therefore, was to fit the crime. The basis of all social action was the greatest happiness for the greatest number. Beccaria advocated an end to cruelty, injustice, and moral suffering and believed prevention of crime was important. He believed the certainty of punishment would act as a deterrent to the

with John Howard's study of prison conditions, proved to be powerful influences on ensuing corrections trends in adult education, both in Britain and in North America.

Volunteer educators from the community did much to put the cause for adult education of offenders into action. One of the most notable persons to put the new humanitarian thinking into practice within a corrections setting was a British woman, Elizabeth Fry. Born of a wealthy woolen merchant father, she became an active member of the Society of Friends while still in her teens. By 1817, Fry's interest in the education of disadvantaged children broadened to include the education of women in the corrections setting of Newgate prison.[24]

Elizabeth Fry intuitively put into practice many of the modern principles of adult education in carrying out her work.[25] She held classes of "small groups of not more than twelve, with a [elected] monitor over each."[26] As well, Fry

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would-be offender.

[24]Whitney, pp. 67, 207.

[25]Whitney, pp. 210, 213. Elizabeth Fry committed herself to following Quaker tenets while still a teenage debutante after hearing the inspiring teachings of an American Friend, William Savery. Later, one of her brothers married an American girl. See, also, Erica Stratta, The Education of Borstal Boys (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1970), p. 1. Stratta attributed the first recognition Britain had of the role of education in penal institutions to the work of a devout Christian, Sarah Martin. Martin, however, did not begin her work in Yarmouth prison until 1818.

[26]Whitney, p. 218.

taught the women to read and to sew and insisted they receive fair value for the products they produced.

How Elizabeth Fry could turn women offenders, described as "wild beasts," into people who appeared "harmless and kind" was a source of wonder. Letters came from people of importance all over the British Isles and even from the continent, asking 'how.' Delegations of Quakers came from the American colonies to learn from her.[27] On February 21, 1818, the Grand Jury of the city of London drew up a memorandum stating " . . . if the principles [used by Fry] . . . were adopted towards the males, as well as the females, it would be the means of converting a prison into a school of reform; instead of sending criminals back into the world hardened in vice and depravity, they would be restored to it repentant, and, probably become useful members of society."[28] Yet, the government of Britain appeared to uphold another remedy for crime, "death or transportation to colonize new lands."[29]

The personal impact of Elizabeth Fry on the education and lives of the women prisoners of Newgate prison was prodigious. From 1818 until her final illness in 1843, she visited and organized every convict ship, a total of 106 comprising 12,000 convicts. Fry saw to it that each

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[27]Ibid., p. 232.

[28]Ibid., p. 220.

[29]Ibid.

offender was dressed in plain, clean clothing. She presented each woman with her own bundle of sewing articles so needlework projects might keep the offender positively occupied during the journey. Fry included a library on each transport. The books selected were of an "instructive nature to improve the habits and the tastes of the offenders and to raise their intellectual, moral and religious standards." Newgate reconvictions dropped by over 40 percent in a time when the world did not believe women capable of reason.[30]

Elizabeth Fry's philosophy and teaching methods foreshadowed modern adult education practices. She had a way of never saying "you" but "us" and treated prisoners as people of worth. Her teaching methods involved the offenders in making choices about what they wanted to learn. Eighteenth century society tended to favour the traditional education methods of the aristocracy. In the nineteenth century, reformers like Fry demanded and got a more humanitarian philosophy in a society becoming more democratic in outlook.[31]

Yet, conditions in other British prisons were not as conducive to education as those in Newgate. In some institutions, prisoners read the Bible for the purpose of preserving their reason, not for the purpose of preserving

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[30]Ibid., p. 253.

[31]Ibid., pp. 261-300.

their soul. The prison chaplain handled whatever basic education, usually of a three Rs nature, that took place. Prisoners, isolated from one another by separate cells and a code of strict silence, often used the "school hour" as an opportunity to talk to one another under the guise of reading aloud.[32] Corrections institutions tended to consider offender education a marginal activity.[33] Despite the best efforts of the reformers, adult education within corrections institutions developed slowly in Britain.

Meanwhile, innovations in penal reform and in corrections education had been progressing under the Quaker influence in Pennsylvania, an American proprietary holding of William Penn.[34] The methods used by the Quakers

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[32]Philip Priestley, Victorian Prison Lives: English Prison Biography 1830-1914 (London and New York: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1985), p. 113.

[33]Ibid., pp. 108-13. One notable exception was the prison at Reading. Here the day was totally devoted to education except when the prisoner was exercising, attending chapel, or doing duties such as cleaning his cell. This approach to reformation of the offender earned the institution the nickname of the "Read-Read-Reading" Jail. While this method did not last long, chaplains were put in charge of assistant schoolmasters who tested the educational competence of prisoners and provided instruction for those who fell below a required standard. This was one of the first efforts of an English correctional institution to use some form of standard criterion for the educational classification of offenders.

[34]Harry Elmer Barnes, The Evolution of Penology in Pennsylvania: A Study In American Social History (Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1968), pp. 9-13. Pennsylvania had come into existence 4 March 1681 when the English King, Charles II, granted William Penn, a Quaker, a tract of land in America to begin an English colony. In fact, several thousand people already lived in the area, which included

influenced the British Correctional system and provided the original model for the Canadian penal system.

The Quakers in seventeenth century Pennsylvania introduced a more moderate method than severe corporal punishment to deal with offenders in the colony--imprisonment at hard labour. They believed personal industry to be good for the soul and did not tolerate idleness.[35] They promoted the use of solitary confinement so that the offender could contemplate the voice of God within. The good intentions of the Quakers were only partly realized, however. The geographically separate, philosophically different people inhabiting the colony created a complex society. Minor abuses crept into the administration of the jail system. An extortionate fee system, the unrestricted sale of liquor, and gross sexual immorality flourished.[36]

After the American Revolution in 1776 conditions in American jails began to improve. The recommendations of John Howard and Cesare Beccaria reinforced the Quaker philosophy of humanitarianism although this view was not upheld by all American corrections personnel. Change from a

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part of Delaware. But an outstanding debt owed Penn's father by the Crown had been paid. While Penn's chief goal was to provide a refuge to members of his sect, in fact a number of dissenters were let in. Each group tended to isolate itself geographically and thus impeded unification.

[35]Ibid., p. 54.

[36]Ibid., p. 148.

punishment philosophy among corrections grassroots came slowly. It did run parallel to and was influenced by another movement, however. This movement encompassed a growing acceptance of a belief in knowledge and education as a means of overcoming criminality.[37] "Criminal" classes meant "uneducated" classes. Chaplains working in American jails renewed their efforts to teach offenders to read so the inmates might contemplate the scriptures.

In 1798, the first prison school in America opened at Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Its purpose was to provide reading, writing, and arithmetic as leisure time occupations for the prisoners. The cellular design of the jail, the first cellular jail in America, ushered in the term "penitentiary." Segregated at night, the prisoners shared work areas during the day. Jailers enforced strict silence among the offenders who were to reflect on their sins, become "penitent," and change their ways.[38]

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[37]William Crawford, Report on the Penitentiaries of The United States, with an Introduction by Norman Johnston (Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1969; reprint ed. New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1985). See Crawford's "Notes Relative to the Public Provision Made for the Support of Common Schools in the United States," pp. 193-223.

[38]Griffin, p. 9. See, also, Skinner, Driedger, and Grainger, p. 7. While the Walnut Street Jail may have ushered in the use of the term, penitentiary, the authors accorded the status of "first penitentiary in North America" to the Cherry Hill penitentiary, also in Pennsylvania. As well, refer to Barnes, p. 141. Barnes stated that a "site of ten acres was purchased.. . . located [on the] outskirts of Philadelphia . . . for the new penitentiary.. . . [As it

The Philadelphia experiment brought North America into touch with the best of reform and enlightenment of eighteenth century Europe. It revised practices that suggested imprisonment should be based on a combination of punishment and reformation. It added a system of offender classification, as well as separation and segregation of the prisoners, with reform of the offender as the aim. It removed the minor abuses of the colonial jail system. As well, the administration brought in volunteer clergymen from Philadelphia and surrounding towns. They invited visitors from the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons to provide moral and religious instruction for the inmates.[39] This practice became the forerunner of the modern use of volunteer educators in the Corrections system in North America. By 1829, the Pennsylvania System, as it came to be known, was in place, putting it in the vanguard of penal reform.[40]

Other penal institutions emulated the innovations of

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was formerly used] as a cherry orchard [it became known as Cherry Hill]." Cherry Hill penitentiary, erected between 1821 and 1835, opened for use in 1829.

[39]Barnes, p. 345. Barnes cited Article IX of Pennsylvania's 1828-29 Laws of General Assembly: "It shall be the duty of the Instructor to attend to the moral and religious instruction of the convicts . . . so that when restored to their liberty, they may prove honest, industrious and useful members of society . . . ."

[40]Ibid., pp. 179-80.

this penitentiary.[41] In 1817, the New York State Prison opened at Auburn, operating on a combination of strict silence, enforced discipline, and collective work in congregate workshops.[42] Auburn officials valued vocational training to provide the offender with an employable skill. Profit from inmate labour provided the institution with additional funds. By 1830, the Auburn jail officials had thirty-one classes running with 160 inmates in attendance under the leadership of the first resident chaplain, the Reverend Jared Curtis.[43]

The Auburn system aroused the curiosity and interest of persons in penal systems elsewhere. Delegations came from other areas and from other countries to learn about this innovation. By 1831, the Auburn system had caught the attention of an Upper Canada legislative committee formed to deal with that society's corrections requirements. The

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[41]Albert R. Roberts, Sourcebook on Prison Education: Past, Present, and Future (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1971), p. 4. In 1825, the leader of the Boston Prison Discipline Society, Louis Dwight, a zealous religious man, created Sabbath Schools for offenders. Dwight's innovation spread throughout the northern states, causing him to become known as the first national figure in an American prison reform movement.

[42]Crawford, pp. 23-25. See, also, Skinner, Driedger, and Grainger, p. 7. The authors seem to suggest that the stern discipline, silence, and downcast eyes which were all part of the Auburn "Silence System" were reinforced by the personal philosophy of the first warden, Captain Elam Lynds, a military man. Lynds's belief was that a man could not be reformed until his spirit was broken.

[43]Crawford, Appendix 23.

investigations of the committee members into the existing Canadian system revealed that the provincial jails were too small and primitive, there was no classification of prisoners (thus putting the young in with the older offenders), and the prisoners could not be kept busy.[44] The committee worried, too, about the "lower elements" such as the Irish immigrants. They viewed the Irish as destitute, ignorant, and without moral or religious constraints. Upper Canadians wanted a stable society with a population that accepted the principles of temperance, industry, good citizenship, and morality.[45] They saw crime as a moral sin caused by intemperance, immorality, lack of religious commitment, idleness, and ineffectual parental care. Man was beginning to be viewed as a product of his environment.[46]

Members of the Canadian government, torn between changing the existing system of criminal justice or adopting a different one, followed a plan for change similar to that used earlier by John Howard. The members of the committee set about gathering information on existing systems in other

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[44]Michael S. Cross, "Imprisonment in Canada: A Historical Perspective," Community Education, ser. 1, 6 (Toronto: John Howard Society, n.d.): 1.

[45]Margaret Owens, "Education in Canadian Federal Prisons: An Historical Analysis," Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, Proceedings of the Annual Conference (Guelph, Ontario: University of Guelph, 1984), p. 304.

[46]Ibid., pp. 298-99.

countries so they could weigh the alternatives before making a recommendation about what they thought would be best for Canada.

Several influences came to bear on the deliberations of the committee members. If man was a product of his environment, a philosophy becoming more and more popular, the members of the committee needed to contemplate a new way of dealing with the deviant. As well, an interest in education was on the upswing in Canada; nearly every town had a grammar school for those families wealthy enough to pay for their children to attend. Then, too, the so-called Protestant work ethic influenced the society of the time.[47]

From the first, Canadian corrections officials opted to build into their institutions opportunities for the education of offenders.[48] After considering several alternative jail systems, the committee members recommended a penitentiary run on the Auburn System as the solution. They believed this model would provide an example of proper principles of social organization and would lead offenders out of their lives of crime.[49] Re-education of the offender

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[47]J. Donald Weir, "A History of Education in Canadian Federal Correction," Readings in Prison Education, ed., Albert R. Roberts (Springfield , Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1973), pp. 39-41.

[48]Ibid., p. 304.

[49]Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), pp. 236-38. See Foucault's account of the Auburn System. See, also, Crawford, Appendix 23.

was what was needed. If offenders could not learn the necessity of adhering to the dominant social values in the larger society, they would learn their lessons in a protected institutional setting isolated from outside influences. The educational constraints imposed on offenders by the members of the penitentiary administration became a powerful influence in the daily lives of the prisoners.[50]

In 1835, the new Canadian penitentiary opened at Kingston, Ontario. The total environment of the prison would reeducate the offender. Each component, from the building design to the daily routine to the behaviour of the staff, was to have a special influence. Regimentation of all the minute details of the offender's life from the time he got up until he went to bed became the order of the day. Hard labour would instill good work habits, religious instruction would give a sound moral base to the offender's life, solitary confinement in cells at night would provide time for contemplation and reflection, and the staff would provide models of decorum. These influences would totally re-form the offender.[51]

The hoped for changes did not occur. Instead of creating honest, upright citizens, this "ideal" environment

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[50]Foucault cited by Owens, p. 236.

[51]Foucault, pp. 236-38.

seemed to create better and more hardened criminals. The routine, the physical environment, and the role models appeared to have failed. Six years after the Kingston penitentiary began, nearly twenty-five percent of the former prison population had been recommitted at least once.[52]

Kingston penitentiary officials, disappointed that their careful plans seemed to have gone wrong, wondered what had happened. What had gone wrong was a polarization of purpose between what the officials had hoped for and what the reality of the situation dictated was necessary. The penitentiary idea had been sold to the government of the day on the premise that it would not be expensive: the convicts would do the construction, maintenance, and inside service. Thus, the main concern of the warden soon became the efficient management and administration of the institution rather than the reformation of the prisoners. Contracting out convict labour was to produce an ongoing source of revenue. The warden's main priority became running an institution as cheaply as possible and securing outside contracts for inmate labour. Reformation of the prisoners fell to the prison chaplain, causing a polarization of goals: "low cost, efficient human storage" on the one hand and inmate reformation, including education, on the other.

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[52]Canada, Laws, Statutes, etc., Report of the Warden, Appendix H, Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1842, cited by Rainer Baehre in "Origins of the Penitentiary System in Upper Canada," 69 Ontario History 3 (September 1977): 200.

Some impetus to the cause of offender education came, however, from the "outside" movement toward universal access to elementary schooling. This was seen as a way of providing education, access to culture, and individual and collective prosperity. Despite this social movement, offender education, originally a primary goal, became a marginal function dependent entirely upon committed individuals.[53]

When Upper and Lower Canada united in 1841, Corrections authorities had to rethink their priorities. Now they had to accept convicts from two provinces and military prisoners, as well. Severe overcrowding resulted. Untrained and hostile staff meted out severe punishments. Prison riots resulted. An inquiry into the problems reaffirmed the first aim of the penitentiary as "the permanent moral reform of the convict." The members of the inquiry emphasized the necessity of a schoolmaster, a chaplain, and a staff that would provide good role models. They also suggested a need for courses in trades training for the inmates.[54]

In 1851, the Penitentiary Act provided for the hiring of a schoolmaster. For the first time, Canadian legislation made provision for classes for illiterate adults as well as for illiterate youth. It was a new turn in the

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[53]Owens, p. 309.

[54]Ibid., pp. 309-11.

thinking of the time. The Act legitimized adult education in a Canadian corrections setting although it still remained on the periphery of prison life.[55]

It was not long, however, before the cause of adult education within corrections institutions suffered a setback. In 1867, Confederation united the provinces into the Dominion of Canada. Under a federal system of government, the responsibility for the provision of education fell to the provinces. The building and maintaining of prisons remained the responsibility of the federal government. By 1881, six new penitentiaries sprinkled the landscape from the Maritimes to British Columbia.[56] Despite this initiative, the unification of the new Dominion brought a return to a more conservative political climate, directed by the first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald. In his primary task of nation building, Macdonald thought coercive means to accomplish social control might be condoned. He felt the usual means of control--family, church, and established community--would not be sufficiently developed to exert much influence in the Canadian hinterlands.[57]

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[55]Ibid., p. 4, 312.

[56]Canada, Department of the Solicitor General, Special Paper No. 65, 1881, Report of the Inspector of Penitentiaries. See, also, Owens, p. 314.

[57]See the analysis by Samuel D. Clark, The Developing Canadian Community (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), and Richard M. Zubrycki, The Establishment of

Macdonald mandated a retrenchment to traditional and punitive corrections philosophy in a time of rapid national change. In a letter written in 1871 to the Kingston warden, Macdonald reminded this official not to forget that the "primary [purpose] of the penitentiary is punishment and the incidental one reform." So busy was the new Dominion government with getting the federal-provincial system in place that "commitment to the concept of education would not gain momentum again until the next century."[58]

Despite this setback to the advancement of adult education within the Canadian Corrections System, education for offenders did not come to a halt entirely. Each new penitentiary built reflected the general acceptance of a modicum of education for offenders. Administrators made provision for a schoolmaster and a school to be incorporated into each basic institutional plan. The educational elements in the jails depended, however, on the "orientation of those with decision-making power."[59] Teachers could come from the outside ranks of schoolmasters but were just as likely to be guards, storekeepers, or accountants. The literate inmate population became tutors to their illiterate fellow offenders. Little time was spent on instruction and

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Canada's Penitentiary System: Federal Correctional Policy 1867-1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Faculty of Social Work, 1980).

[58]Owens, p. 314.

[59]Ibid., p. 315.

there was no concern for a general curriculum either within or between institutions or over time.[60]

This kind of educational system reflected the educational norms of the late nineteenth century pre-industrial, primarily rural, wider society where the economy was based on agriculture and simple manufacturing.[61] The schoolmaster was not necessarily a person of learning but someone whose main qualification was an ability to maintain discipline. He taught the three Rs, religion, and allegiance to the British Empire in a one-room schoolhouse. There were few facilities, resources, or requirements for teacher qualifications.[62]

The cause of adult education for offenders did receive support from prison reformers and labour organizations, however. The reformers raised their voices against the continuation of convict labour, saying it was "antithetical to concepts of reformation." They emphasized that it "sacrifices the educational improvement of the convicts to the interests or caprices of the employer."[63] Labour organizations protested against what they perceived

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[60]Ibid., pp. 314-16.

[61]Institutions are not always a reflection of the larger society that surrounds them, but it is usually very difficult for them not to be influenced in some way by the values of that society.

[62]Owens, pp. 314-16.

[63]Ibid., p. 316.

to be unfair labour competition in a time of economic depression which was rapidly eliminating market demand. As a consequence, corrections authorities phased out convict contract labour by the end of the century. Yet, this did not result in greater emphasis on education. Prison administrators substituted make-work projects within the prison instead.[64] The prison reformers, supporters of education as a means of offender reform, and the members of labour organizations who protested unfair labour competition did, however, keep alive a humanitarian stream of thought within the Canadian Corrections system.

Corrections initiatives in education for offenders that took place in other countries also influenced the Corrections system of Canada, a new system in a new nation. In the 1870s, in the United States, for example, the Reformatory Movement began with the opening of Elmira Reformatory, a corrections institution for youth aged 16 to 20.[65] Elmira officials considered education the main reform method. Reformatory education methods included rewards for good behaviour, working hard, and attention to academic learning. As well, reformatory program administrators fostered the inclusion of vocational training for offenders. It was the superintendent of Elmira who, for the first time,

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[64]Ibid., pp. 316-17.

[65]Roberts, Sourcebook, p. 6. Elmira Reformatory opened in 1876.

gave education an important, not marginal, place in the American correctional process. He used instructors from the community, introduced trade school courses, and provided vocational education for the slower inmates.[66] Another "reform school," the Detroit House of Corrections, had mandatory schooling. Inmates attended classes for an hour and a half four nights a week, and all 440 inmates attended an afternoon lecture every Saturday.[67]

In Britain, the Borstal System for juveniles, developed for young offenders aged 16 to 21, had a program based largely on the concepts of reform and training.[68] Borstal staff wore civilian clothing, carried no weapons, and developed friendships with the inmates. Borstal officials included physical exercise in the curriculum as a way of using up offender energy that might otherwise be devoted to less desirable activities. Corrections institutions run along these lines represented a step forward in the development of education within the penal

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[66]Ibid., p. 6.

[67]Ibid., p. 8.

[68]Stratta, pp. 6-8. The Report of the British Departmental Committee on Prisons, known as the Gladstone Report, was published in 1895. It resulted in the Borstal scheme which was started in 1900 by Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, the chairman of the British Prison Commission of the Home Office. The American Elmira experiment influenced Ruggles-Brise, but his Borstal system did not duplicate it. He believed in stern discipline for young offenders. Education consisted of moral persuasion, physical drill, and technical and library instruction. Work was used as a disciplinary measure rather than as vocational training.

system.[69] By the early 1900s, borstals, or near facsimiles, could be found in much of Britain and North America.[70]

Meanwhile, in Europe, the writings of Cesare Lombroso, an anthropologist and professor of psychiatry at the University of Turin in Italy, ushered in a scientific era in corrections thought.[71] His book, Crime: Its Causes and Remedies, applied the modern science of Victorian times to the study of human and social phenomena.[72] Lombroso

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[69]Ibid., p. 8.

[70]Ibid. The Elmira and Detroit reformatories are examples of what can happen when the person in power is committed to the concept of education for reform. Most prison schools in the United States still had scant instruction at the cell door. Roberts reported that about 20,000 of the 38,000 United States inmates during the 1870s were still practically illiterate, many administrators fearing education would only result in more clever forgers, burglars, and other lawbreakers.

[71]Skinner, Driedger, and Grainger, pp. 10-11, and Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1959 ed., s.v. "Lombroso, Cesare." Lombroso is credited with providing the basis for the positivist school of criminology which holds that man's behaviour is determined by forces beyond his control. Punishment should fit the criminal, not the crime, because he is not entirely responsible for his crimes. Many theories regarding human behaviour emerged as the positivist school evolved, including the theory of Sigmund Freud, a Viennese psychiatrist. Modern followers of Freudian theory believe that a person is driven by unconscious forces which can be treated with social and behavioural science methods such as psychotherapy, behaviour modification, and group counselling.

[72]See Cesare Lombroso, Crime: Its Causes and Remedies, trans. Henry P. Horton, with an Introduction by Maurice Parmelee (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1918; reprint 1876 ed.). Lombroso's ideas raised a great deal of opposition because he attributed human conduct to natural causes such as the physical characteristics of the criminal himself. His theory of "L'Uomo delinquente" stated that crime is almost entirely caused by the anthropological characteristics of the criminal. Those children who showed

became the leading figure in criminology, arguing that the offender was no longer innately evil but was, rather, a "savage" who was "sick."[73]

Lombroso advocated vocational training for offenders. While against "harsh punishments which can only irritate,"[74] he did not see academic education as a remedy for crime and was totally against it except for first time offenders.[75] Instead, Lombroso suggested vocational schools of agriculture with manual work for those inmates he considered moderately recalcitrant. He perceived some offenders as totally recalcitrant, however, and therefore saw them as without hope of redemption.[76]

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facial features similar to the Australian aborigines and Mongoloid types were to be separated out at an early age and given special education which included strengthening their "underdeveloped inhibitory centers" as a crime prevention measure. In his later writings, Lombroso came to recognize the influence of a person's social milieu on crime.

[73]Parmalee in Lombroso, p. xxiv.

[74]Lombroso, p. 306.

[75]Ibid., pp. 301-14. Lombroso maintained that "to instruct the criminal is to perfect him in evil, and to give him new weapons against society." Any education given to the first time offender should be "accompanied by a special training designed to correct the passion and instincts rather than to develop the intellect."

[76]Ibid., pp. 513-14. Lombroso put forth a psychological classification of criminals. The first group, whom he called "pseudocriminals," were those who had committed a crime under extraordinary provocation, such as the defense of a person. The second group, "criminaloids," were, he thought, somewhat predisposed toward evil and committed crimes because they were unable to resist temptation. The last group he referred to as the "habitual

Lombroso suggested several alternatives which he felt should be used instead of the incarceration of offenders. He believed the principle of punishment should be based on the necessity of societal defense: the welfare of society was paramount. He recommended the avoidance of short, repeated sentences to prison. Instead, he advocated home confinement, judicial admonition, fines determined in proportion to the wealth of the person, enforced labour without imprisonment, local exile, and conditional sentences for younger persons as alternatives to prison. Lombroso suggested a medical model of corrections: if the offender was "sick," he should be treated.[77]

Lombroso's alternatives to incarceration appealed to corrections administrators seeking ways to run prisons and reformatories less expensively. In 1887, British legislators enacted the First Offenders Act. The Act gave the courts the right to release a first offender on probation. This was followed by a Probation of Offenders Act in 1907, allowing probation to be used for repeat

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criminals." These persons had a "primitive tendency toward evil" exacerbated by societal factors such as poor parental upbringing and unsuitable experiences in other institutions such as schools.

[77]Ibid., p. 385.

offenders.[78] In Canada, the use of probation dates to 1889 for first offenders; supervised probation came into existence in 1921.[79]

By 1914, a fresh Canadian philosophical approach began to emerge among federal Corrections authorities. They began to speak of self-dependence for the inmate, of a humanitarian approach to the whole of penology, of rehabilitation through personal motivation and educational opportunity. At the grassroots corrections level, however, the view remained predominantly punitive. Incarceration for many inmates still meant isolation and punishment by loss of human dignity and identity and active physical punishment such as beating.[80]

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[78] Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1959 ed., s.v. "Probation." See, also, Frederick A. Hussey and David E. Duffee, Probation, Parole, and Community Field Services: Policy, Structure, and Process (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1980). Some form of "probation" or being released on the recognizance of another person was recorded in Britain about the eleventh century. Benefit of Clergy, used by offenders to escape severe punishment, was not abolished until 1827. Temporary judicial reprieve, or suspension of sentence, and recognizance, where the offender enters into a bond pledging not to reoffend, were English Common Law practices. The formal initiating of the practice of probation in North America in 1841 is attributed to John Augustus of Boston, a former cobbler who had become a "man of means" interested in helping others.

[79] Graham Parker, "The Law of Probation" (Toronto: University of Toronto, Osgoode Hall Law School, n. d.). (Mimeographed.) p. 48.

[80] Saskatchewan Corrections, "Outline of Philosophical Changes Since 1905," (Regina: Saskatchewan Corrections, n.d.), p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

The grassroots reality slowed the progress of adult education in corrections institutions. Until 1927, educational lectures were not permitted. By 1933, administrators allowed individual study, but they provided no books. Jail officials tolerated inmate subscriptions to magazines and periodicals, but they rigorously censored the publications.[81]

In 1936, a royal commission appointed to report on the Canadian penal system provided the first major recommendations suggesting a need for substantial adult education in Canadian Corrections.[82] The work of the commission took place during the time when the Canadian Association for Adult Education was being formed and promoted under the leadership of Ned Corbett, an adult educator and former director of extension from the University of Alberta. Earlier failed attempts at coordinating isolated adult education efforts had taken place in Canada. Under Corbett, active publicity about a national adult education movement began. It is not surprising, then, that the commissioners chose adult education as a panacea for the reformation of offenders.[83]

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[81]Weir, pp. 39-47.

[82]J. William Cosman, "Penitentiary Education in Canada," On Prison Education, ed. Lucien Morin (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1981), pp. 34-42.

[83]The World Book Encyclopedia, 1984 ed., s.v. "History of Canada," by David Jay Bercuson. See, also, David P. Armstrong, "Corbett's House: The Origins of the Canadian

Members of the commission were appalled at the limited number of prisoners who had access to education, and that mostly at the elementary level. In 1938, the Archambault Report called for a complete reorganization of the corrections educational system. It advocated the provision of a well rounded program of adult education structured to meet the needs, interests, and abilities on an individual basis of the potential student body. The commissioners found that the majority of inmates were "academically under educated, vocationally unskilled, and culturally deprived."[84] Their report recommended a program of academic and cultural enrichment, including recreation and physical education. As well, competent teachers and functional educational facilities with quality libraries

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Association for Adult Education and its Development During the Directorship of E. A. Corbett, 1936-1951" (Master's Thesis, University of Toronto, 1968), pp. 4, 74, and 124. Canada was in the midst of the Great Depression in the 1930s. The unemployed formed restive groups across the country protesting against their economic condition. Community organizations did what they could to take people's minds off the starkness of daily existence through adult education programs. In 1934, a symposium on adult education convened in Toronto in an effort to coordinate these adult education groups. By 1935, the Canadian Association for Adult Education became a national body under the directorship of Ned Corbett, an adult educator and former director of extension at the University of Alberta. His leadership coordinated and expanded adult education in Canada. Armstrong stated that, prior to Corbett's efforts with the CAAE, there was little awareness of adult education as a national movement. In 1936, however, Corbett's national tour brought media headlines.

[84]Cosman, p. 39.

were to be provided.[85]

Another event suspended this support for adult education in corrections. In 1939, World War II broke out. The war delayed the implementation of the Archambault Report until 1946.[86] In 1947, the federal government appointed General Ralph B. Gibson, the commissioner of penitentiaries for Canada, to consider the recommendations and to see to what extent they had been implemented. Gibson discovered the recommendations of the Archambault Report had been largely ignored at the grassroots level. Unimpressed, he reemphasized the need for local implementation. The Gibson Report proposed a deputy commissioner to oversee correctional education and the aid of a Committee on Adult Education to act as consultant to the teaching staffs of correctional institutions.[87]

At the provincial level, the post World War II period in Saskatchewan was a dynamic one for corrections.[88] The 1946 Penal Commission report had introduced into the Saskatchewan Corrections system a humanitarian philosophy

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[85]Weir, p. 43.

[86]Ibid.

[87]Cosman, pp. 34-42.

[88]Skinner, Driedger, and Grainger, p. 85. The authors stated that much movement toward social welfare programs could be attributed to the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation government which had been elected in 1944, although the priorities of the government were economic development and health care.

which replaced the previously dominant philosophy of punishment. The commissioners called for a program of crime prevention, full probation service, scientific rehabilitative treatment of offenders, and an adequate system of after-care to re-establish the prisoner into society.[89]

The commission members stressed the importance of the prisoner's role in his own rehabilitation, indicating that "the best equipment or programs would yield few results unless the prisoner was concerned about his own rehabilitation."[90] Yet, it would be another twenty years before the Saskatchewan Correctional authorities heeded this admonition. In accordance with the belief that criminal behaviour was caused by the economic and social environment of the offender, the commissioners stressed the necessity of a broader use of the community in crime prevention. Their recommendations were the first to include the concept of resocialization in conjunction with rehabilitation of the offender in Saskatchewan.[91]

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[89]Ibid., p. 89.

[90]Ibid., p. 91.

[91]Ibid., p. 97. To aid in this new manifestation of the humanitarian approach, correctional authorities urged institutional staff to give up the use of uniforms and weapons around offenders. Staff members were encouraged to get to know the inmates as human beings with names, not just as cell numbers. Except in the British Borstal system or in juvenile reformatories, these practices were almost unheard of in adult corrections.

During the 1950s, adult education was implemented unevenly in Saskatchewan jails. The Prince Albert jail had limited educational programming for the men and even fewer programs existed for the women. The Regina jail administration, on the other hand, supported some elements of educational upgrading, vocational training, and recreational programs. In these programs the first evidence of the group work that later became part of the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre programs could be seen. The jail administration used group work and group discussions partly to relieve the boredom experienced by the offenders and partly to provide a safety valve for their emotions. Basic communication skills, conflict management, and job search techniques became part of an elementary Life Skills program. The 1959-60 annual report of the Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation stated that in all activities "the main emphasis is to assist in the socialization of the inmates, not . . . [to provide] them with specific skill or knowledge."[92]

In the early 1960s, the practical aspects of the movement towards resocialization of the offender, a

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[92]Saskatchewan Department of Social Services, 1959-60 Annual Report (Regina: Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation, 1960), p. 31. The Corrections Branch came under the administration of the Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation Services at this time. Responsibility for Saskatchewan jails had previously come under the Department of Public Works and, later, under the Attorney General's Department.

humanitarian philosophy using mainly educative means, began in Saskatchewan. Gradual in nature, the use of resocialization techniques did not gain momentum in corrections programming until the late 1960s. The 1967 Saskatchewan Corrections Act provided a legislative mandate for the Community Corrections movement.[93] New correctional programming emphasized the normalization of the life of the offender. It advocated that the offender work in the community and maintain contact with family and friends. A work training program meant the offender could maintain employment, attend an educational institution, or participate in community programs. This also meant the institution would not have to expand building space and

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[93]Roger Gibbons, Prairie Politics & Society: Regionalism in Decline (Scarborough, Ontario: Butterworth and Company (Canada), Limited, 1980), p. 131. See Gibbons's account of political, economic, and social changes in Saskatchewan from 1934-78. On this topic see, also, Skinner, Driedger, and Grainger, pp. 130-31, and Evelyn Eager, Saskatchewan Government: Politics and Pragmatism (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980), chapters 4, 10, 11, and 12. On normalization see Wolf Wolfensberger, The Principle of Normalization in Human Services (Toronto: Leonard Crainford and the National Institute on Mental Retardation, 1972), pp. 102-20. Deinstitutionalization and the advent of community psychiatry in the field of mental health programming which had begun in the 1950s in Saskatchewan were based on the belief that institutions had deleterious effects on people. Later, the theory of normalization as a system of human management was advanced by Wolf Wolfensberger, a mental retardation research scientist and visiting scholar at the National Institute on Mental Retardation in Toronto, Ontario, in the 1970s, on grounds that it benefited both offender and community to keep people out of jail as much as possible.

facilities or hire expensive staff for institutional facilities already becoming crowded. As well, administrators supported a more extensive use of supervised parole and probation. A desire for cost effectiveness and for improved treatment of the offender undergirded this view.[94]

In 1971, an event took place that was to bring about significant changes in Saskatchewan Corrections. A Corrections Study Committee was formed to evaluate the effectiveness of the system and to bring forward recommendations and directions for the future. The committee members put an even stronger emphasis on community alternatives to incarceration, suggesting that Probation Services officials increase probation personnel from 17 to 81. In this 1971 report, known as the Matheson Report, the

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[94]Skinner, Driedger, and Grainger, pp. 129-30, 150-55. The authors argued that the growing community corrections movement in the United States and the increasing awareness that institutionalization was not very effective may have been other motives. Crime rates, for instance, rose after the advent of the Medical Model in Saskatchewan. Then, again, the 1960s and early 1970s were times of considerable economic growth and prosperity in the province, allowing money to be spent on new methods. Natural resources such as potash, oil, timber, and uranium brought wealth to the province. They also brought unemployment to many northern native communities when the indigenous people were forced off their land to make way for industry. Wandering into urban areas in search of work, but without urban skills to survive in urban cultures, many native people ended up in provincial courts. See analysis of this situation by Melanie Lautt, "Natives and Justice: A Topic Requiring Research Priority?" Explorations in Prairie Justice Research, ed. Dorothy Hepworth (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1979), pp. 56-155.

first suggestion appeared for the use of Adult Attendance Centres in Saskatchewan. It was conceptualized not as an adult education institution but as one of a range of community alternatives to incarceration.[95] It would take nearly a decade before the Adult Attendance Centre Project of Saskatchewan Corrections brought two Centres into being, one in the city of Regina and the other in the city of Saskatoon.

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[95]Saskatchewan Corrections Study Report, by Malcolm Matheson, Chairman (Regina: Department of Welfare and Rehabilitation and Ottawa: Department of the Solicitor General of Canada, 1971), p. ii.

CHAPTER III

THE SASKATCHEWAN PROBATION SYSTEM

The Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project developed out of the Saskatchewan probation system which was established in 1948.[1] In August of that year the Saskatchewan Adult Probation Division and parole system was set up to provide non-institutional assistance for corrections problems faced by the courts and by the Corrections Branch of the Department of Social Services and Rehabilitation.[2] This chapter will outline the development of Saskatchewan's probation system, showing the major structural reorganization at the provincial government level. A discussion of changing national and international philosophical orientations toward social control is included as background to provincial corrections decision making.

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[1]Shirley Skinner, Otto Driedger, and Brian Grainger, Corrections: An Historical Perspective of the Saskatchewan Experience (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1981), p. 4. These authors defined probation as "the official supervision of convicted persons for whom the passing of a sentence has been conditionally suspended pending satisfactory compliance with such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by the court."

[2]Ibid., p. 122. See, also, Lem Boyd, "The Changing Role of Probation," paper presented at Saskatchewan Probation Officers Conference, North Battleford, Saskatchewan, 1976, p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

The evolution of Saskatchewan's probation system will be presented within the context of a changing world economy with its influence on provincial corrections matters.

During the first years of the existence of the Saskatchewan probation system, its members focused mainly on juvenile offenders rather than adult offenders.[3] The concept of adult probation, a new idea to Saskatchewan Corrections, took some time to be accepted by the magistrates, crown prosecutors, and police. Before 1960, little expansion took place. Indeed, the period from 1948 to 1970 was referred to as the "22 forgotten years" for Saskatchewan probation. During this time corrections personnel "talked constantly about the need for expansion of probation without a great deal happening."[4]

Prior to the 1960s and the early 1970s, staff in the regional branch of the provincial Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation provided probation services to youthful offenders;[5] adult probation and parole services were still in their formative stages. Administrators did not feel they had appropriate field workers capable of

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[3]Skinner, Driedger, and Grainger, p. 118.

[4]Boyd, p. 1. Boyd, chief probation officer of Saskatchewan Corrections in the early 1970s, attributed this statement to one of his Corrections supervisors.

[5]Ibid., p. 2. Boyd cited the Saskatchewan Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation, Annual Report, (Regina, 1951). (Mimeographed.)

handling a specialized service, making it difficult to promote this part of the program. Social workers provided probation and parole services only in the cities of Regina, Saskatoon, and Moose Jaw. In 1958-59, their services extended to the cities of Prince Albert and North Battleford. In 1960, some expansion of the probation service occurred, but the supervision of adults took place only in select cases at court request.[6]

Adult probation did come to be viewed by court judges as an alternative to fines and incarceration, but staffing to carry out the service remained inadequate. Regional welfare workers tended to view the added probation duties as an infringement on their time,[7] and the awkward administration of the probation system added to their irritation.[8] Despite these difficulties, the Saskatchewan adult probation service continued to grow. By 1968, staff numbered about ten full time probation officers and two full time supervisors.[9]

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[6]Ibid., p. 3. The service expanded to the equivalent of four full time probation officers and one supervisor with a caseload of some 238 offenders.

[7]Skinner, Driedger, and Grainger, p. 123.

[8]Ibid. For instance, the chief probation officer in the Corrections Branch had program authority over front line probation officers, but line authority went through Regional Social Services, creating a dual responsibility system. As well, some probation positions were co-opted into other social work positions because of the need for social services in rural areas.

[9]Ibid.

In 1968, a change in the federal Criminal Code mandated the increased use of adult probation in Canada. Prior to the change, the Code restricted the use of probation to youthful offenders with either a first conviction or no conviction during the previous two years. The new Code made probation available to almost any offender.[10]

Backed by this federal mandate, the members of the Corrections Branch of the Saskatchewan Department of Social Services set about to document the state of the existing probation service. The resulting 1969 Probation Services in Saskatchewan report sparked an increasing interest in adult probation among line staff.[11] The document reported the findings of a survey conducted throughout five probation regions. The members of the inquiry listened to the problems and concerns of the probation officers, noting their relationships to community resources and to the Corrections Branch. The probation officers communicated their concern about their large caseloads, the large number of pre-sentence reports they had to write, and their inability to use effectively such resources as the Canada Manpower Centre. In addition, they wanted an increased use

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[10]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Letter, Mel Robinson, regional manager, Probation Services, Saskatoon Region, to Dilys Collier, 10 November 1986.

[11]Boyd, p. 3. This was a confidential report prepared by the Program Division of the Saskatchewan Department of Social Services in April, 1969.

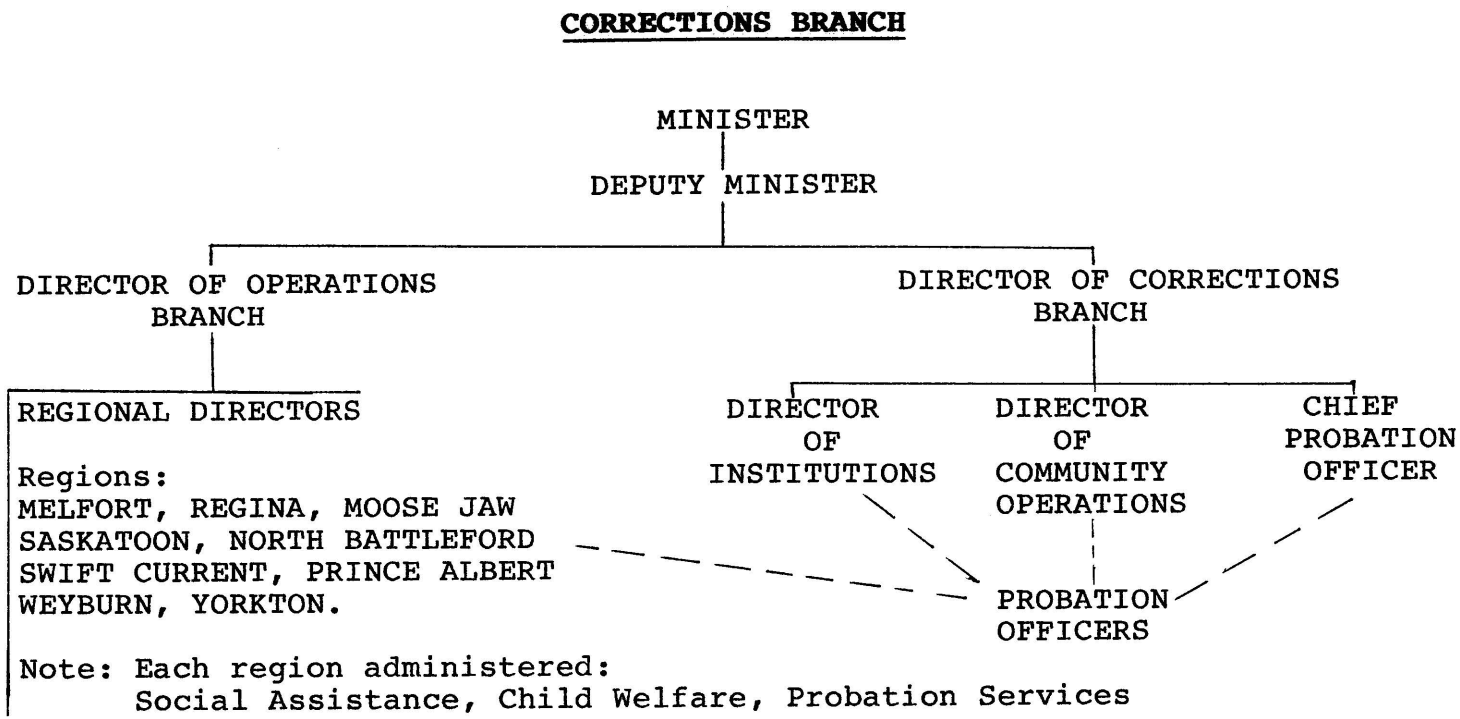

Fig. 1. Corrections Branch, Saskatchewan Department of Social Services and Rehabilitation (1970-71).[12]

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[12]Telephone interview with Tom Stickland, director of the Saskatchewan Assistance Plan, Regina, Saskatchewan, 15 April 1986.

of volunteers and probation hostels, more staff training and opportunity for advancement within the system and, as well, a closer liaison with the Correctional Centre. The results of the survey revealed that, in theory, all of the regions surveyed were "receiving probation services" but, in actuality, some received them in name only.[13] It would be six years before practical suggestions for the implementation of improved probation conditions in Saskatchewan were provided.

The recommendations of the 1971 Matheson Committee Report proved to be important to the development of Saskatchewan corrections in general and Saskatchewan probation in particular.[14] The members of the study deplored the lack of communication among the courts, probation, and corrections institutions. The management approach taken by the committee members led them to urge the integration of correctional services into a Corrections Division to allow coordinated planning and development of correctional programs. They recognized that existing probation officers lacked adequate training and supervision to meet the increasing number of offenders coming into the probation system. The committee members advocated the use of community corrections alternatives within the probation service framework. Their suggestions included a fine option

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[13]Boyd, p. 4.

[14]Ibid., p. 5.

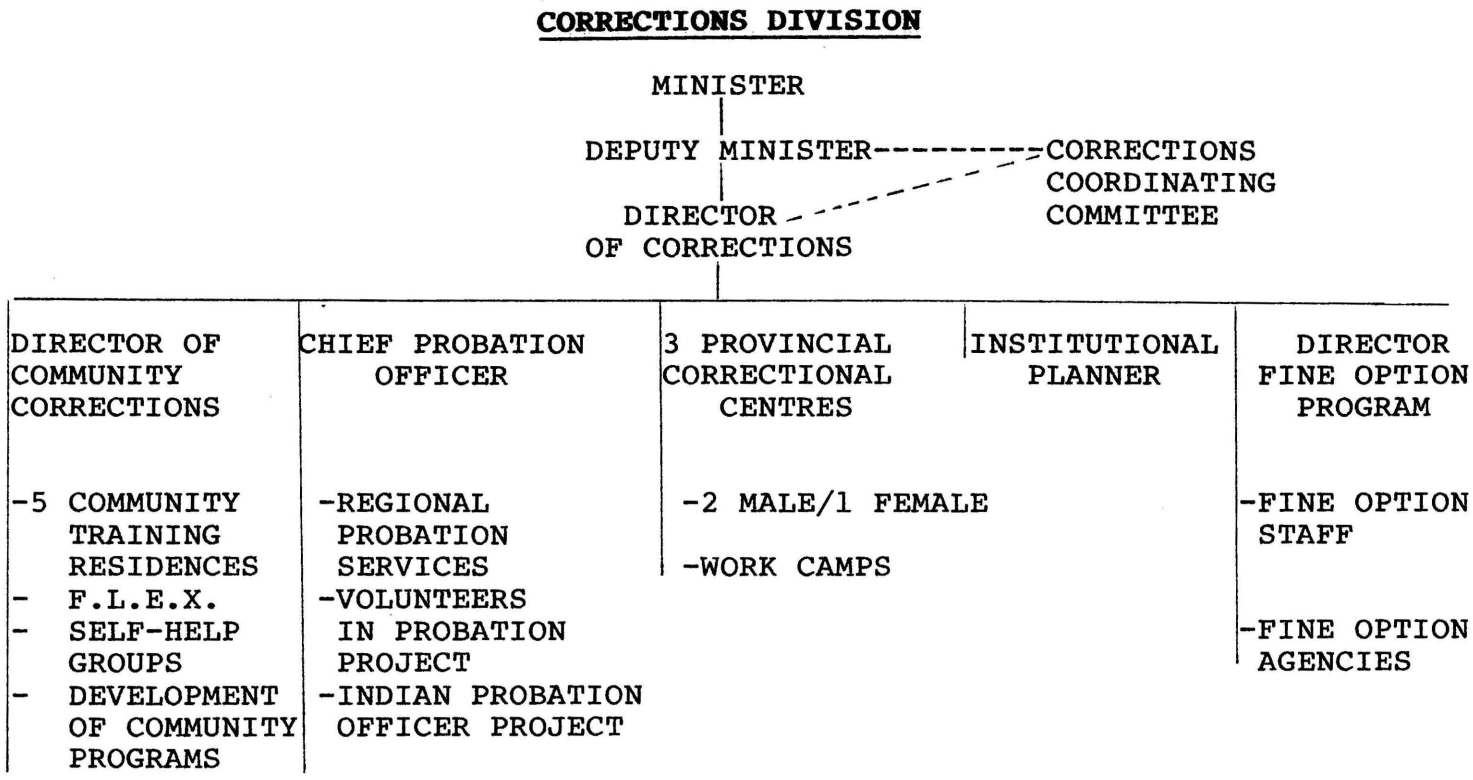

Fig. 2. Corrections Division, Saskatchewan Department of Social Services and Rehabilitation (1976-77).[15]

[15]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Archives, Regina, Saskatchewan.

program (an option for offenders to work off their fines at minimum wage), weekend training camps and probation hostels, and community corrections centres for probationers. As one of a range of sentencing alternatives to be made available to court judges, the committee members put forward the concept of attendance centres--not only for youthful offenders but also for adult offenders.[16] These were not intended to be adult education institutions but were intended to be cost effective alternatives to incarceraton. The committee members also addressed the matter of inadequate probation service staffing. They strongly recommended full time probation supervisors and a greatly increased number of probation officers, including assistant Indian probation officers to deal more effectively with the increase in indigenous offenders. These suggestions, if implemented, meant that the Corrections Branch would become a Corrections Division of the Saskatchewan Department of Social Services and Rehabilitation. It also meant that a major increase in staffing and a wide range of sentencing options for the courts would be provided.[17]

A year later, in 1972, the Department of Social Services implemented a Corrections Division to replace the

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[16]Matheson Report, 1971, p. 2-3.

[17]Saskatchewan Corrections Study Report, by Malcolm Matheson, Chairman, (Regina: Department of Welfare and Rehabilitation and Ottawa: Department of the Solicitor General of Canada, 1971), p. ii.

former Corrections Branch. This move indicated the beginning of a process of change which, once started, lasted for the remainder of the decade. According to Tom Stickland, the supervisor of the Saskatoon adult probation unit from the fall of 1973 to February of 1980, the personnel of the new Division found the years between 1973 and 1977 to be exciting ones. Stickland stated that "things really took off" during that time.[18]

In 1975, members of the Department of Social Services and Rehabilitation adopted specific recommendations for the implementation of an expanded probation service. These recommendations, contained in a document known as the Corrections Proposal For Saskatchewan, enlarged on the progressive themes outlined by the writers of the Matheson Report. The authors of the Proposal encouraged broadening the role of the probation officer. They wanted the probation service to reflect a starting point in the corrections process for an offender rather than having probation used as an alternative to incarceration. The writers supported the need for the development of specialized programming and endorsed the substantial increases in probation staffing needed to carry out the service.[19]

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[18]Stickland, Regina, Saskatchewan, 15 April 1986.

[19]Boyd, p. 5. From 1971 to 1975, the Department received seventeen probation officer positions, a chief probation officer, a co-ordinator of volunteers, and

During 1975, a committee made up of departmental staff produced a major planning document, referred to by corrections personnel as the "Blue Book" of Corrections, or the "Five Year Plan." The contents of the Five Year Plan offered practical guidelines for the implementation of new program directions and for the allocation of major resources. The committee members suggested the gradual reduction in the total number of persons that should be held by corrections institutions and advised the upgrading of institutional programs.[20] They advocated community-based, non-custodial programs be located around three urban areas: Prince Albert, Saskatoon, and Regina.[21] These expanded probation services were to emphasize the development of volunteer programs, native probation officer programs, and citizen advisory committees. The increased use of probation services by court judges seemed to indicate to the committee members that adult probation now was regarded by the judiciary as a viable alternative to incarceration. By the end of the year the Saskatchewan probation service had thirty-five full time probation officers and three full time probation supervisors who supervised a caseload of some

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seventeen staff assigned to a special Indian Probation Project.

[20]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "A Corrections Proposal For Saskatchewan," Regina, 1975, p. 65. (Mimeographed.)

[21]Ibid., pp. 46-49.

2,200 clients.[22]

The authors of the Five Year Plan also reviewed the role of the probation officer. Prior to the 1970s, the information required by court judges largely defined the probation officer's role. The basic probation function consisted of preparing pre-sentence reports for the judge and using traditional casework techniques to supervise offenders bound by probation order conditions. Another stated function of the probation officer was involvement in crime prevention programs held in such places as schools. Members of the Department of Social Services and Rehabilitation, the courts, and the community, however, gave these community prevention programs low priority. The result was that they were never implemented.[23] Community corrections services were "largely hidden and kept to the initiated."[24]

The members of the committee who generated the Five Year Plan wanted to change this situation. They envisioned the probation officer involved in innovative programs like

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[22]Boyd, p. 8.

[23]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Letter, Robinson to Collier, 10 November 1986. Robinson stated that crime prevention activities, other than efforts to rehabilitate offenders, were almost non-existent. Some managers expressed discomfort over having a stated objective with no programs or activities to carry it out.

[24]Ibid., p. 3. Refer, also, to the Saskatchewan Department of Social Services, "Corrections Division Report (1974-75)," Regina, 1975. (Mimeographed.)

bail supervision, diversion of offenders from the courts, and the development of preventative programming such as offender hostels and weekend Attendance Centres. Chief Probation Officer Lem Boyd endorsed the use of these "soft services" and called for the probation officers to consider themselves community resource managers. Boyd saw their role as helping a community to develop its own resources to mesh with a probationer's identified needs and as supervising, monitoring, and evaluating the delivery of these services.[25]

From the inception of the probation service in 1948 to the development of the Five Year Plan in 1975, the administration of Saskatchewan Corrections came to emphasize the belief that the community has a stake in the implementation and outcome of the Corrections system. In addition, they saw offenders as being in the Corrections system in the first place because of their failure to cope, legally, in the community. Therefore, the officials reasoned, teaching community coping skills to the offender was the key to his rehabilitation. In considering what methods to use to implement educational opportunities for the offender, probation officials decided to avoid duplication of services by co-ordinating existing community resources.[26]

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[25]Boyd., pp. 8-9.

[26]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Letter, Robinson to Collier, 10 November 1986.

This change in perception reflected a federal Corrections change in orientation. During this time, members of the Criminal Justice System of Canada appeared willing to look at the rationale for the system. The recommendations contained in the reports of major commissions and committees like Archambault, Fauteux, and Ouimet concentrated on the overall corrections process. A growing skepticism emerged in the members of the federal Corrections system about the possibility of "rehabilitating" the offender. They recognized basic deficiencies within the Canadian legal structure and process. The Canadian Justice System, they believed, should use community alternatives in sentencing and should turn away from the adversarial process.[27]

At least three conceptual views, presented in the writings of European and North American social theorists of the day, appeared to influence the move toward community alternatives in the field of corrections:

1. the view that the offender was central to the

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[27]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "The Emerging and Changing Function of Probation Services in the Criminal Justice System," discussion paper presented to the Planning Committee, Regina, n.d., pp. 1-6. (Mimeographed.) The Archambault Report of 1938 recommended adult education for offenders. In 1957, the Fauteux Committee, unimpressed with the progress that had been made in this regard, echoed the earlier dissatisfaction with implementation of education stated in the 1946 Gibson Report. In 1969, the Canadian Committee on Corrections issued a report known as the Ouimet Report, which recommended the adoption of absolute discharge for an offender, with or without conditions, as an alternative disposition.

crime changed to the view that the situation involved the offender, the victim, and the surrounding circumstances. Intervention could deal with any or all three of these factors. The previous traditional view limited the criminal process just to the offender.

2. the perception of justice as a strict adversarial process changed to the perception of justice as a process of conflict resolution such as that practiced in labour and family law; and,

3. the idea that crime was a punishment-treatment matter changed to the idea that one should take into consideration the undoing of the harm done to the victim by such methods as restitution and compensation.[28]

These changes in perspective occurred in a period of

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[28]Ibid., p. 4. For a more thorough discussion of these changes see, also, Louis P. Carney, Corrections: Treatment and Philosophy (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1980), p. 25. Undergirding the new orientation was the growing North American acceptance of the theory of anomie, the breakdown of social control norms resulting in deviant behaviour, developed by French sociologist, Emile Durkheim. Durkheim posed the idea that social and community ties determine an individual's conformity. If a person has no community ties, no family ties, and no meaningful work, he is free to follow deviant and/or criminal behaviour. Refer, also, to Skinner, Driedger, and Grainger, p. 129. The work of American social theorists, such as Erving Goffman, Asylums (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1961) and Ivan Belknap, Human Problems of a State Mental Hospital (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), appeared to support Durkheim's theory. They stated that committal of persons to institutions enforced dependency, depersonalization, loss of self respect, loss of contact with relatives and friends, and loss of social skills. They argued that, rather than a person being rehabilitated by an institution, the result could be debilitation.

economic prosperity in Canada but would gain pragmatic support in hard times, as well.[29] Economic security gave time to think about and to generate new ways of dealing with old problems. It also gave money to implement new ideas. But the money barrel had a limit.[30] The effects of a world wide recession began to make itself felt across the nation.

After 1976, "boom time" in the province of Saskatchewan appeared to level off and decline.[31] The rising number of offenders strained the resources of the Corrections Division.[32] Corrections administrators became concerned about the number of bed spaces they had available in provincial jails. By 1978, they regarded community alternatives such as adult probation, containing innovations like adult Attendance Centres, as less costly ways of

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[29]Evelyn Eager, Saskatchewan Government: Politics and Pragmatism (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980), p. 187.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Lorne Tepperman, Crime Control: The Urge Toward Authority (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Limited, 1977), p. 234. See, also, Graham Riches, Spending Is Choosing: Restraint and Growth in Saskatchewan's Personal Social Services 1966-1977 (Regina: University of Regina, Faculty of Social Work, Social Administration Research Unit, 1979), p. 101.

[32]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, Trends and Developments in the 1970s, Regina, n.d., p. 6. Total admissions to the Saskatchewan Correctional System in 1970 were 6,294. By 1978, total admissions equalled 13,293, more than double the 1970 figure. The increase was attributed to the increase in urbanization and the increase in high-risk young adults. See, also, Skinner, Driedger, and Grainger, pp. 154-55.

dealing with offenders than the process of incarceration.[33]

In the spring of 1979, Chief Probation Officer Len Soiseth presented a budget request for The Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project to the government Treasury Board.[34] Soiseth described the attendance centre concept as a sentencing alternative "which would assist in the education of the offender through the co-ordinated involvement of the community."[35] Education programmers in the Centres would emphasize the need for offenders to adopt basic societal values such as responsible relationships, respect for law and order, and respect for one's physical body and mind. The educators would question the offenders' alcohol and drug dependency and would advocate the appropriate use of leisure time. Programmers would deal with the problems of probationers concerning human relations and sexuality and would give instruction regarding budgeting and driver safety. A program co-ordinator would use

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[33]Stickland, Regina, Saskatchewan, 15 April 1986. Stickland maintained that the budget to implement the Saskatoon and Regina Attendance Centres was passed right on schedule according to the plan laid down in the 1975 "Blue Book." Interviews with line staff, however, uncovered the view that the budget was passed hastily, with cost saving stated as more the government's motivation than any adherence to schedules and/or any altruistic concern for offenders.

[34]Personal interview with Regional Manager Terry Lang, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Saskatchewan Department of Justice, Harding House, Regina, Saskatchewan, 11 June 1985.

[35]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "The Concept of an Attendance Centre," Regina, 1979, p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

voluntary community resource people to deliver the programs and would pay them a nominal honorarium. The Attendance Centre would be a non-residential program facility so the probationer could remain in the community but attend designated programs during the day, evening, or weekends. Offenders would be screened by probation personnel. They would select probationers who were motivated to attend the Centre programs and who could remain "orderly" in class.[36]

Soiseth's picture of the Adult Attendance Centre convinced the members of the Treasury Board of the potential of the attendance centre concept. In March of 1979 they gave budget approval for the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project.[37]

The probation officers of the Saskatchewan probation service contemplated the Adult Attendance Centre Project with mixed feelings. Some probation officers who felt overburdened with clients and paperwork and who were used to such traditional methods of dealing with offenders as individual counselling viewed this innovation with skepticism. Other field staff, notably those in the Saskatoon probation service, tended to overestimate the possibilities of an Attendance Centre.[38] Regardless of the

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[36]Ibid., pp. 1-3.

[37]Lang, Regina, Saskatchewan, 11 June 1985.

[38]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Letter, Robinson to Collier, 10 November 1986.

ambiguous feelings of the front line workers, probation administrators directed that committees soon be struck to look at methods of implementing the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project.[39]

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[39]Lang, Regina, Saskatchewan, 11 June 1985.

CHAPTER IV

THE SASKATCHEWAN ADULT ATTENDANCE CENTRE PROJECT: THE REGINA CENTRE

In accordance with Corrections administration directions, a Regina Adult Attendance Centre committee was set up under the chairmanship of Larry Wilson, director of the Community Training Residence.[1] At a meeting held 26 April 1979, the committee began to develop a conception of the Adult Attendance Centre. Focusing on practical details, the committee members stated that the Centre should be run

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[1]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, Minutes of the Adult Attendance Centre Committee Meeting, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 26 April 1979. (Mimeographed.) Other committee members were Mike Dickinson, Regina probation supervisor, Chester Mihalicz, Community Training Residence representative, and Fred Schatz, probation officer representative. See, also, Graham Parker, "The Law of Probation," Osgoode Hall Law School, York University, Toronto, Ontario, 1974, pp. 37-38. (Mimeographed.) Started in 1968, Saskatchewan's Community Training Program had grown out of the former Work Training programs. By 1974, there were five training residences in operation for inmates, parolees, and probationers. C. T. R.s, as they were known, were based on a belief that correctional centres alone could not effectively rehabilitate offenders because the offenders had temporarily been removed from the source of the problem rather than being helped to resolve the problem of living satisfactorily in the community. The residential program provided a structured living experience designed to bridge the offender to the norms of the community during the latter part of the inmate's sentence or for the probationer during the term of his probation.

by a community group, should be open to intermittent offenders, and should operate out of the local Community Training Residence. The members had two objectives in mind: to provide more structure for offenders than ordinary probation officer supervision and to provide non-residential programming for offenders in the Community Training Residence.[2] The educational goal of Attendance Centre programs was to provide offenders with "useable opportunities to acquire information in areas of deficiency related to their criminal conduct."[3] Committee members looked forward to the establishment of a provincial Adult Attendance Centre committee that would provide for communication between representatives of their group and representatives of a group in Saskatoon charged with developing a Centre in that city.[4]

Despite some setbacks, specific decisions were made concerning the establishment of the Regina Adult Attendance Centre Project over the summer months of 1979. Although the

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[2]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel No. 27. It was stated that the objective of the Corrections Branch, on the other hand, was to have the project free up ten jail beds in each city as a cost saving measure. Note: To protect job security, Corrections personnel are identified by number.

[3]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Letter, Mel Robinson, regional manager, Probation Services, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon, to Dilys Collier, 18 December 1986.

[4]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, Minutes of the Adult Attendance Centre Committee Meeting, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 26 April 1979. (Mimeographed.)

Regina Committee had hoped for a permanent Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator position, the Saskatchewan Public Service Commission, the government's central hiring body, saw fit to approve only a one year temporary position. While disappointed, the members of the committee soon occupied themselves with the matter of an appropriate location for the Centre. They chose Harding House, the Regina Probation office.[5] It would provide ready access to office staff and give the project visibility to the probation officers. As well, it would allow ease of access for the Regina probation supervisor, Mike Dickinson, who was to be in charge of the project.[6]

The kind of co-ordinator needed for the Centre became the next article of business for the committee. The members of the provincial Adult Attendance Centre committee[7]

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[5]Personal interview with Terry Lang, regional manager, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 11 June 1985. Regina Probation Services is located in Harding House at the corner of Broad Street and College Avenue. A large red brick and frame construction with many rooms assembled in rambling fashion, Harding House was a former girls' residence for an Anglican School.

[6]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, Minutes of the Adult Attendance Centre Committee Meeting, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 5 June 1979. (Mimeographed.)

[7]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, Minutes of the Provincial Adult Attendance Centre Committee Meeting, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 21 June 1979. (Mimeographed.) The provincial committee was made up of Chief Probation Officer Len Soiseth; Lem Boyd, who had become the director of Community Corrections; Tom Stickland, the Saskatoon probation supervisor; Saskatoon

who met 21 June 1979 provided guidelines for the qualifications required for Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinators. They wanted persons with previous experience in a public contact role who could supervise, co-ordinate, and administer the program. The committee members believed the co-ordinators should be able to communicate well with persons of native and non-native ancestry and be able to work effectively with community resources.[8]

The Regina Adult Attendance Centre committee members listed their expectations of probationers who attended a Centre program. They expected the offender to arrive promptly and attend 100 percent of the time. The offender should participate fully, not be under the influence of drugs or alcohol, and not hinder another person's learning. The offender could not have friends on the premises during class and could not leave early. The committee members discouraged exceptions to these rules and those exceptions that were made needed the prior permission of the Adult

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Regional Manager Mel Robinson; Fred Schatz, a probation officer representative; Larry Wilson, the director of the Regina Community Training Residence; and Chester Mihalicz, a Community Training Residence representative.

[8]Ibid. At this same meeting, a proposal for running a community resource, attendance, and planning centre submitted by the John Howard Society of Saskatchewan was considered and rejected. The decision to keep the Adult Attendance Centres under the control and direction of the government rather than allowing the community to take control had already been made. In later times, probation administrators in both Regina and Saskatoon actively sought out community input from various educational resources but never at the level of decision making.

Attendance Centre co-ordinator. Any violation of the rules constituted a breach of probation, the breach to be reported to the Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator by the class instructor. The committee members thought the offender should come before a breach panel composed of the Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, the probation supervisor, and the referring agent (usually the offender's probation officer) who would determine how to handle the breach. An admissions panel would handle referral problems. The programs would be validated by keeping a log of names, checking the goals and objectives of the referring agent against the class performance of the offender, reporting back to the referring agent as to the offender's achievement, having offender evaluations, and checking the rate of recidivism among those attending the Centre. Programming would be established on a continuous intake basis.[9]

Details concerning co-ordinator, offender, and location now decided, the Regina committee members, hoping

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[9]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, Minutes of the Adult Attendance Centre Committee Meeting, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 24 September 1979. (Mimeographed.) See, also, Memorandum, Terry Lang, regional Manager, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, to Mel Robinson, regional manager, Probation Services, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon, 29 December 1986, (Mimeographed), and Letter, Robinson to Collier, 18 December 1986. The breach panel suggestion was not put into operation until about two years into the operation of the Project. In Regina, no breach panels were held during the first five years of the Project.

the Centre would open its doors by April, 1980, set about to hire their first Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator. They chose a probation officer from their own office, Sandi Reid. The committee members' candidate had spent the first seventeen years of her life living on Canadian Indian reservations where her father taught school for the federal Department of Indian Affairs. Reid had a teaching certificate and taught in Regina schools prior to entering probation work. She knew the Corrections system and related well to her clients. Looking for a change, but still a bit apprehensive about the demands of the position, Reid agreed to become the co-ordinator of the Centre for twelve months.[10]

The new co-ordinator encountered difficulties during the first year of operation of the Regina Adult Attendance Centre. Administratively, the Regina Probation Service moved through a number of changes which left the new co-ordinator much to her own devices. The original regional supervisor, Ashok Goudar, on educational leave since 1978, returned in May of 1980 after the Adult Attendance Centre was in place. Goudar's position had been temporarily filled by the Regina probation supervisor, Mike Dickinson. Corrections personnel described Goudar as "a terrific person

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[10]Personal interview with Sandi Reid, probation officer, Saskatchewan Department of Justice, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Harding House, Regina, 18 October 1984.

. . . he had the knowledge to supervise a large staff but didn't have the [practical] know-how to do it."[11] Goudar could become emotionally involved with issues and be empathetic to his staff but, at the same time, his management style dictated he should not be seen as "too soft." In implementing this philosophy, he sometimes admonished long-time co-workers and office staff who felt they knew their jobs and worked well together as a team. Staff lacked respect for his authority, did not appreciate his cultural background, and complained that his speech was hard to understand. Consequently, Ashok Goudar had a difficult time handling the Regina office.[12]

Trouble also brewed administratively from above, adding more stress to the internal tensions of the Regina Probation office. Ashok Goudar's social work background fitted philosophically with the provincial Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation orientation. He was a "people professional."[13] By the time he returned to Regina, however, a new Corrections classification system was in place. Persons previously designated as social workers were now designated as corrections workers, with a consequent decrease in pay rate within some salary ranges. Social workers with university degrees did not appreciate the

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[11]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel No. 4.

[12]Ibid., Nos. 4, 10, and 20.

[13]Ibid., No. 14.

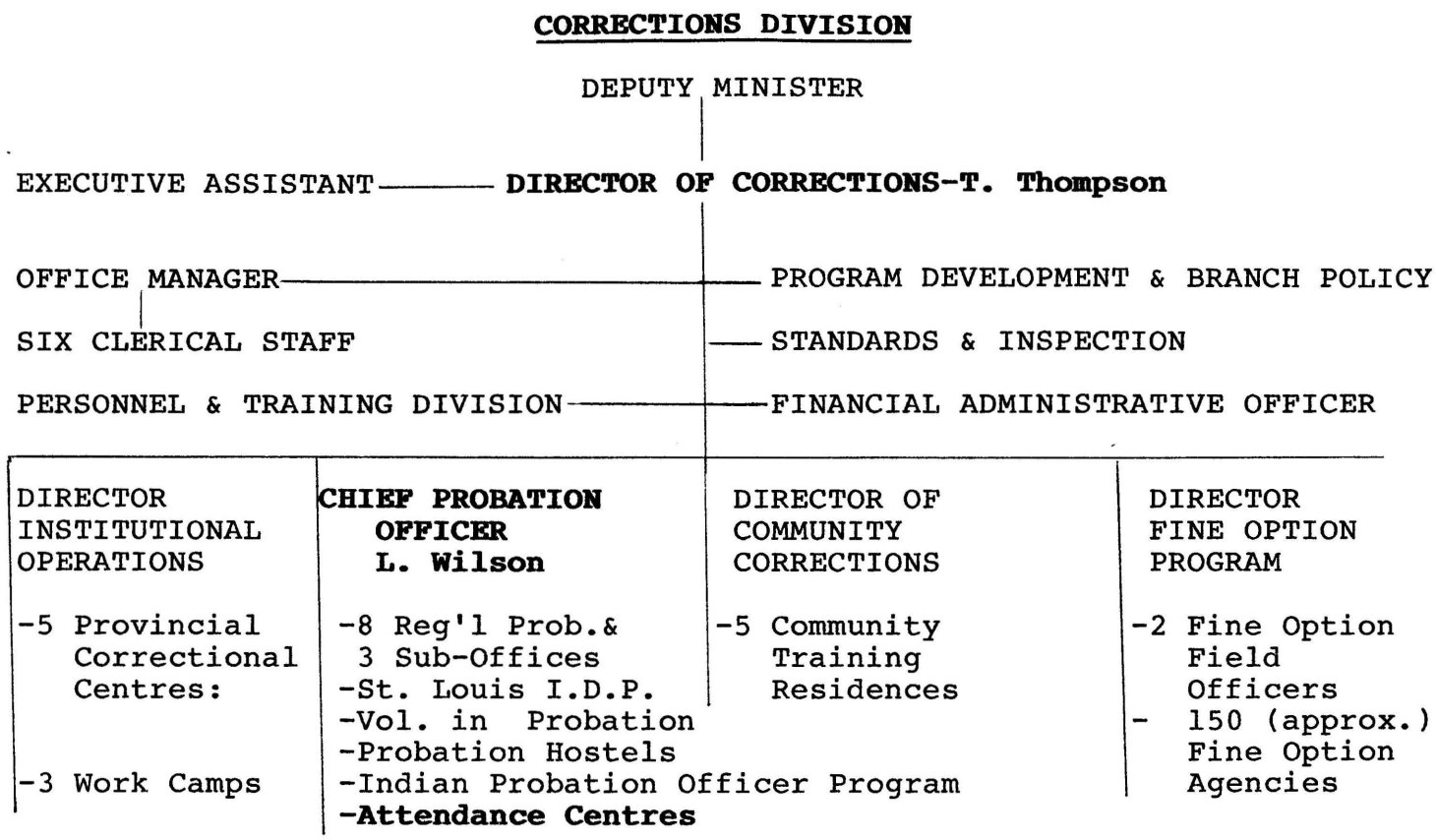

Fig. 3. Corrections Division, Saskatchewan Department of Social Services and Rehabilitation (September, 1980).[14]

[14]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Archives, Regina, Saskatchewan.

perceived decrease in status.[15] They disliked being put on the same level as a corrections worker with a grade twelve education even if that person performed his duties as well as the person with the degree.[16] Ashok Goudar, with three master's degrees,[17] was particularly unhappy. Goudar's supervisor, Larry Wilson, promoted to chief probation officer for the province, was perceived as a Corrections man. His priority was to underwrite new program initiatives in order to keep people out of expensive and overcrowded jails.[18] In November of 1982, the two men agreed to part

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[15]Telephone interview with Ashok Goudar, corrections worker, Saskatchewan Department of Justice, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina Correctional Centre, Regina, 16 May 1986. See, also, Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Letter, Robinson to Collier, 18 December 1986, and Memorandum, Lang to Robinson, 29 December 1986. No actual pay decrease happened with the implementation of the correction worker series. Some pay ranges, such as the correction worker II range were less. On the other hand, a social worker I in Social Services who became a corrections worker I, and who had a social work degree, received a marginal increase in pay.

[16]Goudar, Regina, 16 May 1986.

[17]Ibid. Goudar holds master's degrees in social welfare, applied criminology, and library science.

[18]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel No. 4, 9, 20. See, also, Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Letter, Robinson to Collier, 18 December 1986. Wilson holds a Master of Social Work degree and was employed as a probation officer in the Department of Social Services before his institutional experience. The probations personnel interviewed, however, tended to divide their colleagues into two camps: "corrections men" and "bleeding heart social workers." Despite Wilson's social work training and probation officer experience, staff members tended to place him in the first category.

company. Goudar left to work at the Regina Correctional Centre.[19]

The result of the differences at management level caused repercussions within the Regina office. This affected the day to day operation of Regina Probation Services and its Adult Attendance Centre. With Ashok Goudar's withdrawal from the Regina Probation service, the Regina office was technically without a regional manager for a period of about six months. Chief Probation Officer Larry Wilson checked in on the office two or three times a week. Staff members were awed by "the Big Boss," as Wilson came to be known, a title that made Wilson uncomfortable. Staff members worried that they would not be able to meet Wilson's high expectations of them. "When he wants something done, it's done, and done properly."[20]

Another gap in administrative continuity of Regina Probation Services resulted when Regina Probation Supervisor Mike Dickinson was promoted to regional probation supervisor, a position he held until the spring of 1983.[21] "There was a lot of dissatisfaction with Mike Dickinson. The staff felt they weren't getting the supervision they needed . . . . [He] had a lot of social work theory and

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[19]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel No. 20.

[20]Ibid., No. 4.

[21]Personal interview with Mike Dickinson, supervisor, Saskatchewan Department of Social Services, Regina, 30 May 1985.

philosophy, but to tie it in practically was a different matter."[22] In effect, Dickinson handled the day to day matters, but Larry Wilson continued to make the major administrative decisions.[23] Dickinson viewed this as interference.[24] Some staff members labelled Wilson an "institutional" person who ran community corrections in a rigid fashion and who did not allow the regional managers the autonomy they wanted. Their staff managers complained about Wilson's leadership style to Terry Thompson, the provincial director of Corrections. Wilson, chided by his superior, pushed harder to implement programs such as the Adult Attendance Centre Project which he believed would please Thompson.[25]

The administrative turmoil resulted in an unclear understanding of the Adult Attendance Centre educational goals and objectives among probation personnel. Once in place as the new co-ordinator, Sandi Reid was more or less

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[22]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel No.10.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Personal interview with Mike Dickinson, supervisor, Saskatchewan Department of Social Services, Regina, 30 May 1985.

[25] Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel Nos. 4, 8, 10, 13, and 20. See, also, Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Letter, Robinson to Collier, 18 December 1986. Robinson disagreed with the views stated by the corrections personnel interviewed. Robinson did not see Wilson as acting merely to please Terry Thompson. Instead, Robinson suggested that Wilson supported the Attendance Centre Project, an "embryo program," so it would stay alive "long enough to become an infant."

left on her own to cope as best she could. A number of different ideas about what the Centre was, what it should be doing, and how it should be doing it, were in conflict: the idea of the Community Operations Branch (represented by Larry Wilson); the position of the Adult Attendance Centre Planning Committee (chaired by Mike Dickinson); the thinking of the Centre co-ordinator, and the various views of the probation officers.[26] Some Corrections staff believed that an Adult Attendance Centre should be an alternative to incarceration. Others believed that a Centre should be an enhancement of the probation officer's role. These two differences in view were never reconciled in the minds of some Corrections personnel during the first five years of the existence of the Project.[27]

Probation officers were confused and unsure about Centre program content and referral methods. They grumbled that the Centre only provided them with additional paper work. They often did not try to sell program attendance to their clients. In addition, they worried that their clients might inadvertently break one of the rules of the Centre and be "breached." They did not want to set their clients up for failure and set themselves up for a breach meeting as

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[26]Reid, Regina, 18 October 1984.

[27]Informal conversations with staff of Regina and Saskatoon Probation Services, 1984-85.

well as for policing the punishment meted out.[28]

According to Terry Lang, the Regina-Qu'Appelle regional manager of Probation Services, no breach panels were ever held. The position of management was that the possessiveness of the probaton officers over the management of their caseloads tended to influence their thinking. They did not want their probationers placed in the hands of others, and they resisted having their territory invaded. Management, on the other hand, wanted to take a broader view. They felt that the Attendance Centre programs could provide support to the probaton officer role. The Centre could make efficient use of probation officer time by providing information and education to a number of probationers at once and by providing other options and services. Therefore, Lang felt that Probation managers tended to support the efforts of the Attendance Centre co-ordinator. However, the resistance and defensiveness of the probation officers appeared to cause them some confusion.[29]

Confusion about the role of the Regina Adult Attendance Centre extended into other branches of the corrections system. Regina judges tended not to see the Adult Attendance Centre as an alternative to incarceration.

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[28]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel Nos. 1, 5, 8, and 14.

[29]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Memorandum, Lang to Robinson, 29 December 1986. Also, personal interview with Terry Lang, regional manager, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 11 June 1985.

They viewed it, in the main, as a support to the probation officer's role.[30] Unclear about the relevance to the court of this new sentencing option, the judges hesitated to write in attendance at the Centre as part of the offender's probation order. Unless a probation officer specified attendance at the Centre for his client, the judges tended to ignore this alternative altogether.[31]

Probation officers voiced concerns about the kind of adult education programming being presented to the offenders in the Attendance Centre. Some volunteer educators from the community, brought in to supplement programming done by the Centre co-ordinator, presented programs considered to be of excellent quality. However, community resources tended to give out middle class values that were not always relevant to the offenders. For example, if a person did not have enough money to warrant a bank account, probation officer and client alike considered it irrelevant for the offender to learn how to balance his bank book. Probation officers worried that for economically disadvantaged offenders of a different cultural background Attendance Centre programs

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[30] Personal interview with Judge Linton Smith, Saskatchewan Department of Justice, Regina Provincial Law Court, Regina, 24 May 1985. Personal contact with the Attendance Centre co-ordinators tended to be lacking in the early stages of its development.

[31] Ibid.

would be even less relevant.[32]

There was discontent among the probation officers about the overall co-ordination of the Regina Adult Attendance Centre administration. Despite Sandi Reid's many strengths, the paper work and details associated with running the Centre irritated her.[33] Furthermore, the reluctance of some probation officers to refer clients to the educational programs offered by the Centre added to her frustration. Reid found it a time consuming experience to get more than three or four offenders referred to any one group. Yet, a directive from Community Operations Branch officials ordered the probation service to free up ten jail beds by referral to the Centres if the Project was to be considered a cost effective venture. The probation officers who did refer offenders did so because they had been told to free up the jail beds, not because they felt any ownership in the Project or felt the Attendance Centre programs would ultimately do their clients any good.[34]

The promotion of Attendance Centre adult education programming by the co-ordinator tended to be taken negatively by line staff. In particular, the probation officers

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[32]Reid, Regina, 18 October 1984; Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel Nos. 2 and 5. Also, participant observation, 1984-85.

[33]Reid, Regina, 18 October 1984. Reid stated her dislike of administration, preferring to work one on one with clients so she could spend personal time with them.

[34]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel Nos. 1, 2, and 15.

viewed attempts to generate larger groups as an annoyance.[35] Line staff, commenting on administrative attempts to "get the [Adult Attendance Centre] numbers up," stated that "they pushed for too many and too much too quickly."[36] Reid, on the other hand, felt continuous pressure from her superiors to increase the number of offenders attending the adult education programs offered by the Centre. Embarrassed to ask many outside resource people to prepare a program for such small groups, Reid ended up presenting most of the programs herself.[37] This resulted in the dual duty of administrative and personal contact work during the day and program activity in the evenings, an experience she found exhausting.[38]

The probation officers, knowing referrals to the Attendance Centre were expected of them, wondered what kind of offender would make "a good referral." In response to the directive to "empty the jail beds" and to ensure that those offenders they referred would not likely cause any breach problems, probation officers tended to select probationers

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[35]Ibid., Nos. 6, 13, and 15.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Reid, Regina, 18 October 1984. Reid initiated four programs that year: Drug and alcohol education, employment skills, women's concerns, and a program for young offenders aged 16-17.

[38]Ibid.

who were the "cream of the crop."[39] The Adult Attendance Centre Project became a probation project "for the sake of a program, not for the sake of the client."[40] The project was seen as "Larry Wilson's Baby." Wilson, on the other hand, needed to account for a budget, and doing his job well was now more important than ever if he wanted to please Director of Corrections Terry Thompson.[41]

Other difficulties existed. There was, for example, the initial resistance of the offender to "being educated." Staff members were especially concerned about the referral of the clients of native Canadian Indian background. Some probation officers believed that indigenous people agreed to attend the Centre to "get through the system," not because it was relevant to their culture.[42] But whatever the cultural background of the offender, past school experiences in many cases had not been positive ones. Offenders often took a dim view of being told they had to attend the Centre,

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[39]Ibid. There was no classification of high risk and low risk offenders in place at the time, making selection of offenders very subjective and time consuming.

[40]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel No. 1.

[41]Ibid. See, also, Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Letter, Robinson to Collier, 18 December 1986. Robinson disagreed with the interpretation of the corrections personnel interviewed. He argued that Wilson's urgency regarding Attendance Centre statistics and performance arose from a desire to provide a solid base of accountability.

[42]Ibid., Nos. 2 and 15.

had to participate, and had to learn something.[43]

The Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator felt other pressures. Her probation supervisors provided little positive support.[44] There was an administrative move away from the liberal humanitarian approach to offenders toward more control and concentrated forms of supervision. Reid had once gained satisfaction in measuring success by helping people sort out their problems and by supporting clients in their efforts to deal with issues. Now she was required to measure success by the numbers of people she had in class. Summing up her frustration, she said "If you cannot spend [individual] time with a person, [then] what are you doing?" Reid, exhausted by the end of the one year term, requested reinstatement as a probation officer.[45] One of her colleagues analyzed the situation this way: "Sandi couldn't handle it because she didn't like what she had to do."[46]

Richard Spelliscy became the second Regina Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator and stayed in the position half a year. Concentrating on "getting the numbers up," Spelliscy deferred the administrative end of the job until he could get viable and realistic programs running. He made

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[43]Participant observation, 1984-85.

[44]Reid, Regina, 18 October 1984, and Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel Nos. 4, 11, 14, and 15.

[45]Reid, Regina, 18 October 1984.

[46]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel No.1, and Reid, Regina, Saskatchewan, 18 October 1984.

no demands to breach offenders, took suggestions from the probation officers, and tried to be helpful.[47]

The probation officers viewed Spelliscy's methods of running the Centre with mixed feelings. Some probation officers complained that Spelliscy tried to be too helpful. In an effort to avoid infringing on the probation officers' busy schedules, Spelliscy resorted to going through the probation officers' case files in search of "suitable" referrals. This action alienated the probation officers.[48] He did, however, teach all the Centre classes himself to "keep close tabs on it,"[49] and he did report back to the probation officers about the offenders' progress. Richard Spelliscy, like Sandi Reid before him, worked both day and evening.[50]

The Regina Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator's role continued to be an unpopular one with the probation officers. Staff were unsure whether responsibility for making the Attendance Centre work was the job of the Attendance Centre co-ordinator or whether it was the responsibility of the whole probation unit. In May of 1981,

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[47]Ibid., Nos. 6 and 14.

[48]Ibid., No. 7.

[49]Personal interview with Richard Spelliscy, former Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, Saskatchewan Department of Social Services, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Harding House, Regina, 11 June 1985.

[50]Ibid.

Chief Probation Officer Larry Wilson met in conjunction with the Probation supervisors from Regina and Saskatoon to try to clarify the philosophy, goals, and objectives of the Regina and Saskatoon Centres.[51]

Still, the educational purpose and the administration of the Regina Centre continued to be unclear and awkward; staff members were frustrated. The paper work connected with making referrals to the Centre, coupled with already heavy caseloads and constant reminders from administration to "get the numbers up," added work pressure to line staff. Some probation officers, however, began to see the adult education classes offered by the Centre as a support to their role and would refer offenders. Others tended to ignore the Centre in an effort to survive on the job. There was, therefore, no consistency of referrals.[52]

What programs the probationer should attend to fulfill the conditions of the offender's probation order was an issue that caused annoyance both for the probation officer and for his client. While some probation officers worked with their probationers to assist them in the selection of a program relevant to their needs, other probation officers gave their clients no choice in the

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[51]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "Attendance Centre Update," Adult Attendance Centre, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 8 May 1981. (Mimeographed.)

[52]Spelliscy, Regina, 11 June 1985. Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel Nos. 4, 8, and 11.

matter. The offender was told to show up at whatever class his probation officer selected for him. Then again, the probationer might lack information about the program. His probation officer, unclear himself about the program content, did not or could not communicate the information to the offender. Some probationers complained that, once in class, the program was not presented in a format readily understandable to them, nor was the content relevant to their concerns. Authorities did not always hear or heed the concerns of the offenders. Evaluation of Attendance Centre programming consisted of a record of the numbers of offenders attending and a short written program evaluation by each of the offenders at the end of a series of classes.[53]

Although Richard Spelliscy stayed only a short time as co-ordinator, he expanded adult education programming at the Regina Adult Attendance Centre. Program content became more relevant to the offender and to his probation officer. Spelliscy added nine orientation to probation programs, two money management sessions, and two life skills classes to the programs started by Sandi Reid. The probation officers received the orientation to probation courses well. It saved them going over basic probation information with their clients. For perhaps the first time, the probation officers discovered that the Adult Attendance Centre could be

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[53]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel No. 14.

relevant to themselves as well as to the offenders.[54]

In November, 1981, Richard Spelliscy left the Regina Attendance Centre. He had stayed long enough to learn about the Saskatchewan Correction system. Frustrated by pressure to produce "numbers" and tired from long hours, Spelliscy resigned the co-ordinator's position to accept a job in Saskatchewan Correction's central administration office. The probation officers were relieved. There had been meeting after meeting with this co-ordinator in an effort to make the Attendance Centre Project work. They were tired of having the Centre "shoved down people's throats."[55]

Administration of the Regina Adult Attendance Centre under the direction of the third co-ordinator, Stan Bartlett, brought further expansion of adult education programming as well as stormy times to the Probation office. Bartlett set to work to analyze the main problem areas of the Regina Attendance Centre Project and identified what he believed were several major shortcomings: low class attendance; the worry over the regional breach policy; an absence of meaningful statistical data; the lack of an adequate evaluation component; an inadequate filing system; no mechanisms for Attendance Centre staff development; the inadequate utilization of volunteers; no review panel; no instruction orders from the courts; an inadequate native

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[54]Ibid.

[55]Ibid., No. 1.

women's program, and no offender certification to validate program attendance.[56]

Bartlett put forth a number of alternative solutions to the problems for the Regina and provincial Adult Attendance Centre committees to consider. He was disappointed when he failed to receive the kind of management support he believed was needed to implement the Attendance Centre he envisioned.[57] Bartlett believed management ignored serious issues. In addition, he believed that management tended to whitewash his memoranda addressed to the chief probation officer and that several of Bartlett's written concerns to management were missing from the files.[58] Nor did Bartlett view the probation officers as supportive either of himself or of the Attendance Centre. The probation officers tended to perceive Stan Bartlett as yet one more co-ordinator who would cram the Attendance Centre "down people's throats."

Sensing that there was confusion over roles,

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[56]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, Memorandum from Stan Bartlett, Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, to Ashok Goudar, regional supervisor, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 29 April 1982. (Mimeographed.)

[57]Personal interview with Stan Bartlett, former Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, Saskatchewan Department of Social Services, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Cornwall Centre, Regina, 11 June 1985.

[58]Ibid. See, also, Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Letter, Robinson to Collier, 18 December 1986 and Memorandum, Lang to Robinson, 29 December 1986. Robinson and Lang did not agree with Bartlett's interpretation.

philosophy, goals, and objectives, Bartlett called meetings with staff and administration to clarify these issues. His suggestion of a review panel to sort out and resolve areas of difficulty was opposed by the probation officers. They maintained that the Attendance Centre was more work than it was worth. Instead, they wanted Bartlett to be present at all adult education sessions for their offenders. He was to judge what benefit the program was to their clients, to record his decisions, and to provide the probation officers with a record of these decisions. The probation officer should refer clients to the co-ordinator only for orientation to probation. Bartlett should decide who should attend the Centre and who should go into what class.[59] Now willing to refer offenders, the probation officers wanted the co-ordinator to do all the rest of the work.[60]

Bartlett believed that if he could get more offenders into classes, the results would be self evident to the probation officers. He urged them to "get the numbers up." The probation officers had heard this demand before

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[59]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, Memorandum from Ashok Goudar, regional supervisor, to all line staff, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 22 June 1982. (Mimeographed.) This memorandum summarized the comments of a probation officers' meeting on improving the operation of the Adult Attendance Centre.

[60]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services. Memorandum from all line staff to Ashok Goudar, regional supervisor, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 22 June 1982. (Mimeographed.)

and were annoyed.[61] Defensive, the probation officers resisted the statistics churned out by Bartlett and complained that there was too much paper work landing on their desks and that Bartlett was "too formal." They wanted Bartlett, described by some staff members as a highly intelligent, creative person who hid his sensitivity under a reserved exterior,[62] to adopt a more "open door" policy toward themselves and their clients.[63]

Clerical staff members also complained. They grumbled that Bartlett was high handed and inconsiderate of their work load. The office workers considered themselves competent, knowledgeable staff members who had worked efficiently and effectively together as a team through difficult times of rapid administrative changeovers. They responded to Bartlett's requests by "working to rule" where the Attendance Centre was concerned.[64]

None the less, despite continuing problems and financial cutbacks,[65] the Regina Adult Attendance Centre

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[61]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel No. 1.

[62]Ibid., No. 3.

[63]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, Memorandum from Ashok Goudar, regional supervisor, to all line staff, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 22 June 1982. (Mimeographed.)

[64]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel No.3.

[65]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "Regina Corrections Attendance Centre: Biannual Review. 1st April, 1982 to 1st October, 1982," by Stan Bartlett, Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, Probation Services, Regina-

continued "to display gradual, slow growth."[66] In his Biannual Review of 1 October 1982, Bartlett reported several examples of change: the adult education programs for offenders had improved in format and content; regional management had now "bought into" the attendance centre concept; client utilization of the Centre was up by 20 percent; a Probation Officers' Handbook had been introduced; course audits and volunteer educators' kits had been produced; the Community Training Residence usage of the Centre had increased; the Attendance Centre pamphlet information centre was being better used by the clients, staff, and visitors, and a preliminary staff training session was being developed for volunteers. And all of this, Bartlett stated, was being done on a negligible budget.[67]

As well, at the management level, the Regina office became more settled. Saskatchewan Corrections

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Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, p. 3. (Mimeographed.) Bartlett reported that Attendance Centre funding had been slashed by 40 percent. See, also, Memorandum, Lang to Robinson, 29 December 1986. Lang argued that although money was pared from the Attendance Centre budget, the funds allocated it in the first place were never fully spent.

[66]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, Memorandum from Ashok Goudar, regional supervisor, to all line staff, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 11 August 1982. (Mimeographed.)

[67]Ibid., pp. 1-5. See, also, Notes from Attendance Centre Review, n.p., 4 November 1982, (Mimeographed.) which stated the budget was $1500. This document also stated that "every effort should be made to avoid paying [for educational programming], if voluntary help is available."

administrators hired Terry Lang, a former probation officer, as the Regina-Qu'Appelle regional manager to fill the opening left by Ashok Goudar's transfer to a position with the Regina Correctional Centre. Although nervous about yet another regional manager, the Regina staff found the transition a smooth one. Clerical staff and probation officers alike found that Terry Lang had excellent managerial qualities. He gave staff members room to make their own decisions. He was aware of what was going on in the office and had an innate sense of when to give positive comments to staff. On the other hand, if discipline was needed, it was given, but in a manner which assisted the person to grow.[68] Lang's precise direction and clearly outlined expectations enhanced positive lines of communication within the office. He was approachable; he listened; he was open to discussion, and he treated the staff members as professional persons. Relieved that Lang was not always on their backs and that they were credited for being competent workers as well as "just for being," the staff members became less strained.[69]

All in all, a better fit of philosophical outlook, personality characteristics, and management style among probation administrators began to ease previous pressures

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[68]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel Nos. 4 and 11. Informal conversations with Regina Corrections staff and participant observation, 1985.

[69]Ibid.

surrounding the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centres. The Regina Attendance Centre co-ordinator found that Terry Lang valued the attendance centre concept. Furthermore, Lang, a former probation officer with Saskatoon Probation Services, had developed a positive relationship with Saskatoon Regional Manager Mel Robinson, who supervised the Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre.[70]

Somewhat more at ease under this new management, Stan Bartlett renewed his efforts to improve the operation of the Regina Attendance Centre. He overhauled the general administration of the Centre, instituted master referral lists and better follow up procedures, and streamlined the filing methods. Corrections administrators became more confident of the survival of a viable Centre and requested a permanent Attendance Centre co-ordinator position with a budget of $6,263 in the 1982-83 fiscal year.[71] With his

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[70]See inter-office memoranda between Terry Lang and Mel Robinson dated 22 December 1983 and 4 January 1984. These memoranda showed the two managers to be more philosophically in tune with each other than either of them was with Director of Community Operations Larry Wilson.

[71]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "Work Program for Fiscal Year 1982-83: Regina Corrections Attendance Centre," Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 1982, pp.1-5. (Mimeographed.) See, also, "Notes from Attendance Centre Biannual Review," 19 May 1983. (Mimeographed.) The Notes stated that the co-ordinator's position had been made permanent and a budget of $5000 had been approved for the Centre.

permanent position approved, though with a reduced budget,[72] Bartlett began to initiate new adult education programming. Such classes as assertiveness training and defensive driving were added to those already in place at the Regina Centre.[73]

In addition to these program revisions and additions, this third Regina Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator began to consider the offenders' own needs as well as the offender needs perceived by the probation officers. The content of the program kits began to show some experiential learning opportunities for the program participants. Bartlett also responded to the probation officers' requests for more information by providing them with client evaluations of the courses and the Attendance Centre co-ordinator's comments.[74]

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[72]Skinner, Driedger, and Grainger, pp.13-14 and 118-20. During the 1960s and 1970s the provincial orientation toward corrections emphasized rehabilitation, prevention, and community involvement. Probation services was placed under the Department of Social Services. In 1982, the Progressive Conservative political party ousted the incumbent New Democratic Party to form the new Saskatchewan provincial government. The members of the new government transferred the Corrections Division of the Department of Social Services to the Department of Justice as of 1 May 1983, suggesting that a shift in corrections orientation had taken place. Also, the budget for the Regina Adult Attendance Centre was reduced to $5000.

[73]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Memorandum from Stan Bartlett, Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, to Terry Lang, regional manager, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, May Monthly Report, 6 June 1983. (Mimeographed.)

[74]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "Regina Corrections Attendance Centre Annual Report: April 1982 to March 30, 1983," by Stan Bartlett, Adult Attendance Centre

Bartlett demanded and got basic educational resources, improved relationships with other branches of the Corrections system, and increased community involvement in the educational process of the Centre.[75] Such basic necessities as a chalkboard and a clock were approved and purchased. Bartlett made personal contact with federal parole and Community Training Residence staff to acquaint them with the benefits of Attendance Centre programming. Court judges responded by including more Attendance Centre instructions in the probation orders. Bartlett began a group reporting system for low-risk, low involvement offenders with the help of two probation officer teams.[76] He revamped and clarified the volunteer program and added a volunteer co-ordinator, Loralee Manning, a School of Human Justice student.[77]

Offender attendance at Centre classes improved.[78]

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co-ordinator, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina. (Mimeographed.)

[75]Ibid.

[76]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, "Group Reporting Program Proposal," Adult Attendance Centre, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 13 June 1983. (Mimeographed.)

[77]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "Volunteer Program," Adult Attendance Centre, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, January, 1983. (Mimeographed.)

[78]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, "Regina Corrections Attendance Centre Annual Evaluation 1983-84," by Stan Bartlett, Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina.

Probation officers became more co-operative about making referrals although referrals of indigenous people remained low.[79] Adult education programs offered by the Centre gained more credibility with the probation officers as an enhancement to probation.[80] Management saw viable programs for offenders running on limited funding and drawing on volunteer involvement from twenty-five community agencies.[81]

(Mimeographed.) A 32 percent decrease in caseloads from the previous year relieved some of the pressure on the probation officers and enabled them to give more consideration to cooperation with the Centre.

[79]Ibid. See, also, the "Regina Attendance Centre Annual Report," by Stan Bartlett, Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, May, 1983. (Mimeographed.) Bartlett stated that three environmental factors were at play: during 1983 there had been a 40 percent turnover in line staff, the addition of a new regional manager, and a tenacious Centre co-ordinator. As well, some staff became involved as educators at the Centre.

[80]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "Regina Corrections Attendance Centre: Annual Report April 1982 to March 30, 1983," Adult Attendance Centre, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, pp. 1-2. (Mimeographed.) The report stated that the probation officer caseload was reduced or assisted by various co-ordinator activities and that the Attendance Centre was more and more seen as a viable corrections resource. As well, the report stated that the staff now looked upon the Attendance Centre more positively than in the past. Refer, also, to the July, 1983, "Regina Adult Attendance Centre Monthly Report," by Stan Bartlett, Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, to Terry Lang, regional manager. In this report Bartlett stated that "staff [was] gradually becoming involved [with program delivery]."

[81]Ibid. Bartlett stated that only $460 was spent on paid resources. See, also, Graham Riches, "Spending Is Choosing: Restraint and Growth in Saskatchewan's Personal Social Services, 1966-1977," 2 vols. Social Administration Research Unit, Faculty of Social Work, University of Regina,

Now providing almost 200 client service hours of programming per month--equated as equal to the services that could be provided by one probation officer--the Regina Attendance Centre began to demonstrate to government the Project's potential as a cost effective alternative to incarceration.[82]

Despite these positive trends, differences of opinion among Corrections officials about how the Centres should be used became evident. In a memorandum from Mel Robinson, regional manager of Saskatoon Probation Services,

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Regina, Saskatchewan, vol. 1, 1979, pp. 101-02. World economic recession made itself felt in Saskatchewan, beginning in the mid-1970s, resulting in reduced funding for government services. Governments urged the private volunteer sector to take on additional social service responsibilities.

[82]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "Regina Corrections Attendance Centre: Annual Report April 1982 to March 30, 1983," Adult Attendance Centre, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, pp.1-5. (Mimeographed.) The total client service hours were 1827, not including 100 hours of attendance by the spouses of offenders or the co-ordinator's administration time. Bartlett stated that the hours worked by one probation officer were 2008. However, the Regina Centre did not achieve the full 200 hours of programming per month which appeared to reflect a lack of confidnce in the program. Probation information sessions involved 169 probationers; referrals from parole and the Community Training Residence numbered thirty-one. As well, thirty-four other programs involved 300 clients although the count for these may reflect one client present at more than one course. See, also, telephone interview with Mel Robinson, regional manager, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon, 17 April 1984. According to Robinson, who quoted 1983-84 figures, the cost of keeping one client in provincial jail averaged about $80 a day, as opposed to approximately $7 a day to keep one client on probation. An additional $1.68 a day covered the cost of keeping that same client under supervision at Attendance Centre programs.

to Terry Lang dated 22 December 1983, Robinson lamented that the orientation of Saskatchewan Corrections appeared to be moving away from assisting offenders to emphasizing control and threat of sanction.[83] Robinson felt himself to be "philosophically out of step with . . . Fogal's[sic] Justice Model."[84] A further memorandum from Robinson to Lang, dated 4 January 1984, stated that both managers seemed to be in agreement that the Adult Attendance Centre was for offender exposure to educational, informational programming. But Director of Community Operations Larry Wilson, Robinson stated, seemed to be saying that he wanted the Centre used to order some probationers to "sit alone in the Attendance Centre merely to keep them from misbehaving in the street." Robinson did not believe, however, that Wilson adhered to the justice model presented by Fogel. The regional managers appeared united in their mutual belief that they did not

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[83]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Memorandum from Terry Lang, regional manager, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, to Mel Robinson, regional manager, Probation Services, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon, 22 December 1983. In an earlier memorandum to Robinson dated 18 August 1983, Lang stated that the movement towards surveillance and control was a result of an economic recession where accountability of public funds had become more important. Lang stated that it was easier to show empirical data to demonstrate how well a person was controlled than to demonstrate how effectively a person's needs were being met.

[84] Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Memorandum from Mel Robinson, regional manager, Probation Services, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon, to Terry Lang, regional manager, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 15 August 1983. (Mimeographed.)

want Attendance Centres used as "mini-prisons" and stood together in opposition to the position taken by Wilson.[85]

Together, these three men struggled to clarify the goals of the Centres and to present them in language that non-corrections oriented budget analysts could understand. According to Robinson, the survival of the two Centres in times of political change and economic restraint was a "tribute to the insight and determination" of Director of Community Operations Larry Wilson as well as Corrections Director Terry Thompson who equally supported the program.[86]

With these management concerns rumbling in the background, Stan Bartlett continued to initiate additional programming in the new year. He suggested a program dealing with family violence and a "You and the Law" course to acquaint offenders with their rights and responsibilities.[87] He wanted more daytime, Friday night, and weekend programming, as well as a study hall for those offenders

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[85]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Memorandum from Mel Robinson, regional manager, Probation Services, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon, to Terry Lang, regional manager, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 4 January 1984. (Mimeographed.) See, also, Letter, Robinson to Collier, 18 December 1986. Robinson stated that Fogel's justice model, while a powerful influence in North American corrections during this time and thus could not be ignored, was not a model espoused either by the managers or by Wilson.

[86]Ibid.

[87]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, "Monthly Report," Adult Attendance Centre, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, April, 1984.

upgrading their schooling.[88]

The co-ordinator encountered other difficulties and setbacks. Funding to cover the new programming was not forthcoming. Frustrated with trying to run the Attendance Centre on limited financial resources, Bartlett complained that "they wanted me to do everything, but gave me no money to do it."[89] Over the spring and summer, personality clashes between the co-ordinator and line staff increased. Some probation officers grumbled that Stan Bartlett was "dry, austere, [and] fact-oriented" and worried that he was becoming unduly "confronting" with clients.[90]

Other rifts became evident. Differences between Centre Co-ordinator Stan Bartlett and Director of Community Operations Larry Wilson became more pronounced. Bartlett believed that he had not been given adequate monetary support for the Centre. He also felt that his considerable efforts had not been adequately acknowledged. Wilson, on

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[88]Bartlett, Regina, 11 June 1984. Bartlett wanted a place where offenders enrolled in school courses could be supervised and could receive help with their school work.

[89]Ibid. See, also, Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Memorandum, Lang to Robinson, 29 December 1986. Lang did not agree with Bartlett's interpretation.

[90]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel Nos. 3 and 5. Not without some supporters, Bartlett was also viewed as a bright, creative person, an excellent administrator with high expectations, and a "doer" who did not quit easily. See, also, Bartlett, Regina, 11 June 1984. Bartlett noted that his problems with other staff increased over the last months.

the other hand, questioned the performance of the Attendance Centre under Bartlett's leadership. A memo from Wilson to Terry Lang dated 18 June 1984 stated that "the Centre is certainly not on the 'upswing,' but rather appears to be no more than minimally struggling along . . . ." A report by Lang defending the adequate performance of the Centre[91] did not seem to change Wilson's mind. In August, Bartlett requested a temporary leave of absence for paternity reasons, indicating that he had no intention of taking up his Attendance Centre position upon his return. Wilson recommended the Regina regional manager start looking for a replacement for Bartlett. Bartlett left Regina Probation Services in September of 1984. His leave was later changed to an indefinite leave of absence.[92]

On September 17, Tom Jamison, a probation officer who had sometimes filled in for Bartlett, became the acting Regina Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator. Jamison had joined the Regina office as a probation officer in April of 1980. He stated that he had not been a "star supporter" of the Attendance Centre as a probation officer. Other concerns such as pre-sentence reports, court deadlines, and

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[91]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, "Report on the Attendance Centre," by Terry Lang, regional manager, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, to Larry Wilson, director of Community Operations, Regina, 26 July 1984. (Mimeographed.)

[92]Ibid. See, also, Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Memorandum, Lang to Robinson, 29 December 1986.

keeping files up to date seemed to crowd out referrals. As the new Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, however, he described himself as not being a "new kid in town."[93]

Since there was some feeling that the Project might be dropped the following spring, Tom Jamison decided to maintain the status quo in the Attendance Centre. In orienting himself to the job, he realized the "numbers" were not all that bad. The volunteer program was just starting to work. The programs were fairly well received. Aside from implementing the course on "You and the Law" suggested earlier by Bartlett, Jamison made few initial changes.[94]

Jamison's background and style worked well for the Regina Attendance Centre. The probation officers liked his positive, open, friendly manner. Having worked with Jamison, they had grown to trust him. They believed this co-ordinator understood the kind of concerns they had. Jamison was co-operative and helpful to probation line staff, assisting one probation officer by writing a pre-sentence report, by taking his turn at routine court coverage, and by substituting for the officer in charge of

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[93]Personal interview with Tom Jamison, Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, Saskatchewan Department of Justice, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Harding House, Regina, 12 June 1985.

[94]Ibid. See, also, Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, "Regina Attendance Centre Monthly Report for September-October, 1984," by Tom Jamison, Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, to Terry Lang, regional manager, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 7 November 1984. (Mimeographed.)

the Impaired Driver Training Program.[95]

Jamison knew how to communicate with the probation officers. Instead of memos, he informally met with probation staff to keep them up to date. Jamison made a list of upcoming programs for the fall, including brief outlines of program content for each class, for each probation officer. Probation officers could phone in referrals or write them into the program referral list. The probation officers dealt with offender absenteeism themselves.[96]

Knowing how to organize his time and how to budget his energy left Jamison free to enjoy his job. He used community volunteers for some of the classes, but taught the others himself. Tom Jamison's easy going flexibility and "happy at his work" attitude extended to the classroom. He provided clear expectations and concrete explanations for the offenders and used language the offenders understood. Participants responded positively to Jamison's friendly, confident, respectful approach.[97] In Jamison's first annual report, he indicated that more referred offenders now attended regularly. He believed this to be a sign that the Centre was providing meaningful supervision over and above

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[95]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel Nos. 1, and 5-7.

[96]Ibid.

[97]Participant observation, June, 1985.

regular probation supervision.[98]

From its inception in 1979 until the end of 1984, the Regina Adult Attendance Centre survived many administrative changes, setbacks, and difficulties. Not all probation officers became firm supporters of the adult education programming offered by the Centre. Probation officers in the rural areas, for instance, tended to view the programming as irrelevant to the rural condition. Moreover, geographical distance made it difficult for their clients to attend.[99] Urban probation officers, on the other hand, seemed to believe that the Centre could offer some positive supports to their probation officer role. The Centre could save them time in orienting new offenders to the probation system and could provide information to clients in a number of specific areas such as drug and alcohol abuse and consumer and human rights. For a certain number of hours of each week, the probation officer could be relatively certain where to find his probationer. The officers had a difficult time seeing the Attendance Centre

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[98]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, "Annual Evaluation 1984-85," Adult Attendance Centre, Probation Services, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region, Regina, 15 April 1985. In 1980-81, the Attendance Centre had provided 998 client hours of adult education for all programs. In 1981-82, 1914 client hours were logged. In 1982-83, with a decline in total caseload numbers of about thirty percent, the number of client hours totaled 1847.

[99]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Memorandum, Lang to Robinson, 29 December 1986. Lang stated that the Centres were never designed to serve a rural population in the first place. The target population was always the city offender.

as an alternative to incarceration for their clients although the Adult Attendance Centre Project had been sold to the provincial Treasury Board as an inexpensive means of providing supervision while keeping offenders out of already overcrowded jails.[100] Differing opinions about what the Attendance Centre was and should do existed among probation staff. Little was done to find out whether the adult education programming offered by the Centre was effective adult education or whether the programs made any difference in the lives of the offenders. None the less, by the end of 1984, the Regina Adult Attendance Centre had achieved a politically secure position within the Saskatchewan Corrections system.

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[100] Informal conversations with Regina probation officers, 1984-85.

CHAPTER V

THE SASKATCHEWAN ADULT ATTENDANCE CENTRE PROJECT: THE SASKATOON CENTRE

In April of 1979 the Saskatoon Centre began under the leadership of Mel Robinson, regional manager of Saskatoon Probation Services.[1] In June, a provincial Adult Attendance Centre committee met to co-ordinate the Project Centres in Regina and Saskatoon.[2] The committee members created

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[1]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, Memorandum from Larry Wilson, chief probation officer, to Terry Thompson, director of Corrections, Regina, 28 October 1980. (Mimeographed.) See, also, Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "Community Corrections Proposal," Appendix D, 1978-79 "B" Budget. (Mimeographed.) The budget had requested on Attendance Centre to be located in each of three areas: North Battleford, Prince Albert, and Regina. The estimated average cost for each Centre was $22,703 for five months of operation. The proposal suggested that Centres might also be opened in 1979-80 in the Yorkton-Kamsack area, as well as in the areas of Melfort and Moose Jaw. The projected cost of a Centre opening in 1979-80 was $40,866 for nine months of operation. The government Treasury Board responded by approving two Centres, one in Saskatoon and one in Regina, for a period of eighteen months each.

[2]Personal interview with Margaret MacDonald, family service supervisor, Children's Aid Society of Western Manitoba, Brandon, Manitoba, 5 December 1984. MacDonald stated that no formal research was done concerning the suitability of an Attendance Centre to Saskatchewan needs but that some professional literature from other countries was reviewed. An article on the Australian system, published in a Canadian corrections journal, Federal Probation, caught the attention of Saskatoon probation

guidelines outlining the qualities and expertise wanted in Centre co-ordinators. In November, the members of the Saskatoon Centre committee began to hold interviews to select their first Centre co-ordinator. They believed Margaret MacDonald, a Master of Sociology graduate from the University of Alberta, evidenced the personal and academic attributes for the position. With their Centre co-ordinator hired, the members of the Saskatoon committee hoped the Attendance Centre would be ready to open by April of 1980. A Saskatchewan Government Employees Union strike, however, prevented the co-ordinator from beginning her work until after the new year, delaying the opening of the Centre until June of 1980.[3]

This delay caused a change in the time schedule mapped out by the Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre committee, but it offered some unforeseen benefits to MacDonald. It gave her time to consult with staff and to consider several alternatives for the location of the Centre. A location near Probation services on the second floor of the Sturdy Stone Building in downtown Saskatoon was chosen.[4]

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administrators who believed this model might be transferable to the Saskatoon corrections scene.

[3]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, Memorandum from Larry Wilson, chief probation officer, to Terry Thompson, director of Corrections, Regina, 28 October 1980. (Mimeographed.)

[4]MacDonald, Brandon, Manitoba, 5 December 1984. The Centre consisted of three rooms located in the southwest corner of the second floor of the Sturdy Stone Building.

MacDonald also had time to consider the mandate of the Centre, to formulate goals, and to clarify objectives. The provincial Adult Attendance Centre Project committee outlined the mandate for the implementation of the Centres. They should provide " . . . specific informational-educational programs to adult offenders in the community through . . . co-ordinated . . . community involvement . . ." [and should be a] place where offenders could attend during the day, evening, or weekend to participate in various activities designed to help them become more responsible citizens."[5] MacDonald and the members of the Saskatoon committee strove to clarify what they thought the Saskatoon Centre should provide for adult probationers. They decided the Centre should attempt to fulfill four goals: to serve as an alternative to incarceration; to provide more structured supervision than ordinary probation; to provide for the needs of offenders by developing and offering special educational-informational programs (especially for indigenous and female offenders), and to

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The northeast corner of the floor housed Probation Services. In 1984, Probation Services moved to offices adjacent to the Attendance Centre. Located at the corner of 22nd Street and 3rd Avenue North, Saskatoon, the Sturdy Stone Building, a modern architectural structure, housed various governmental departments and a shopping mall.

[5]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, Memorandum from Larry Wilson, chief probation officer, to Terry Thompson, director of Corrections, Regina, 10 September 1979. (Mimeographed.)

utilize, not duplicate, community agency resources.[6]

MacDonald adopted an "Open Door" policy to get an understanding of probation officer and offender needs. When offenders or probation officers dropped by to discuss issues or chat, Macdonald was "always available with the coffee pot on."[7] She also spent "a lot of time in the probation officers' offices talking to them."[8] MacDonald believed it was important for people to get to know one another so that issues could be cleared up before they became problems. Building mutual trust was an ongoing project with Margaret MacDonald.[9]

As she became more clear about the needs of both offenders and probation officers, MacDonald began to consider specific education courses to meet these needs. By June of 1980, she had several courses outlined and was ready to implement them.[10] MacDonald was pragmatic, creative, and

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[6]Therese P. Klotz, "The Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre: A History," paper written for the Faculty of Social Work, History of Social Work Class No. 468, University of Regina, December, 1984, p. 6.

[7]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel No. 23.

[8]Telephone interview with Mel Robinson, regional manager, Saskatchewan Department of Justice, Probation Services, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon, 21 May 1986.

[9]MacDonald, Brandon, Manitoba, 5 December 1984.

[10]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "Saskatoon Attendance Centre, Program Development to Date, 24 March 1980," by Margaret MacDonald, Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon. (Mimeographed.) Programs outlined included a series on alcohol information, an employment skills course, and a

persuasive.[11] She realized she could not do all the work herself. McDonald took time to learn the expertise of the individual probation officers and asked several of the line staff to help deliver programs to the offenders. These probation officers, involved from the beginning with the creation and practical delivery of courses, were aware of the content of offender education. They made their own judgments of its impact on the offenders. They realized it was time effective to provide information to several clients at once rather than repeating the same information several times over one on one.[12]

One of the goals for the Saskatoon Centre was to co-ordinate the use of community resources rather than duplicate them in the provision of adult education programs to the offenders. MacDonald visited community agencies to recruit volunteer educators to help provide relevant programming to the offenders.[13] She contacted other branches of the corrections system to acquaint them with the

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course in human relations which included classes in human social functioning, assertiveness training, and money management. Other programs to be added during the next nine months were: women's concerns, recreation and leisure time, native studies, and a probation information series. Future programs planned were driver awareness and a program on family life.

[11]Personal knowledge of Margaret MacDonald, a co-worker with the author at the Children's Aid Society of Western Manitoba, Brandon, Manitoba, 1980-82.

[12]MacDonald, Brandon, Manitoba, 5 December 1984.

[13]Ibid.

attendance centre concept and to encourage them to provide legal sanction for the programs.[14] MacDonald talked with the judges who had the power to hand down a directive to the offender to attend the Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre as part of the offender's probation order. The result of this personal contact was that the judges became aware of this sentencing option from the earliest days of the Centre. They included attendance at the Centre in an offender's probation order when it was recommended by the offender's probation officer. As well, MacDonald visited the staff members of the Community Training Residence and encouraged them to make use of the education facilities of the Centre by making referrals. MacDonald's personal contacts in the community did much to establish the Centre as a resource to the court and to the offender.[15]

The Saskatoon probation officers viewed the Centre as a welcome support to the probation service.[16] During the early implementation of the program, however, a cumbersome, time consuming referral process caused them to lose

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[14]Ibid.

[15]Robinson, Saskatoon, 17 September 1984. See, also, Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel Nos. 23, 24, and 27.

[16]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Letter, Mel Robinson, regional manager, Probation Services, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon, to Dilys Collier, 10 November 1986. Robinson stated that "During the planning stages probation officers in Saskatoon were over-enthusiastic. They over-estimated . . . utilization by a wide margin."

enthusiasm.[17] Several line staff hesitated to recommend client use of the Attendance Centre to the judiciary in pre-sentence reports on offenders. Offender absenteeism became a problem which prompted MacDonald and Robinson to invoke the strategy of using review panels to resolve the issue. Probation officers worried about their clients doing something to break Attendance Centre rules which would bring them before the panel, a procedure that took probation officer time. Some probation officers resisted changing already completed plans to include Attendance Centre programming.[18] Other probation officers found it difficult to give up traditional ways of dealing with offenders; they did not want to hand over their client to an unknown entity. The probation officers found it easy, however, to voice their irritation about added and unwelcome responsibilities to MacDonald.[19]

The Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre supervisor, Mel Robinson,[20] gave strong support to MacDonald's efforts to create a viable and meaningful Centre.[21] Robinson recognized MacDonald as a self starter, encouraged her, and

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[17]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel Nos. 23, 24, and 27.

[18]Ibid.

[19]MacDonald, Brandon, Manitoba, 5 December 1984.

[20]Mel Robinson was also the regional manager of Saskatoon Probation Services.

[21]MacDonald, Brandon, Manitoba, 5 December 1984.

"turned [her] loose" to put her ideas into action.[22] MacDonald appreciated Robinson's faith in her abilities and his staunch support of the attendance centre concept.[23] Robinson believed in the philosophy that offenders should be helped to help themselves. An offender should have the opportunity to receive enough information to enable him to make a reasoned decision about his life.[24]

Mel Robinson did much to keep the budding Centre alive when Corrections superiors might have been tempted to cut it as not cost effective enough.[25] He provided a strong administrative structure. Robinson discussed ideas among staff before making final decisions. His collaborative style provided on opportunity for staff to feel some control over their own destiny.[26] Staff members considered Robinson a philosophical person who thought things through. He had high standards for himself and for his staff. Staff described Robinson as "a real leader, just an incredible person." Considered kind, honest, ethical, and pro-active by his staff members, Robinson also had, they said, the

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[22]Robinson, Saskatoon, 21 May 1986. Robinson, in describing how he managed staff, stated that "all you need to do is turn them loose. You don't need to rev them up or prop them up. Then [I] just stay out of their way as much as . . . [I] can."

[23]MacDonald, Brandon, Manitoba, 5 December 1984.

[24]Robinson, Saskatoon, 17 September 1984.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid.

"best disposition in the world . . . . In a demanding, frustrating job . . . he is always cheerful."[27] The high quality of work produced by his administrative staff reflected Robinson's standards.[28] Robinson stated that the key to getting good work from his staff was to "hire the right people [in the first place] . . . competent, enthusiastic [people that] give of themselves, [and] believe in what they are doing."[29]

Some staff, however, viewed Robinson as a "company man" who promoted official Corrections policy,[30] following the rules too closely and too rigidly for their tastes.[31] The line of authority, they said, ran from Robinson to each worker, so that the workers rarely needed to rely on each other as a team.[32] They believed a "them and us" mentality existed among the staff, with clerical workers tending to stay to themselves, separate from the probation officers.[33]

Others countered these views. If Robinson was

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[27]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel Nos. 21, 24 and 26-28.

[28]Ibid., Nos. 21, 23-28. Probation staff interviewed seemed to agree that the clerical workers turned out "top notch work in short order, under conditions of incredible stress."

[29]Robinson, Saskatoon, 17 September 1984.

[30]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel Nos. 23 and 25.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid., No. 22.

[33]Ibid., No. 28.

sometimes unpopular among staff, they said, it was because he focused on the details--a characteristic that could be viewed either as a strength or a weakness.[34] If he was sometimes stern, they did not view Robinson as harsh or abrasive, but rather as being very clear about his expectations and tenacious in his follow-up to see that his staff fulfilled these expectations.[35]

Robinson's unfailing support of the attendance centre concept and of the Centre co-ordinator made the initial implementation of the Saskatoon Centre more of a team effort than an individual effort. He lightened the load that MacDonald carried.[36] Consequently, she could concentrate on implementing adult education programming.[37] By the end of the first nine months of operation, MacDonald had co-ordinated twenty-eight educational programs serving 183 clients, for a total of 1,346 hours of supervision. Thirty of these clients were considered "high risk clients" for recidivism, suggesting that the Attendance Centre might have a role to play in helping these persons redirect their lives into more socially acceptable living patterns. Indigenous persons, a group that comprised about 15 percent of the probation cases of the Saskatoon region, made up 23 percent

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[34]Ibid., No. 24.

[35]Ibid.

[36]MacDonald, Brandon, Manitoba, 5 December 1984.

[37]Ibid.

of the Centre clients. Seventy-five of the total 183 clients were female.[38]

Many of the originally stated goals for the Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre were well on the road to being met, although class absenteeism presented a serious and ongoing problem.[39] The offenders and the probation officers received the programs fairly well; community agency resources provided volunteer education at the Centre, and offenders received supervision over and above regular probation officer supervision while they attended the Centre. Evaluation of the original goal--to provide an alternative to incarceration--remained difficult, however. No quantitative or qualitative data existed in the Centre or in the courts during 1980-81 to prove whether or not the judges would have incarcerated these same offenders had the Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre not been an option in probation service.[40]

In February of 1981, Margaret MacDonald left the Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre to accompany her husband

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[38]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "Statistical Outline, Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre, 23 June 1980-31 March 1981," Adult Attendance Centre, Probation Services, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon. (Mimeographed.) Professional resource people from the community contributed 196 hours of time, probation staff contributed forty-seven hours of time, and volunteers in probation contributed ninety-four hours of time to the Centre.

[39]Ibid. See, also, MacDonald, Brandon, Manitoba, 5 December 1984.

[40]Ibid.

to Brandon, Manitoba, where he had accepted a Corrections position.[41] The Centre continued for two months under the direction of Eden Palmer, one of the probation officers. It was during this time that the Centre supervisor, Mel Robinson, completed an evaluation in terms of numbers of clients and numbers of programs.[42] There were several shortcomings to the evaluation. Whether any of the programs met the educational needs of the clients could not be determined. No evaluation component for judging this kind of success had been built into the program at the beginning. No data from the Saskatoon judiciary existed to demonstrate that judges used offender attendance at the Centre as an alternative to incarceration. No one knew for sure what a judge had in mind when he made an instructional order for the offender.[43]

In May of 1981, the Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre committee members hired Bernadine Rudichuk to fill the position left vacant by MacDonald. Rudichuk stayed for two and a half years. She came from "outside the system;" Rudichuk had never worked in Corrections.[44] According to

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[41]McDonald, Brandon, Manitoba, 5 December 1984.

[42]Klotz, "History," p. 11.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Telephone interview with Bernadine Rudichuk, former Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, Probation Services, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon, 23 May 1986. Having a Bachelor of Arts with a major in psychology, Mrs. Rudichuk had worked with Saskatchewan Home Care, setting up Home Care Boards

one co-worker, "Bernadine had no idea what Corrections was, or the type of clients we're dealing with."[45] Under Rudichuk's leadership the Attendance Centre ceased to be a type of homey "drop-in centre" for offenders.[46] Her strengths lay in a different area--formalizing the administration of the Centre and extending the circle of community resources.[47]

A "very fast-moving, organized, energetic woman who worked in high gear all the time,"[48] Rudichuk did not spend much time in the offices of the probation officers. Nor did she spend much time considering their needs or concerns. This co-ordinator brought expertise of another kind. Her past work experience gave her extensive knowledge of community resource people. Under Rudichuk's leadership a vast increase occurred in the number of volunteer community educators who came into the Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre to present programs to the offenders.[49]

Rudichuk enjoyed several advantages over a beginning co-ordinator by joining the Saskatoon Centre after it had

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throughout the province.

[45]Saskatchewan Corrections Personnel No. 23.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Telephone interview with Mel Robinson, regional manager, Probation Services, Department of Justice, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon, 21 May 1986.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid.

been in operation for some time. The focus of the local Centre was in place. In addition, the provincial Adult Attendance Centre Project committee had worked on a more comprehensive outline of goals and objectives which Chief Probation Officer Larry Wilson forwarded to both Centres in June of 1981.[50] Prepared jointly by Corrections administrators that included Wilson, Saskatoon Regional Supervisor Mel Robinson, and Regina Regional Supervisor Ashok Goudar, the outline emphasized Corrections goals and objectives. They spoke of "structuring offender involvement in programs designed to meet specific needs" [i.e., offender needs identified by the probation officers], "structuring offender involvement in community based programs," and providing "an avenue for direct community involvement in community based corrections programs."[51] Wilson, Robinson, and Goudar thought that programming in the areas of employment skills, productive use of leisure time and recreation, alcohol and drug abuse, money management, human relations, and women's concerns would benefit offenders. Volunteer educators would provide tutoring for those clients who were completing school subjects.[52]

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[50]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, Memorandum from Larry Wilson, chief probation officer, to probation supervisors, Regina-Qu'Appelle Region and Saskatoon Region, Regina and Saskatoon, 22 June 1981.

[51]Ibid., p. 8.

[52]Ibid.

Rudichuk accepted the existing base of programming and added some new initiatives. For example, in the 1982-83 annual report, she stated that a seven month pilot project had begun in January of 1983 to provide group supervision to a select group of offenders with the idea of extending it to the whole probation unit if it proved successful.[53] Rudichuk implemented courses that MacDonald had suggested for future development: assertiveness training, human social functioning, and driver awareness. As well, Rudichuk instituted probation information courses and a class containing content determined by the offenders in the group.[54]

Rudichuk formalized the administrative procedures of the Saskatoon Centre. She streamlined the referral system, revamped the process of handling class absences, and standardized the monthly report forms. Rudichuk prepared a job description for the co-ordinator's position and wrote a mini-manual on the Attendance Centre for the probation

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[53]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "Annual Report, 1982-83," by Bernadine Rudichuk, Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, Probation Services, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon. (Mimeographed.) As well, the report stated that the total client hours for the year were 2,427. Nearly 19 percent of new client referrals were women and another 19 percent were indigenous offenders.

[54]Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "Attendance Center Classes: Saskatoon Adult Attendance Center," by Bernadine Rudichuk, Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, Probation Services, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon, 24 January 1982. (Mimeographed.)

officers to use.[55]

Rudichuk conducted the first formal attempt at evaluating the effectiveness of the Saskatoon Attendance Centre. She looked at eleven areas quantitatively: client satisfaction; number of new clients per month; number of programs offered each month; number of programs each month with twelve or more clients; number of native referrals per month; number of new women referrals per month; probation officer satisfaction with the Attendance Centre; number of program hours each month; co-ordinator's overall feelings about the programs; number of public relations contacts with key members of the criminal justice system in the fiscal year, and the number of client hours per month.[56]

The Saskatoon probation officers resisted Rudichuk's efforts to increase the numbers of offenders using the Centre. For her part, Rudichuk did not believe the staff members either understood or used to full advantage Attendance Centre support programming. The probation officers sometimes forgot to refer offenders, did not tell the offenders about the programs, or would refer after the programs had started. This resulted in low numbers of offenders in classes that volunteer educators had spent time to prepare, an embarrassment for the co-ordinator and bad public relations for the Saskatoon Adult Attendance

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[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid.

Centre.[57] After two and a half years, the constant tension of trying to keep referrals coming from the probation officers, dealing with breach administration, and co-ordinating community resources convinced Rudichuk that it was time to move on to a different job. In October of 1983 she resigned.[58]

The Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre committee members hired Rudichuk's replacement, the third Centre co-ordinator, Terri Klotz, from within the Corrections system. Klotz had worked at the Battlefords Regional Correctional Centre before taking up her Attendance Centre duties in Saskatoon. Familiar with the Saskatchewan corrections system and understanding of the pressures on probation officers,[59] Klotz had a head start in gaining credibility with Saskatoon corrections workers.

Klotz proceeded to fine tune an already functioning system. She increased contact with community agency resources and brought in educators with fresh ideas about offender education. Klotz adhered to the existing schedule of educational programming that was based on the perception of offender needs held by the probation officers. She proved open, however, to trying out new programming which

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[57]Rudichuk, Saskatoon, 23 May 1986.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Personal conversations with Terri Klotz, Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, Probation Services, Department of Justice, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon, 1984-86.

might reflect the stated needs of the offenders themselves. Acting on suggestions from offenders, Klotz added courses in stress management and life skills programs.[60]

Klotz found that the demands of the job required a variety of skills. She looked to community institutions to provide her with the personal development she felt she needed. Klotz did not feel confident about her skills as a social worker or as an educator. Eager to upgrade, she enrolled in a Bachelor of Social Work program to polish her professional skills. Klotz also felt she needed to know more about program evaluation because the survival of the Attendance Centre might rely on convincing Corrections administrators of its benefit to the system. She sought out information on qualitative as well as quantitative evaluation measures.[61] Klotz was anxious to provide quality programming to the offenders. She became aware of adult education principles and techniques and sought to become more knowledgeable in this area.

The Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre flourished under the leadership of Terri Klotz.[62] She worked hard to co-

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[60]Ibid.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Letter, Mel Robinson, regional manager, Probation Services, Saskatoon region, Saskatoon, to Dilys Collier, 18 December 1986. In casual conversations with the author, Klotz reported that there were still some pockets of resistance from some probation officers. In conversations with the probation officers, they cited the volume of paper work connected to

ordinate community expertise to provide Centre programming and, as well, carried a limited caseload of offenders. She taught some classes herself and also excelled at administrative tasks.[63] In the 31 March 1984 annual evaluation of the Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre, Klotz reported that the number of hours of program education and supervision had increased to 3220.5 and that the educational programming was generally well received by both the offenders and their probation officers. Klotz maintained that about 70 percent of offender needs identified by the probation officers were being responded to with appropriate Attendance Centre programming. She stated that about 26 percent of all indigenous probationers and about 37 percent of all female probationers were referred to the Centre during 1983. Moreover, the referral and monitoring system appeared to be working efficiently.[64]

The Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre had started from a solid base of administrative support from the regional manager and chief probation officer level. Corrections

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referrals as their main complaint. Robinson stated in his letter, however, that he estimated that the paper work connected with the Centre had decreased by about 50 percent from the time the Centre began.

[63]Ibid. Also, participant observation 1984-85.

[64]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Annual Evaluation: Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre," by Terri Klotz, Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator, Probation Services, Department of Justice, Saskatoon Region, Saskatoon, 31 March 1984.

goals and objectives were relatively clear to begin with and were progressively clarified over the years of operation. The delay in starting the Saskatoon Centre allowed time for plans and programs to be thought out before the implementation stage started.

The Saskatoon Centre was not without some problems, however. For example, on occasion, the probation officers tended to resist Klotz's attempts to provide innovation in programming. Another annoyance was the constant pressure on the co-ordinator to "prove" the cost effectiveness of the Centre to Corrections officials. An effective evaluation component had not been built into the educational programming at the beginning. All of the co-ordinators did collect some quantitative data, however, in an attempt to prove the cost effectiveness of the Centre in terms of numbers.

There were tentative efforts to apply adult education principles and techniques in program delivery but, in the main, the Regina and the Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centres tended to approach program delivery from a traditional educational stance. The main emphasis appeared to be on the supervision of the offender although the co-ordinators and committees used the term "meaningful" supervision. It was not clear whether this meant "meaningful to the workload of the probation officer and his perception of what the offender needed" or whether the term meant "meaningful to

the life and needs of the offender as he defined them."

Little attempt was made at either Centre to define the term "education," and no definition existed for the term "adult education." Corrections officials appeared to adopt without question the use of educational methods to bring about "more responsible citizens." Indeed, what seemed to be of more concern than whether the offender should learn to cope better in the community was whether the offender was supervised while he was on probation. If he should pick up information or learn a skill while he was being supervised, then the supervision would, perhaps, be more meaningful.

On the whole, there seemed to be a vague agreement among Corrections administrators that "education" must be good for a person, regardless of the kind or the outcome. Lacking definition, whether the educational programs offered to the probationer in the two Centres of the Adult Attendance Centre Project provided adult education did not appear to be of much concern. Corrections officials had adopted the provision of educational opportunities to the offender to help him cope better, legally and socially, in the community. Yet, these officials did not set up a method to determine whether the programming in the Centres made any difference to the adjustment of the adult offender to his society either in the short term or over time.

Mel Robinson presented the view that the Corrections system had no right and had no capacity to check on ex-

offenders once they were out of the system. He maintained that the criminal justice system contained "too many unknowns, too many obstacles to establishing control groups." Once released from probation it was, Robinson said, "hard to know if an offender is going straight or getting smarter at crime."[65]

If Robinson was right, then a goal that stated that educators in the Attendance Centre should provide " . . . programs to adult offenders in the community through . . . co-ordinated . . . community involvement . . . to help them become more responsible citizens" presented a problem. There was no way to find out whether this goal had been reached.

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[65]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Letter, Robinson to Collier, 18 December 1986.

CHAPTER VI

ADULT EDUCATION IN THE SASKATCHEWAN ADULT ATTENDANCE CENTRE PROJECT: AN OVERVIEW

This chapter will provide a different lens through which to view the evolution of the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project from 1979 to 1984, the perspective of adult education principles and philosophy. A number of the main practices noted in the history of the Project seemed to fly in the face of accepted adult education philosophy and practice. As background, selected adult education themes and concepts relevant to the operation of the Adult Attendance Centres will be outlined. These themes and concepts will include the individual (both adult learner and adult educator), the group viewed as needing to be "educated," and the institution which is in the business of "educating adults."

Corrections personnel made up the members of the provincial co-ordinating committee of the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project. Corrections personnel also formed the membership of the local Attendance Centre planning committees in the cities of Regina and Saskatoon. While this does not preclude that the members had some

knowledge of adult education principles, in the absence of any explicitly stated adult education philosophy, Corrections matters appeared to dominate their deliberations.[1] For example, The Matheson Report of 1971 suggested that, for the older offender, "a program [at an Attendance Centre] such as . . . life skills . . . could be used to advantage as well as special courses and experiences for adults with serious driving offenses."[2] The report discussed the attendance centre concept as one of a range of sentence alternatives within probation services and emphasized how expansion of probation in other provinces had resulted in ". . . savings [of jail operational costs] . . . at a massive rate."[3] Just how the attendance centre concept

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[1]Various local and provincial planning committee memoranda, interdepartmental memoranda, and Annual Reports of the Attendance Centres in Regina and Saskatoon. See thesis pp. 63-64, 79, 84, 87, 90-103.

[2]Saskatchewan Corrections Study Report, by Malcolm Matheson, Chairman (Regina: Department of Welfare and Rehabilitation and Ottawa: Department of the Solicitor General of Canada, 1971), p. 44.

[3]Ibid., p. 41. See, also, telephone interview with Mel Robinson, regional manager, Probation Services, Saskatoon, 17 April 1984. According to Robinson, the cost of incarcerating one person in provincial jail during that year was running between $70 and $90 per day. Assuming a 365 day year, this meant a cost of $24,000 to $33,000 per year per person. In 1984, on the other hand, probation in Saskatoon cost about $7 per probationer per day. Each probationer who attended the Attendance Centre cost a further $1.68 per day. This meant that probation plus Attendance Centre cost the province $8.68 per day or approximately $3000 per probationer per year. It would seem, then, that providing adult education to offenders on probation required far less funding than to keep them in low-security incarceration.

might be implemented in adult educational terms was not stated.

A number of questions arose from the history of the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project. Did the administration of the Regina and Saskatoon Centres, established to provide educational opportunities for offenders, truly seek to educate adults? If so, could the education offered be called adult education? If it was adult education, then for what and for whom was it intended? Could the educators be called adult educators? If so, what was it that they taught? Perhaps the most important question concerns the adult offender himself. Regardless of what was taught, did the offender learn anything--and if he did, what was it?

These are philosophical and practical questions. The answers to them depend upon the acceptance, rejection, or modification of one or another of the dominant philosophical positions that underlie current thought and practice in adult education.

Educators involved in the education of adults tend to work pragmatically. They assume that what they do is valuable and that its nature, aims, and assumptions are understood and can be taken for granted.[4] Yet the type and

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[4]Kenneth H. Lawson, Philosophical Concepts and Values in Adult Education (Milton Keynes, England: The Open University Press, 1979), p. 11. Lawson is the assistant director of the Department of Adult Education at the University of Nottingham in England.

quality of interaction one has with others is guided by what is believed about the nature of man and how one views the world in which one lives. If these beliefs and values are built into what one does, as a basis for making decisions and formulating plans, one becomes directed by a philosophy.[5] The adult educator deals with the influencing of human beings. It is important, therefore, that those who are in the business of educating adults should know consciously what they are doing, why they are doing it, and for whom they are doing it.

Some writers in the field of adult education hold that an adult is "being educated" whenever the criteria implied by the concept of education are satisfied and that these criteria are applicable to any age group.[6] What is this concept of education and its criteria? A dictionary definition of education states that it is the process of "develop[ing] the knowledge, skill, or character of."[7] In addition, this process is for the purpose of passing on to citizens (by teaching methods regarded as satisfactory by that society) what is considered worthwhile in a society's

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[5]James A. Dolan, "Adult Education-A Moral Dilemma," draft of a proposed article; article available from Professor Robert A. Carlson, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

[6]Lawson, p. 109.

[7]Webster's New World Dictionary (Concise Edition) 1960.

culture.[8] Education is, then, "a set of processes through which we learn to be human."[9] It is also a set of processes by which one learns to become a mature person, an adult, who may take a responsible place in his society.[10]

These writers maintain that the goal of education is the development of persons[11] and thus is humanistic.[12] They state that education is not a neutral process but is value laden and that these values are contingent upon time and

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[8]Richard S. Peters, "What is An Educational Process?" ed. Richard S. Peters, The Concept of Education, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), pp. 1-23. See, also, Peter Jarvis, Adult and Continuing Education: Theory and Practice, (London & Canberra: Croom Helm, 1983; New York: Nichols Publishing Company, 1983), pp. 2 and 69. Jarvis, a lecturer in adult education at the University of Surrey, England, defined society as a "complex social system in a state of continuous change . . . [, with] change . . . the norm rather than the exception." Culture is defined as the "sum total of knowledge, beliefs, ideas, values, practices, etc., prevalent in a specific society . . . a dynamic phenomenon affected by the pressures of changing technology, faces of economics, . . . [and] political ideology."

[9]Lawson, p. 85.

[10]Ibid., p. 17.

[11]Carl R. Rogers, Freedom to Learn, (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1969), pp. 279-99.

[12]John Dewey, Education and Democracy, (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1916), p. 230. Dewey, an American educator associated with the Progressive Movement in the early twentieth century, stated that the term "humanistic" referred to what education does in liberating human intelligence and human sympathy. For Dewey, education is normative and humanistic, that is, it must be concerned about the welfare and humanity of the participants. See, also, Jarvis, p. 28. Jarvis stated that in humanistic education the value of the human being and the quality of interaction between teachers and learners are paramount.

place.[13] Norms are attached to what constitutes "development" by the society in which one lives. A person is assumed to be developing if he demonstrates some behaviour that is considered by his society as a "change for the better" although, of course, one might "develop" into a rogue. But, in general, it is believed that to develop a person by educating him is to improve him in some way.[14]

The objective of education is, they say, to pass on to a person, through various teaching methods, that knowledge which will enable him to make choices.[15] It is the method of thought and the development of processes by which new knowledge may be formulated which is considered important. Skill training is thought to have a place in the educational process as a person must acquire skills if he is to develop ways to think originally and is to gain new

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[13]Paulo Freire, "By Learning They Can Teach," Convergence 6:1 (1973): 79. Freire, an educator and writer who did most of his work in developing literacy programs in Brazil, stated that education is not neutral. Either it is "designed to facilitate freedom" or "it is education for 'domestication' which is basically conservative." For Freire, education is the practice of freedom in which the learner discovers himself and achieves his humanity by acting upon the world to transform it.

[14]Lawson, pp. 54-55 and 105. Lawson maintained that there are limits to the individuation concept of education. To be a member of a group means having similarities of some kind with other members of that group because groups of people tend to dislike or be suspicious of anyone who fails to conform within the limits of the group's norms. What is worthwhile to the society as a whole and what is perceived as worthwhile by a subgroup of that society can be different things.

[15]Ibid.

knowledge.[16]

The final outcome of education is what Carl Rogers referred to as the "fully functioning man."[17] To educate a person is to free or liberate him intellectually.[18] A free person is one who has a rational reference point which enables him to weigh alternatives and make decisions about where and how to move on from his present position. A free person understands what he is doing, has rational reasons for doing it, and makes decisions in accordance with what are considered desirable standards by his society whose members judge his performance.[19]

There is a question about whether "adult education"

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[16]Ibid., pp. 106-8. Lawson defined a trained man as one who "performs a task in an approved manner." The main consideration in training is efficiency and the attainment of a goal. Whether that goal is a worthy one or not is of no concern. See, also, Max Scheler, Die Wissensformer und die Gesellschaft, (Leipzig: Der Neue-Geist Verlag) cited by Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (New York: The Free Press, 1968), pp. 520-21. Scheler stated that some forms of knowledge change faster than others, the fastest being technological knowledge. He called this 'artificial' knowledge because it does not persist over time. Scheler also classified knowledge into seven types: myth and legend; knowledge implicit in the natural folk language; religious knowledge; metaphysical knowledge; positive knowledge of mathematics, natural, and cultural sciences; physical-metaphysical knowledge, and technological knowledge.

[17]Rogers, pp. 279-97. Carl Rogers, an American psychotherapist, writer, and theorist, founded Rogerian or non-directive psychotherapy while working with shell shocked soldiers during World War II.

[18]Lawson, pp. 103-5.

[19]Ibid.

differs from "education." Some writers in the field of adult education, such as Malcolm S. Knowles, suggest that it does.[20] According to Knowles, what is different about educating adults is the difference in the kind of teaching techniques needed to impart the education since adults are at a different stage of development than are children. Other writers maintain that the developmental "stages" of adults are specific to a particular culture and do not, in any case, apply to every individual within that culture.[21] There are those who hold that education is an informal, lifelong process; whatever one does includes some form of education.[22] A competing philosophical position argues that

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[20]Malcolm S. Knowles, The Modern Practice of Adult Education: From Pedagogy to Andragogy, (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1980), p. 43.

[21]David Smith, "Developmental Tasks and Adult Education," 5:4 Continuous Learning (July-August 1966): 179-82. See, also, Sylvia Sutherland, "The Midlife Crisis That Never Was," Toronto (Ontario) The Globe and Mail 18 June 1983.

[22]Jarvis, pp. 32-44. Jarvis maintained that education is a lifelong activity comprised of two forms, recurrent (education distributed over the lifespan of the individual in a recurring way) and continuing (education referring only to the later part of lifelong education). Lifelong education is the term espoused by the United Nations Educational, Social, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Recurrent education is the term used by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). See, also, Colin Griffin, Recurrent and Continuing Education-a Curriculum Model Approach, (Nottingham, England: Association of Recurrent Education, School of Education, University of Nottingham, 1978), p. 7. Griffin, an English adult education professor, in an attempt to apply curriculum theory to the concepts of recurrent and continuing education, stated that continuing education is related to the classical curriculum (subject-centered, stressing

education is a more formal process that may be entered into recurrently throughout one's life.[23] This study maintains that education is both a formal and an informal process. Formal education may be mandatory but can be entered into voluntarily at any stage in a person's life on either an ongoing, an occasional, or a recurrent basis. Informal education can occur at any time during the person's lifespan in response to learning situations which present themselves. Informal education can also happen within the formal education setting.

"Education" is not easy to define; to define "adult education" means dealing with an even more complex term. Take, for example, the meaning of the word "adult." The concept of "adult" changes from society to society and changes within any given society from time to time, from place to place, from culture to culture, and from sub-culture to sub-culture.[24] In general, however, a person is considered to be an adult when he considers himself to be so

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information, skills, instruction, conformity, obedience, and discipline) while recurrent education has a romantic curriculum basis (person-centered, stressing creativity, freedom, experience, discovery, awareness, and originality).

[23]Ibid.

[24]Graham Mee and Harold Wiltshire, Structure & Performance in Adult Education, (London: Longman Group Limited, 1978), p. 10. Mee and Wiltshire, professors of adult education at the University of Nottingham, England, stated that the term "adult" is evaluative. Some criteria by which it may be defined are: age, psychological and physiological maturity, social role, and status.

and, in addition, is acknowledged to be adult by the other members of his society.[25] Thus a person may achieve adult status by taking on what are considered to be adult roles and responsibilities, such as parenthood, as well as by simply attaining an age at which legal adult status is awarded by definition.[26] During the first five years of the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project, those in charge defined an "adult" as any person who had attained the age of sixteen years, regardless of his roles or responsibilities in society.

One wonders whether defining the two words that make up "adult education" explains what adult education is. According to Malcolm S. Knowles, "adult education" is three things: a field of social practice, a set of activities carried out by a variety of institutions to achieve specific educational objectives, and the process of adults learning.[27]

What comprises "adult education" as a field of social practice depends upon its purpose as defined by an existing and underlying ideology.[28] Ideologies may differ

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[25]Jarvis, pp. 30-32.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Knowles, Modern Practice, p. 25.

[28]Mee and Wiltshire, p. 10. See, also, Webster's New World Dictionary (Concise Edition) 1960. "Ideology" is defined as "the doctrines or opinions, or way of thinking of an individual or class."

among the state, the institution mandated to deliver the education, the educators entrusted to teach the potential learners, and among the potential learners themselves.[29] Many ideologies exist which range from a view of the world as a non-traditional place of multiple realities to a view of the world as a place where only one traditional reality exists.[30] Those entrusted with responsibility for the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project would experience the impact of such ideological differences of opinion.

The range of practice within the field of adult education could be viewed as extending from adult education activities used to benefit industrial productivity to adult education activities used to benefit human beings.[31] The

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[29]Ibid.

[30]Michael Marien, "The Two Post-Industrialisms and Higher Eduction," World Future Society Bulletin (Washington, D. C. : World Future Society, May/June 1982): 13-27. Marien is an American futurist writer. See, also, Gaston Rimlinger, Welfare Policy and Industrialization in Europe, America, and Russia, (New York: Wiley, 1971), p. 305. Rimlinger, a social policy writer, advanced the idea that the goal of industrial efficiency lay at one end of the social welfare continuum and that the goal of human benefit lay at the other end. Refer, also, to Alfred Schutz, Reflections on the Problems of Relevance, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970; reprint ed., ed. Richard M. Zaner, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 1-182; Paulo Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, (New York: The Continuum Publishing Corporation, 1981), pp. 41-59, and Gregory Baum, "Adult Education as a Political Enterprise," paper presented to the Alumni Connection Conference (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1978), pp. 13-21.

[31]Rimlinger, p. 305.

adult education activities of persons working mainly toward benefiting industrial production would tend to involve the promotion of the goals and objectives of the institutions for which they work.[32] These would include corporate, government, national, and international organizations. They would be involved in the spreading of literacy and education for all while promoting the role of the bureaucratic elite. These adult educators would state that their role is value-free; they only do what they are paid to do. But no education can be value free since it involves the selection of the parts of a culture that are to be passed on to others.[33] The adult educator selects what he considers to be of worth or value. It may be necessary for the underlying values of an adult educator to be kept hidden from, or at least to be maintained subordinate to, those values held by his employer if the educator is required to promote that which benefits industrial production. Evaluation of this type of adult education activity tends to employ quantitative and "realistic" measures, with emphasis placed on getting the adult education activities to reach the greatest number of people.[34]

Adult education that is undertaken by persons or institutions for the main purpose of benefiting human beings

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[32]Ibid.

[33]Lawson, pp. 21-22.

[34]Ibid., pp. 1-7.

would tend to stress the self-reliance of individuals who live in an ecologically oriented society.[35] Practitioners and organizations emphasizing these activities encourage self-help groups and inter-dependence among people for the purpose of solving their own and society's problems. Individual learning needs and the elimination of ignorance would be stressed. The human costs of growth and development in society are considered. These adult educators or institutions promote the survival of indigenous cultures. They encourage the people to question those who speak with the voice of authority and those who call themselves professionals. They seek to develop the confidence of the people in their ability to be self-reliant. These adult educators and institutions are involved in adult education activities connected with community development and social action. Their activities promote useful work, peace, health, self-fulfillment, equality and liberty, as well as lives in harmony with the environment. Evaluation of adult education activities use qualitative methods of evaluation, with emphasis on finding out what a person has learned from an activity. The adult educator and the institution are conscious of and state openly the value system which they hold.[36]

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[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid. See, also, the works of Willis W. Harman, Incomplete Guide to the Future, (London: W. W. Norton, 1980) and Gary J. Coates, ed., Resettling America: Energy, Ecology

These ideological positions are, of course, extremes. But extremes can be useful to point out the range of opinion which exists. There are any number of possibilities for the combination of these viewpoints among individuals, groups, and institutions.

Knowles, who defines adult education as the process of adults learning, argues that adults are not just grown up children.[37] Adults have different reasons and motives for engaging in educational activities.[38] Adults are at a different stage of physical and psychological development than are children.[39] At one time it was thought that when persons reached biological maturity, an intellectual plateau was reached and, after a few years, their mental capabilities began to deteriorate.[40] More recent research suggests that adults can and do learn new things.[41]

& Community. With a Foreward by Amory Lovins. (Andover MA: Brick House Publishing Co., 1981).

[37]Knowles, Modern Practice, p. 43.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid. While some adults may not have developed cognitively beyond the intellectual capacity of some children, these adults are not children.

[40]Edward L. Thorndike, et al., Adult Learning, (London: The MacMillan Company, 1928), pp. 17 and 177-79.

[41]Alan Tough, The Adult's Learning Projects: A Fresh Approach to Theory and Practice in Adult Learning, 2nd. ed. (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971), pp. 1-5.

There are many theories about how people learn[42] and it is important to make a distinction between learning[43] and education. Learning is the assimilation of education by

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[42]Malcolm S. Knowles, The Adult Learner: A Neglected Species, 2nd. ed. (Houston, Texas: Gulf Publishing Company, 1978), pp. 1-60. Knowles stated that learning theory seemed to arise from at least three streams of psychology: the behaviourists, the cognitivists, and the humanists. Behaviourists focus on learning as conditioning, reinforcing, or modeling of a passive learner who reacts to the external bombardment of environmental stimuli. The cognitivists focus on the conceptualizing, perceiving, mapping, and cognitive development of the more actively participating learner. The humanists focus on the experiencing, reflecting, and choosing person who actively responds to his total environment. A somewhat different view is presented by Jack Mezirow, "Perspective Transformation," 9:2 Studies in Adult Education, (Leicester, England: National Institute of Adult Education, 1977): 157. Mezirow, in his theory of "perspective transformation," suggested that humans learn in any case and may not require teaching. He stated that people move through a maturity gradient which is inevitable, sequential, and related to development and aging. We go through successive transformations toward analyzing things from a perspective increasingly removed from our personal or local perspective. See, also, the work of Guy R. LeFrancois, Psychological Theories and Human Learning, 2nd. ed. (Belmont, California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1982).

[43]There are a variety of definitions of learning. For an overview see the works of Robert M. Gagne, The Conditions of Learning, 3rd. ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977); Malcolm S. Knowles, Modern Practice, 1980; Jack Mezirow, "A Critical Theory of Adult Learning and Education," 32:1 Adult Education, 1981; Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, trans. Myra B. Ramer. (London: Penguin Books, 1972); Carl R. Rogers, Freedom to Learn, 1969; K. Patricia Cross, Adults as Learners, (San Francisco: Jossey Bass Publishers, 1981), and Donald Brundage and Dorothy Mackeracher, Adult Learning Principles and Their Application To Program Planning, (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1980).

the person.[44] It is an internal process. What is taught in the name of education may or may not be learned. This process depends upon whether the person can make sense of what is taught and, more importantly, whether the person can see the relevance of what is taught to one's own past experience and present need.[45] Professor Kenneth Lawson stated that what we cannot do is to teach ourselves things which are irrelevant to what we have previously learned. We cannot choose areas of education from which to learn that we have never heard of or experienced before.[46] Some theorists state that we cannot arrive at new learning by practice although we might discover new things inadvertently.[47] Other writers maintain that we learn when we acquire skills and habits, whether these are manipulative, intellectual, or social.[48] Some argue that what we do not know must be learned from outside ourselves; someone has to place new

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[44]Jarvis, p. 28. Jarvis, an adult educator and professor at the University of Surrey in England, stated that learning is "any process of receiving and assessing any aspect, or aspects, of culture."

[45]Alfred Schutz, Reflections on the Problems of Relevance, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970; reprint ed., ed. Richard M. Zaner, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 1-182.

[46]Lawson, p. 88.

[47]Ibid., p. 89.

[48]Ann Taylor, et al., Introducing Psychology, 2nd. ed. eds. Ann Taylor and Wladyslaw Sluckin. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1982; reprint ed., Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1984), p. 336.

possibilities before us.[49] Others seem to believe that all knowledge lies within us and needs only to be drawn out.[50]

What most modern theorists do seem to agree upon is that learning involves change.[51] They also appear to agree that we may assume learning has taken place if a person manifests his learning in a new attitude toward something or in a new way of doing something.[52] Generally speaking, adult learning theories seem to be concerned with adult learning ability or with the process of adult learning.[53]

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[49]Ibid.

[50]Severe E. Frost, Jr., Ideas of the Great Philosophers: A Survey of Their Basic Teachings, (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1942; reprint ed. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1959), pp. 259 and 280. Certain early Greek philosophers such as Socrates and Plato seemed to believe that all knowledge was located in the mind and had been gained before birth. See, also, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy. Translated and compiled by Wing-Tsit Chan. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 582-83; The Bhagavad Gita. Translated and interpreted by Franklin Edgerton. (New York: Harper & Row, 1944; Harper Torchbook edition, 1964), pp. 121-24. Certain Chinese writers such as Lu Hsiang-Shan and the East Indian belief in re-incarnation appear to uphold this view.

[51]Malcolm Knowles, The Adult Learner: A Neglected Species, pp. 1-10.

[52]Ibid.

[53]For those theorists involved with adult learning ability see the works of Edward L. Thorndike, Adult Learning, (New York: MacMillan, 1928), and B. Frederic Skinner, Science and Human Behavior, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1953). For information about the process of adult learning see the works of Eduard C. Lindeman, The Meaning of Adult Education, (New York: New Republic, 1926); Cyril O. Houle, The Inquiring Mind, (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961); J. Roby Kidd, How Adults Learn, (New York: Association Press, 1959, 1973); Carl R. Rogers, Freedom To Learn, (Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1969); Abraham

Those theorists of adult learning ability argued that adults can and do learn and that they continue to learn throughout their life span. The theorists involved in explaining the process of adult learning emphasized the motivation for adults to learn, stating that adult learning is problem oriented rather than subject oriented. Much of the work of these theorists revolved around the concept of need; individual needs motivate the adult to learn. Later theorists, known as developmentalists, expanded on this field of inquiry and argued that adults tended to learn different things at different life stages of physical, social, emotional, and psychological development.[54]

Knowles, commenting on adult learning theory, stated that there were four main assumptions about the process of adults learning.[55] First, adults have a different self-concept than do children since there is a natural progression in the process of maturation from dependence to

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H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality, 2nd. ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1970), and Alan Tough, The Adult's Learning Projects, 1971).

[54]For an overview of this area see the works of Erik H. Erikson, Identity and the Life Cycle, (New York: International Universities Press, 1959) and Adulthood, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976); Robert Havighurst, 2nd. ed. Developmental Tasks and Education, (New York: David McKay, 1970); Daniel J. Levinson, The Seasons of a Man's Life, (Toronto: Random House of Canada Limited, 1978); Gail Sheehy, Passages: Predictable Crises of Adult Life, (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974), and Judith Stevens-Long, Adult Life Development Processes, (London: Mayfield Publishers, 1984).

[55]Knowles, Modern Practice, p. 43.

independence, through counter-dependence, to interdependence. Adults, then, have a need to be much more self-directed in their learning efforts than do children.[56] They learn best when they are involved with the what, how, and when of their learning plans and are able to discuss their learning with others. Second, as people grow and develop, they accumulate a backlog of experience that becomes a rich resource upon which they may draw for the purposes of enhancing their own learning and the learning of others. Consequently, being able to share their experiences with others and being able to listen to others' experience plays a larger role in the process of adult learning than it does in the learning of children who have more limited experience.[57]

Third, adults are pragmatic learners. Adults become ready to learn something when they experience a need to learn it in order to cope with real life tasks or problems.[58] Their learning will be enhanced if they are able to apply it immediately to solve a problem or to do a task. The fourth assumption, then, is that the orientation of adults to learning will be toward increasing their own competence so they may achieve their full potential in life.

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[56]Malcolm Knowles, Self-Directed Learning (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1975), pp. 18-21 and 64-70.

[57]Knowles, Modern Practice, p. 43.

[58]Ibid., p. 44.

The learning of children, on the other hand, tends to be more future oriented. The results of their learning will not necessarily be for immediate application to a task or problem.[59]

One of the roles of the adult educator in the process of adult learning involves the selection of those parts of the culture that should be passed on to the potential learner.[60] The learner, however, is not just a passive receptacle. The learner, if there is discussion, also is engaged in passing on to the educator selected parts of the learner's own culture. Moreover, the potential learner chooses whether or not he will learn what is passed on to him and whether he will apply it to his own life. Implicit in this process is the exchange between learner and teacher of their perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, and opinions of the world in which they live and their views, based on past experiences, of man.[61] In the case of educating children, the educator is the one who is assumed to have the "correct" view of how things are since society has mandated him to teach. Whether one agrees with this view or not, what is different in the case of educating adults is that both teacher and learner are equal in power by virtue

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[59]Ibid.

[60]Lawson, pp. 21-22. See, also, Michael Manley, The Politics of Change: A Jamaican Testament (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1974), pp. 138-61.

[61]Lawson, pp. 21-22.

of them both having been accorded the status of "adult" by their society.[62]

In the Saskatchewan Corrections system, the adult learners were the offenders who attended the Centres.[63] The adult educators could be the Centre co-ordinators, probations officers, or volunteer members of community agencies or institutions. Some educators were aware of adult education principles and techniques; others were not.[64] In the main, a number of adult education techniques tended to be ignored. For example, prior to a class beginning, little was known about the class members other than that they were all on probation.[65] Almost no other information was available to either the adult educator or to

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[62]Ibid.

[63]Much of what happened cannot be known since no record of it exists. As well, the process of locating and interviewing every person who ever attended the Centres is beyond the scope of this study and is probably impossible. What can be recorded, as a starting point for future study, is what the writer saw and heard as a participant observer in selected classes during 1984-85. There are, in addition, some written evaluation forms by offenders and a log kept by the writer during one course. Fragments of information gleaned from interviews with Corrections personnel who shared their own views and those of individual probationers who had passed along their perceptions to their probation officer were also available.

[64]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Letter, Mel Robinson, regional manager, Probation Services, Saskatoon region, Saskatoon, to Professor Robert A. Carlson, thesis supervisor, 13 April 1987. In 1985, Probation Services accepted a "formalized set of expectations [encompassing some adult education principles and techniques] on volunteers . . . ." The thesis account ends in 1984.

[65]Participant observation, 1984-85.

the other members of a class beyond a first name, and name tags usually were not used. In some courses that extended over several weeks, the offenders did not know each others' names by the end of the course. The potential learner's age was not known. The educational background of the participant was not known. His interests were not known. The reason he was in a particular class was not known. There was little effort by volunteer community adult educators to meet with the offender prior to a course to find out the offender's expectations of the course or to know what his needs were, nor were written needs assessments conducted.[66]

In both Regina and Saskatoon the physical facilities used for adult education activities were designated rooms known as the Attendance Centre. These were located within the larger facilities of Probation Services.[67] In Regina, the Attendance Centre was one large room which could hold approximately thirty people; educators also used the staff coffee room--which could hold about twenty people--if more than one class was to be held at the same time. A rectangular table with hard seated chairs occupied the centre of the main room. Another large table placed across one end of the room held coffee equipment and pamphlet material. A blackboard occupied the other end wall of the

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[66]Ibid.

[67]Ibid.

room. Shelves holding pamphlet material hung on a side wall. A few educational posters decorated the walls. The staff coffee room bore some resemblance to a living room, as it contained chesterfields as well as a variety of hard seated chairs. Learning resources consisted of pamphlet material and a sixteen millimeter film projector.

In Saskatoon, the Attendance Centre had two classrooms. Each room held about fifteen people, contained a number of moveable tables, and both hard and soft seated chairs. There was a greenboard on one end wall of each room and educational posters hung on the other walls. The outer reception room housed the coffee equipment. Learning resources included pamphlet materials, a few books, and a sixteen millimeter film projector.

The Saskatoon Centre used volunteers from the community as probation officers. Their duties included checking offender attendance and monitoring offender behaviour. They were to make a report evaluating the individual offender's behaviour to be supplied to his probation officer, and to make written comments evaluating the performance of the community educator. Different volunteer probation officers were used from class to class during a course. While the co-ordinator encouraged the probation officers to sit in on the classes, only a few did this.[68]

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[68]Ibid.

The curriculum[69] offered in both Centres reflected the offenders' needs as defined by the probation officers.[70] The co-ordinators mounted a few courses in which the offenders were allowed to suggest the topics they wished addressed. The teaching methods used in both Centres consisted mainly of lecture followed by or incorporating didactic questioning, demonstration, or guided discussion techniques. On occasion, some educators used experiential teaching techniques such as role play.[71] Evaluation of a course usually came at the end of the course by having the offenders make a brief written evaluation.[72]

How the educators handled some of the individual

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[69]Jarvis, p. 211. The word "curriculum" means to "follow a course of study." Jarvis stated that this term is little used in the field of adult education. The word "program" is used instead. In America, the word "design" is used. See, also, the work of Cyril O. Houle, The Design of Education, (San Francisco: Jossey Bass Publishers, 1972).

[70]Saskatchewan, Department of Justice, Memorandum from the Chief Probation Officer to Probation Supervisors, Saskatoon and Regina-Qu'Appelle Regions, 22 June 1981. The programming of the Centres was to "promote the interests of the offenders" by programming in "those areas which have been found to have a high correlation with the risk of re-offending." "A probationer who requests permission to attend the program is permitted to do so . . . provided the program meets a need as determined by his Probation Officer . . . ."

[71]For an explanation of these teaching methods refer to Jarvis, pp. 114-154.

[72]Participant observation, 1984-85.

needs[73] of the offenders has been mentioned. Participant observation[74] in a selection of Attendance Centre classes during 1984-85 offered further examples:

1. Physiological needs:

One young working mother of school aged children lived several miles outside of Saskatoon. She found it difficult to go home from work, attend to the needs of her children, drive into the city, and arrive in time for class which began at seven o'clock in the evening. Sometimes she

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[73]Abraham H. Maslow, Towards a Psychology of Being, 2nd. ed. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1968), p. 60. Maslow stated that individuals had a hierarchy of needs beginning with physiological or survival needs and going on to safety needs, the need for love, affection, and belonging, the need for self esteem, and the need for self-actualization. See, also, Jarvis, p. 17. Jarvis maintained that Maslow's hierarchy of needs was not a hierarchy but, rather, a process or taxonomy. All the needs exist in human beings at any one time, and the individual seeks to satisfy whichever need is the strongest at the moment. Some writers maintain that the "felt" needs of a person are not the same as his "real" needs. See the work of Maurice L. Monette, "The Concept of Educational Need: An Analysis of Selected Literature," 27:2 Adult Education (1977): 116-27. Monette identified four major categories of need: basic human needs, felt and expressed needs, normative needs, and comparative needs. See, also, a later article by Monette, "Need Assessment: A Critique of Philosophical Assumptions," 29:2 Adult Education, (1979): 83-95.

[74]James P. Spradley, Participant Observation, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980), pp. 53-62. Spradley stated that participant observers operate with two purposes in mind: they seek to participate, but also to watch themselves and others at the same time. They become explicitly aware of the things that others take for granted and take mental pictures with a wide-angle lens. They feel as both an insider and an outsider simultaneously. A record is kept of what is seen and experienced and, as well, they reflect on their experiences. This process can take place at a nonparticipation level, a passive level, a moderate level, an active level, or a complete participation level.

skipped supper in order to attend on time. Sometimes she gave up and did not come, risking punishment for breaking the rules of her probation order.

A young unemployed man who suffered from diabetes had been denied the extra allowance for persons with special food needs by his social assistance worker. To make ends meet he went without regular meals and sometimes came to class hungry. The Centre provided coffee which was allowed during an official coffee break around eight o'clock.

2. Psychological safety needs:

One young man who suffered emotional problems stemming from a violent and abusing parent found he could not stay in the classroom one evening during a discussion that touched his pain. He left the room without asking permission of the volunteer probation officer or the educator and stayed in the reception area. The volunteer probation officer followed him, reprimanded him for his action, and included an account of his "inappropriate" behaviour on her report to his probation officer.

3. Social needs:

During a small group exercise, as the members of the participant groups finished their task, they began to visit with one another. The volunteer probation officer told them to keep their minds on the task.

Sometimes classes ended five or ten minutes prior to the nine o'clock deadline. They were told that they must

stay in the classroom and could not go out into the reception area where they might spend their time socializing.

4. Self-esteem needs:

During a class on assertiveness training, one young man stated in explicit terms what he thought of the usefulness in his life of a particular assertive skill. The volunteer probation officer told him that he was out of order and to keep quiet. Up to this time, the members of the class had been active in their participation. After these statements, class participation dropped off. The volunteer probation officer labelled the participant's behaviour "inappropriate" and recorded the incident on the evaluation form forwarded to the offender's probation officer.

These are selected instances and are negative examples. Did anything positive happen to offenders in the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centres? Did anything contribute to the offender becoming what he was capable of becoming or achieving, his so-called "self-actualization?"[75] Did the offender, indeed, learn anything?

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[75]Abraham H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 46-47. This American theorist used the term "self-actualization" to describe a person becoming what he is capable of becoming.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project. In so doing, it will summarize the place of adult education within corrections institutions through the years. It will put the experience of the two Centres, Regina and Saskatoon, into the context of adult education organizational theory professed by Graham Mee in his Organisation for Adult Education (London: Longman Group Limited, 1980). Concluding comments will include observations concerning the potential of the Project as an adult education institution within Saskatchewan Corrections.

Through the years, the education of adult offenders in penal institutions held a marginal position. Money tended to be allocated to the building and maintaining of secure penal structures rather than to the establishing of offender education and offender educational resources within the institutions. Running an efficient operation occupied the minds of the institutional administrators more than providing educators or educational resources for offenders. Where adult education took place at all in early British, American, and Canadian penal institutions, it was other

offenders, other staff, community volunteers, and the clergy who took on the job of educating adult offenders.

In these early Corrections institutions the view of what offender education was for differed with different people. Institutional administrators considered it a method of occupying the offenders' time and of maintaining a peaceful inmate population. Whether the offenders learned anything useful did not seem to matter. Literate inmates, acting as teachers of their illiterate fellow offenders, viewed the education of adult prisoners as a form of collusion against prison authorities. Teaching another inmate to read occupied one's own time but also meant the newly literate inmate might claim benefit of clergy. The "teacher" saved a life and provided the offender with an opportunity to become a free person in defiance of the "law."

Later, when prison chaplains took on the job of offender education, adult education became a means of attaining the salvation of offenders' souls. Benefiting the human being according to the values and philosophy of the Bible and the values and philosophy of the particular clergyman became important. The Quaker, Elizabeth Fry, one of the first volunteer community educators of adult prisoners, offered education for altruistic as well as for her own religious reasons. A humanist, she used adult education to foster a sense of worth within offenders.

Fry's brand of adult education provided the offender with a literacy, a marketable skill, and a feeling of self worth.

In early American Corrections institutions, skills training took on a stronger role in the education of adult offenders. Indeed, some jail administrators hoped to cover some of their operating costs by contracting out skilled offender labour. Other administrators espoused using adult education as a way to bring the offender to penitence for his sins. These administrators wanted the adult educators to "reform" the offender to the accepted ways of an upright, moral, and God-fearing society. On the other hand, administrators of Quaker persuasion did not believe prison was for punishment. Prison for them meant a place which gave the offender an opportunity for reflection and a chance to hear the voice of God within, thus the use of solitary confinement. Quakers had no interest in a God-fearing society, only in a Godly society.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the education of adult offenders became a method used to try to "rehabilitate" a prisoner so he might take a responsible position in society. When prisoner reform and rehabilitation did not seem to work, corrections authorities put forth several ideas why this should be so. The offender was innately evil. If not evil, he was a person genetically predisposed to crime. If not either of these, the offender must be sick. If not sick, perhaps he was well but needed

guidance. The offender required different information upon which to base his judgments. Educational opportunities would enable him to become a law abiding citizen.

Ideas about what the education of adult offenders was to achieve differed according to place and time. At one time adult education appeared to be used to fulfill the needs of corrections administrators. At another time it appeared slanted toward fulfilling the internal needs of the offender. This swing from one view to another seemed a reflection of whatever societal philosophy happened to be in vogue. And what societal philosophy was in vogue at a particular time appeared to be a reflection of the national and international social, economic, and political scene.

Serious analysis of offender education and concern for improvements in that education appeared more as rhetoric put forth by a few writers and thinkers than it did as practice within the institutions. None the less, the writing and theories of these people influenced Corrections policies concerning the educating of adults. Coupled with the determined efforts of dedicated practitioners and a few enlightened administrators, many advances in the education of adult offenders came about through the years. The use of education to bring about change in adult offenders became legally established and has gained a permanent place, albeit still a marginal place, within the field of Corrections.

Within this wider context, individual personal

differences existed. The personal philosophies held by the administrators of corrections institutions influenced the ways in which official Corrections policies of different governments became implemented. Where agreement of outlook existed between and among the different administrative levels of the Corrections bureaucracy, the members of the organization tended to implement official Corrections policies in relative harmony. Where philosophical differences occurred, conflict and disagreements among the members of the organization erupted. Staff members responded in one of three ways. They fought with other staff to get their own idea of policy accepted; they decided to withdraw from the organization, or they tried to negotiate changes from within the organization.

In Canada, the 1977 speech of Solicitor General Francis Fox legitimized the use of education with offenders at both the federal and provincial levels of Canadian Corrections. Funding became available for the expansion of corrections work within the provinces. In 1979, the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project came into existence as one of a range of sentencing alternatives for the courts. This venture started out on a tentative note. Initial approval of the Project by the Saskatchewan government was for eighteen months of operation. The Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project became a small appendage hooked onto a larger Probation Service mandated to

supervise probationers. Saskatchewan Corrections provided the administrators of the Adult Attendance Centre Project with limited funding and limited educational resources. The Regina and Saskatoon Centres shared facilities with the existing probation service. Probation staff members viewed the Adult Attendance Centres as an "add-on" which invaded their space and lacked equal status with the established probation service. They saw the Centres implemented by a directive from "above."

During the planning stage some probation officers became excited over the potential they envisioned for the Centres, but the realities involved in implementing the resource soon began to set in. Awkward referral methods used to enrol their clients in Centre programs dampened the probation officers' enthusiasm. Confusion reigned over what the Centre should be for, whom to refer, and who was responsible for what. Philosophical differences among management, resultant staff resignations and replacements, and lack of communication among various administrative levels added to the disappointment of line staff. Centre co-ordinator appointments sometimes resulted in staff being hired whose style of management and methods of operating did not fit the requirements of the job or the philosophy of the existing probation staff. From the beginning the Centres lacked clear educational goals and operational objectives, clear role definitions, effective evaluation components,

adequate support staff for the Centre co-ordinators, adequate educational resources, and ongoing opportunities for staff development.

What the Centres did have was a clear mandate from the Saskatchewan government for their implementation. The provincial administration needed cost effective supervision of offenders to counter tight economic times and lack of jail space. The managers of the Regina-Qu'Appelle and Saskatoon Probation Regions received a directive from the Community Operations Branch administration to free up ten jail spaces each by the use of the Adult Attendance Centres. Thus, top management supported the implementation of the Centres despite some differences in philosophy.

Other sources of support were at hand. In the first five years of the Project's existence, the Centres had enthusiastic, hard working, dedicated co-ordinators. Probation officers did not always appreciate the methods used by the co-ordinators, but there was little doubt in their minds that the co-ordinators supported the attendance centre concept. The enthusiasm of the co-ordinators extended to the community. They secured the involvement of community agencies and community volunteer educators in the delivery of programs. In addition, the co-ordinators commandeered the support of other parts of the Corrections system. Judges began to require attendance at the Centres as part of the offenders' probation orders, and a number of probation

officers became more involved with the Centres by teaching some of the Adult Attendance Centre programs.

The question of what the educating of adults within the Attendance Centres was to accomplish, however, remained unclear. In the first five years of the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project, a constant struggle went on concerning what the Centres were for and who they were to serve. Centre administrators and community educators spent scant time considering the personal needs and differing philosophies that existed among the people they sought to educate. Offender needs as perceived by the probation officers became the basis of programming although this changed somewhat during 1984. Evaluation of program effectiveness remained predominantly quantitative, with no attempt at a longitudinal study to determine program effectiveness. None the less, as early as 1983, provincial Corrections administrators deemed the credibility of the Project sufficient, in terms of numbers of attenders, to endorse permanent positions for the Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinators.

There were three areas of emphasis to the story of the first five years of the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project. It included the two educational organizations, the Regina and Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centres, working within a larger organizational structure, the Saskatchewan Probation Service, whose mandate was the

supervision of persons on probation. It involved the individual administrators and educators of these organizations. It encompassed the potential learners, the offenders, whose probation orders mandated that they attend the programming offered by the Centres.

The education of adults in our society is becoming a major movement for various reasons. Rapid technological change has created a knowledge explosion. People need to retrain for new jobs. Marginalized people and oppressed minorities use adult education to understand their situation and to try to change it. The administrators of organizations use adult education to help people adjust to the demands of society. With the inception of the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project in 1979, the Probation system of Saskatchewan Corrections entered into this movement in a formal way.

The Centres were not set up as adult education institutions, however. The Attendance Centre was to be part of a Corrections continuum of sanctions, controls, and offender opportunities. The Attendance Centre was to fill a perceived gap in the continuum between traditional probation and low-security incarceration. The primary clientele was to be under a court order to attend; violators were to be returned to court. The role of the Centre administration was to co-ordinate educational opportunities for the offender. In so doing, a paradox began.

The offender had to attend the Centre and had to participate. Once ordered, the offender had no choice but to comply or risk going back to court. Yet, the objective of education is to pass on to a person, through various teaching methods, that knowledge which will enable him to make choices. This situation sometimes caused a clash between the felt needs of the offender coming up against the real needs of the offender as perceived by his probation officer. Sometimes this was resolved before class attendance; sometimes it was not. If it was not, it was necessary for the adult educator to use considerable skill to overcome the initial resistance of the offender to "being educated." Some educators were able to do this successfully; some were not. Their task was a difficult one. The role of the adult educator was to promote intellectual freedom to a group of people who were not physically free.

Members of the Probation Service administration might have facilitated the job of the adult educators in the Centres if they had realigned their own thinking before establishing the Centres. Adult offenders are people who were adults before they became offenders. They were not necessarily offenders before they became adults. If one enters the business of educating adults, for whatever reason, then one should learn how educating adults differs from educating children. This perspective opens up a number

of areas which need consideration: organizational structure, physical facilities, learning resources, the training of educators in the principles and techniques of educating adults.

As Graham Mee has pointed out in his Organisation for Adult Education, the society in which we live is an organization society. Within the Western culture, a person's life is played out in roles taken within one or another organization. Much of what comprises adult education is made up of an organized service. Mee argues that traditional organizations tend to have certain characteristics in common. They are social systems existing to achieve certain goals. Their structures are rationally defined and are based on a hierarchy of authority and a specialization of tasks. The balance among organizational requirements, individual needs, the interests of other organizations and the public depends upon the degree of centralization, the degree of autonomy held by the individual, and the bargaining power of other organizations and the public.

Mee argues that, for adult education ventures, it may be more useful to think of an organization as an open social system which has multiple purposes. It has a boundary whose degree of openness depends upon the type of organization it is and the actions of those members who have the power to open and close the gate to the organization.

The "goal" of the adult education organization is learning. The "objective" is to create a learning system. The direction which the organization will take depends on a number of internal and external pressures such as the requirements of the organization, the needs of individuals, and the interests of other organizations and the community. How the organization responds to these pressures will depend on its degree of centralization, the degree of autonomy held by its individual members, and the bargaining power held by other organizations and the public.

According to Mee, highly decentralized organizations, such as social work organizations, usually have sub-units which act in frontline situations. The members of these organizations can take personal initiatives not easily supervised or seen from the central authority. Highly centralized organizations, such as jails, are structures cut off from the environment with visible boundaries such as walls. Going back and forth through the boundary is subject to strict control. In either case, the operation of the organization takes place within a complex network of interrelationships. These include the formal lines of authority, information or decision, as well as the interpersonal bonds. Through these networks such transactions as referrals and resource allocation take place. A map of these networks is a valuable tool to understand how an organization functions, to discover how it

makes decisions, and to decide how the organization might be changed. It is within such a network, Mee holds, that the adult educator must function.

The Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centres were complex organizational structures that displayed characteristics of both decentralized and centralized organizations. The Attendance Centre co-ordinator had a fair degree of autonomy in implementing and running the educational service provided to the probationers. The adult educator held a good degree of autonomy to interact with other organizations in the community, with the public, and with other members of the Corrections system. On the other hand, the Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinators were subject to the pressures of a centralized organization, the Probation Service of Saskatchewan Corrections. The co-ordinator needed to be cognizant of the hierarchy of authority, the division of labour wherein each member had a more or less prescribed function that was implicit within such an organization. He performed his administrative tasks within a written framework of rules and regulations.

The position of an Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator within this dual organizational structure was, therefore, a difficult one. Such a position required a person who understood both the freedoms and limitations of his organizational role and who, by virtue of his own particular personality, could fit into the psychological and

philosophical demands of the position. A person too strongly oriented philosophically toward either organizational model, that of the Attendance Centre or that of the Probation Service, or not able to keep his duties compartmentalized experienced a lack of fit within the role.

At the administrative level, those Corrections personnel who tended to lean philosophically toward the social work, or "decentralized," organizational model tended not to see eye to eye with those staff whose philosophical orientation leaned predominantly toward the jail, or "centralized," organizational model. Staff used statements such as "he's a bleeding heart social worker" or "he's a Corrections man" to label these different philosophical stances taken by their colleagues and superiors.

According to Mee, those persons involved in the delivery of adult education, whether within a Corrections system or within the voluntary sector, tend to evaluate their success quantitatively. If the number of students enrolled in a class goes down, the budget is cut. Budget analysts rarely use educational criteria to determine the worth of a class. Their message is that if something cannot be measured, it does not count. Given this situation throughout adult education, it is little wonder that, within the extremely restricted Corrections system, such qualitative criteria for evaluation of Centre programs as the development of the offender's potential, the

effectiveness of his learning, and the creation of a 'balanced' educational program stood little chance. This Corrections milieu led to the Centre co-ordinators becoming situation oriented, not goal [i.e., learning] directed.

It left the Centre co-ordinators in a vulnerable position. They were pulled in one direction by the demands of the Corrections administration and probation officers and pushed in another by the personal learning needs of the offenders. The co-ordinators, torn by both forces at once, were involved in a balancing act to maintain their personal and organizational equilibrium. Emphasis appeared to be placed upon fulfilling the demands of the Corrections administration, leaving the learning needs of the offenders undefined at best and, at worst, unconsidered.

Mee writes that the degree of innovation and freedom accorded an adult educator depends upon several factors: the adult educator's control over accommodation; his formal status; the degree of administrative and clerical support which he has, and his relationships with other interests. In the case of the Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinators, other interests included the probation officers, the courts, and the community.

Adult educators find themselves working in one of three job situations, Mee indicates. They may run an independent adult education service; they can work as part of the total provision of another institution primarily

concerned with other functions, or they can work with another service of equal status. Their service may operate from facilities owned by another organization but borrowed, for instance, in the evenings for adult education, or they may work in shared facilities with a host institution which has adult education as one of its functions.

Where the adult education takes place both locates and influences the character of the service. A building centralizes and limits delivery of an adult education service. The Centres were established to deal with urban, not rural, probationers. Rural probation officers commented that their clients found it difficult to utilize the services of the Attendance Centres, both located in major urban areas of the province. Urban offenders, especially unemployed offenders, commented that they also had problems of access to the Centres.

The Attendance Centre co-ordinators worked as part of the total provision of Saskatchewan Probation services, a service primarily concerned with another function, the supervision of adult probationers. The Regina and the Saskatoon Centres shared facilities with a host institution, Probation Services. Sharing facilities means one must usually share the resources of the host institution. On the face of it this should be positive. What often occurs, however, is a conflict situation. If the host institution, for example, Saskatchewan Probation services, is the one

that holds the purse strings, as in the case of the Adult Attendance Centres, an unequal power base may exist. The needs of the host institution tend to be given priority over the needs of the smaller organization. Material resources become a problem. The need for new coffee room equipment for the use of the probation officers might, for instance, take precedence over the need of the Attendance Centre co-ordinator to purchase a learning resource, such as video equipment, for the use of the probationers. Adult educators tend to react defensively in a multipurpose institution, according to Mee, especially if they must bow to the needs of the other members of the host institution. They either bend the rules or ignore the needs of others. This conflict could be lessened if more autonomy is granted to the adult educator or if the educator tells the members of the larger organization how their expectations are impeding the progress of the smaller organization. Seeking social support from others in similar job positions may also help to ease the pressure. The Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator found himself in difficult circumstances as head of a marginal operation. The only other person in a similar position was 157 miles away. A sense of isolation prevailed. His work was open ended; his success led to yet more work which exhausted his energy.

Within different adult education institutional settings there is a wide range of staff appointments in

terms of title, status, and commitment. There are quantitative and qualitative differences associated with adult educators who hold full time, part-time, or spare time positions, Mee writes. A full time position has the most man-hours of adult education allocated to it, a spare time position the least man-hours. Full time adult educators tend to view themselves as professionals, are committed to their jobs, and consider themselves "career" adult educators. Part time adult educators may have two careers and are not so committed as full timers. Spare time adult educators, on the other hand, do their job in their leisure time because they want to and are often so committed that they are willing to work for more hours than they are paid. There were few problems with the commitment of the spare time volunteer adult educators from community agencies who worked at the Centres. They gave freely of their time and expertise well above the recompense they received in the way of honoraria.

The Regina and Saskatoon Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinator positions were full time positions. The high degree of commitment the co-ordinators displayed toward their jobs caused some unforeseen problems. Their commitment to promoting the attendance centre concept sometimes ran counter to the aims of the probation officers who needed to fulfill the job requirements of their role. Conflict and dissension resulted, and the probation officers

complained of the Attendance Centres being "crammed down their throats." The commitment of the co-ordinators to the job also resulted in their physical and mental exhaustion which, combined with other frustrations, led to resignations. By 1984, however, despite these difficulties, the co-ordinators' enthusiasm and dedication to the promotion of the attendance centre concept led to their full time positions being designated as permanent positions.

There are differences that Mee delineates between the full time adult educator who works in a specialized institution or as part of a team and the full time adult educator who works mainly alone with little or no clerical or other support. The latter feels a lack of support and suffers from a perceived isolation. Newcomers most experience their freedom as uncertainty and are in need of support. Other factors add to this uneasiness. Sharing accommodation with a host institution may mean a lack of status for the adult education service. This is especially so if the host institution is acknowledged as the main reason for the existence of the adult education service. The low priority accorded to an adult education service within a host institution is reflected in the inadequate administrative and clerical support it receives. Moreover, if the adult educator is in daily contact with the main staff of the host institution, tensions are heightened. In both Adult Attendance Centres the co-ordinators vied with

the probation officers for clerical time. The typing of pre-sentence reports required by the probation officers took precedence over the typing of reports required by the Attendance Centre co-ordinators. The co-ordinators either waited until clerical staff got around to doing Attendance Centre work or pushed to have their work done which resulted in the clerical staff responding by working to rule. Some co-ordinators decided to do their own typing. Along with handling the administration of the service, they co-ordinated volunteers, handled community public relations, and conducted a host of other duties associated with running a viable service. Their experience fit the description Mee gives of a general failure to provide administrative and clerical support to adult educators which results in overly hard work and unfortunate impact on their personal lives.

The Attendance Centre co-ordinators complained of the clash between the demands of the administrative work and their wish to develop the educational service of the Centres. Educational initiatives, however, usually brought with them more administrative demands on an already inadequate support system. Some co-ordinators chose to defer the administrative work to get a viable educational service going. Other co-ordinators retreated into the safety of doing their own administration and abandoned any attempt to assume an active leadership role. This latter response was reinforced when the adult educator felt he was

not adequately trained for the role in the first place.

Any tendency of adult educators to stress the administrative aspects of their work, Mee holds, is reinforced by employers who emphasize the necessity of filling out forms and compliance with numerous rules and regulations. Regulations require clerical work and discourage educational experiment and innovation. Such employers encourage the adult educator to be desk bound. The practitioners respond by bending the rules to give themselves enough elbow room for the creativity which characterizes so much of adult education work. Bending the rules in the Attendance Centre, however, became difficult because one's boss worked on the same premises. Lack of "space" increased the frustration of the co-ordinators.

This lack of status produced problems of identity for the co-ordinators. To counteract their feeling of vulnerability, and to improve their standing with the members of the host institution, Mee notes, adult educators may take on some of the duties of the employees of the host institution. In the Regina and Saskatoon Centres, co-ordinators Terri Klotz and Tom Jamison both became involved with the work of the probation officers. Klotz maintained a reduced caseload of offenders, and Jamison substituted for probation officers from time to time. Any role tensions adult education practitioners feel as a result of their lower status inside the host institution may be heightened,

according to Mee, if their role is not clearly defined by their employers. This situation was experienced by the Regina co-ordinator, Sandi Reid.

Practitioners operating inside their host institutions face situations which limit their autonomy and diminish their self-respect. Adult educators try to justify what they do by referring to its social value, Mee writes. Such justification is of dubious support, however, if it is unacceptable to the host institution. In Reid's case, her frustration over a lack of administrative support and clear role definition led to her withdrawal from the Attendance Centre. She valued spending individual time with the offenders who came to the Centre. Administration valued accountability in the form of higher rates of offender attendance at the Centre.

The Attendance Centre co-ordinators could not advance their careers within their educational role in the Centres. There was no provision for salary increments for a person in the role of education co-ordinator. Advancement came through corrections or social work status. If there is no "career" ladder of any kind, Mee writes, adult educators within host institutions often leave their career options open and see career progression in areas other than adult education. If the members of the host institution do not value the work of the adult educator and if his work lacks definition and adequate support, it should come as no

surprise that adult educators sometimes doubt themselves or leave the service. Attendance Centre co-ordinators tended to abandon their positions with the Centres after a few months or a few years to return to probation work, to take positions with other agencies, or to step into a different branch of the Saskatchewan Corrections system.

Two factors, Mee writes, work against the limited autonomy and status of an adult education service within a host institution: the formal status of the adult educator and the attitude of his employer. Many of the difficulties experienced by an adult education service within a host institution are built into the structure of its organizational design. They need to be designed out. An adult educator who is the head of his own department operates at a senior staff level in the decision making system of the organization. He has his own staff members to give mutual support. The existence of a department makes the employer aware that the service is important to the status of the host institution. The autonomy of adult educators is enhanced by adequate administrative and clerical support and by having their teaching premises under their own control. The marginality of adult educators and their adult education service to the host institution will be reduced if the employer emphasizes the importance of their contribution. During 1979-84 the Adult Attendance Centres were not autonomous departments with facilities,

resources, and staffing under their own control. The co-ordinators took their orders from the probation supervisors and the regional managers. Resources and staffing also came under the control of the probation service.

There tended to be conflicts over the concept of role within the Attendance Centres. No one seemed clear what the job of the Attendance Centre co-ordinator should be. While efforts were made to define this role by the local and provincial committees at intervals during the first five years of the Attendance Centres, a clear job description for the co-ordinator remained a problem. According to Mee, there is often a difference between the expectation of the employer and the concept of role held by the adult educator. A position comes with a collection of rights and duties identified by a title and is expressed in a job description. However, what an adult educator is supposed to do is usually ill-defined by the employer. And job descriptions are modified by the expectations of the other employees or groups with whom one works.

Furthermore, the adult educator brings his own personality to his job, along with his past experiences and his individual needs. How the educator performs on the job depends on the interaction among the expectations of others, his own idea of the role, and his particular personality. Some educators are flexible and independent and do not need a tightly defined job description. Others are of a more

dependent nature and find lack of structure threatening. If the employer does not have a clear picture of what the role entails, it is possible to hire people who are mismatched to the job since there is little possibility of matching the role to the needs, aspirations, skills, and attitudes of the applicant. Symptoms of this showed up when Attendance Centre co-ordinators complained that they did not get the support they felt they needed. Others stated their frustration over lack of role definition when they described how they felt an employer expected a co-ordinator to "do everything." Co-ordinators who felt they were doing an adequate job under the circumstances were sometimes perceived by employers as barely struggling along.

Where there were situations of conflicting role expectations, the Adult Attendance Centre co-ordinators tended to welcome the dual role of part time educator, part time probation officer. In both theory and practice, Mee writes, a dual role situation produces conflict. But the dual role did allow the co-ordinator a chance to keep his career options open. It did allow him to meet the expectations of other colleagues on occasion. These benefits, however, have to be weighed against putting all of one's efforts into doing one job well, the creating of a learning system that will help adult offenders to learn.

With differing ideas of what the role should be, evaluation of the incumbent co-ordinator's job performance

became a conflict ridden process. Ideally, in adult education terms, what is valued is the process of self-evaluation. Any evaluation of one adult by another adult can upset personal relationships. What often happens, according to Mee, is that the criterion used to decide the success or failure of an adult educator is his ability to maintain attendance at classes at or above the standard set by the regulations of the host institution. This avoids the threats implicit in more time consuming and complex evaluation processes. In this case it scarcely matters who is fitted into the role since the employer does not concern himself with whether the students learned anything or not.

There are many reasons why an adult educator experiences difficulties in his role, but these call for support in the form of counselling or training from the employer before resort to dismissal. If no counselling or staff development component is built into the organization, it becomes easy for an employer to shrug off his responsibility and to leave the adult educator to deal with his sense of failure as best he can. During 1979-84, no formal staff development component existed within the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project. Nor was there any in-depth attempt to evaluate whether the programming offered to the adult offender resulted in his learning anything worthwhile about his life situation.

The adult education organizer's role contains two

important aspects: administering and leading. There are regulations that must be followed. But unless an organization is led in new directions it will stagnate. Yet, Mee argues, it is from within this leadership role that the adult educator will experience the most resistance from others in the organization. Growth means change, and to give up old ways may be threatening. It is easier and safer to lose oneself in "administrivia" than to risk the disruption that comes with leading an organization into innovations. At times there were periods of rapid administrative changes within the host institution, Probation Services. Holding the status quo in the Attendance Centres until the organization regained its equilibrium made sense. The co-ordinators who continued to hold the status quo over long periods of organizational calm, however, tended to achieve blandness and stagnation.

The continuing vitality of the Attendance Centres depended upon the personality of the co-ordinator and his ability as a change agent. Part of the job of the Attendance Centre co-ordinator could be termed "outreach" work. Much of the success of the Adult Attendance Centres depended upon the court judges recommending attendance at the Centres in their probation orders. Providing adequate programming depended to a large degree upon securing the good will of the community agencies that provided volunteer educators for the offenders. Some of the co-ordinators were

more successful at the leadership role than others. They enjoyed community public relations and were interested in implementing new ideas into the Centres that came from these contacts. Some did not try to lead but, instead, spent the majority of their time fine tuning the administration of the Centre.

Part of the rhetoric of the Saskatchewan Probation service was that the community had a stake in the outcome of the service and therefore should take some responsibility in the re-education of the offender. To that end, the co-ordinators contacted community agencies to supply volunteer educators for the Centres. These people were paid a small honorarium for their service. Part of the adult education tradition is, also, the involvement of the community in the provision of adult education. However, during 1979-84, no community advisory committee was set up to offer support or advice to the Attendance Centre Project. Corrections representatives made up the provincial co-ordinating committee. Such "in house" committees, Mee writes, tend to harden the boundaries of an existing organization by reflecting a narrow range of interests. One response is to widen the representation on such a committee to include representatives of, for example, corrections staff, the offenders, industry, voluntary organizations, local politicians, the caring services, and the trade unions. Such representation broadens community involvement, provides

access to social networks, and adds political muscle to the service. Teams of practitioners need to be detached from their parent institutions to work as part of a joint effort at the fieldwork level supported by an advisory group consisting of community representatives. The members of this frontline team will require, of course, a resource base under their own control so they can respond to some needs directly.

The goal of adult education is, however, adult learning. To ignore this component is to ignore the reason for the existence of an adult education service even if that service takes place within a mandatory setting. Adult education theory maintains that the education provided to offenders should be for the learner. Any functional adult education system must, therefore, be structured to respond to the educational needs of the adults whom it serves. This requires an understanding of the complex role demands upon the adult educator, the need for a strong support group and resource centre, and the need for supportive administrative arrangements. It requires a combining of resources beyond co-ordination.

What is required, Mee argues, is joint teams of providers at the fieldwork level. This enables continuity of staffing, more effective use of resources, a better chance at acquiring funding, and the opportunity to engender political power from a combination of forces. Such groups

need to be located in local centres to provide access to offenders within the whole of the Corrections system. Detaching adult educators from their host organizations tends to overcome the suspicions which adults hold toward corrections and educational institutions. There is, however, a need for a resource base and for psychological support for the educator. There is also the need that Mee emphasizes to overcome the middle class bias of adult education organizations. As a group these educators will undergo a collective learning experience and will rethink the strengths and weaknesses of the organizations which they represent. Such collective rethinking helps to re-educate their own organizations.

Adult education provides learning environments for potential learners. One wonders whether adult learning can take place in the mandatory environment provided by the Corrections system. Children, of course, are mandated to attend school as part of their initial socialization process. Some of them assimilate what is taught, that is, they "learn." Some of them do not. But what about adults who have been sentenced to a form of "secondary" socialization, that is, to be "resocialized"?

It would appear that those adults who are ready for change may learn what is taught provided it is relevant to their immediate lives. On the face of it, to state that an organization will provide learning opportunities, but that

it is up to the offender whether or not he benefits from them, seems reasonable. But it ignores several points that have to do with adult education principles. One must spell out what is meant by "providing learning opportunities." How are these learning opportunities to be implemented? Where are they to be implemented? According to what principles are they to be implemented?

If one is teaching adults, even in a secondary socialization situation, one must, according to adult education tradition, adhere to adult education principles and techniques. Despite some possible lacks in initial knowledge or socialization, the people one is teaching are not children. They come with a backlog of experience. They need to feel that their past experience is respected and valued by others. If volunteer probation officers or the adult educator in an Attendance Centre program discounts a person's contribution to a class, the offender may feel devalued as a person. If an offender's past experience can be applied only indirectly to his current experience, he will have trouble seeing connections and transferring his learning. The learning content of programs needs to bear some relationship to the offender's past experience and current concerns. He needs time to reflect on his past experience without feeling he is being judged or evaluated.

Adults with low self esteem and a negative self concept may come to learning activities hesitantly. They

are often threatened by both the learning environments and the process of change. Adult offenders have come before the courts whose officials have judged them to be in some way unacceptable to society. Probation officers interviewed in the Regina and Saskatoon Probation service stated that, in their experience, offenders often have a poor self image. People need to have their need for self esteem recognized and met. An offender who enters a program involuntarily as a result of demands from external sources may feel threatened and anxious about learning. Learning environments need to be non-threatening and should include support for change. People learn better if they do not feel unduly anxious or threatened. The offenders need to feel they can test out new ideas, new skills, and new behaviours in safety and without feeling they might fail. Adult educators need to build in opportunities for success for the offender in their programming the first night and repeatedly throughout the course. The offender needs to know he is a worthwhile, acceptable person and that he is succeeding and progressing.

Adult offenders, as adult learners, enter learning programs with immediate personal needs, problems, feelings, hopes, and expectations. These must be recognized by the educator, respected, and dealt with so the learner feels accepted as a person as he presents himself. The more information that can be gleaned about the individual

offender's learning needs before the program is planned the better prepared the adult educator may be to provide relevant learning opportunities for the individual learner. The needs of the individual members in the group and of the group as a whole should be checked out in the first class, as well, and continuously monitored as an ongoing process built into the course.

Past experiences of learning in school environments have not always been successful or pleasant ones for offenders. As adults, offenders need a learning environment that is not only accepting and supportive but a physical environment that is geared to adults who are learning. The closer the physical environment can come to a comfortable living room atmosphere, the more likely the adult is to feel positive about learning. Overhead lights may be efficient, but they do not provide an informal learning atmosphere. Neither do hard seated chairs placed around utilitarian tables. In particular, the environment needs to be structured so that films, flipcharts, and blackboards can easily be viewed, tapes can easily be heard, video equipment can be used, and small groups working together can be isolated from one another. Room to accommodate sufficient learning resources for the offenders to be able to pursue information that they require for learning needs to be incorporated into the physical plan of a learning system. An adequate library, films, video equipment, tapes, or

computer programs need to be purchased to facilitate ease of access to such resources. Ideally, in adult education, the adult learner sets his own goals for learning and draws upon appropriate resources in his quest for knowledge and understanding. His learning is, then, self-directed. If few learning resources are available, the education of the adult learner will be impeded.

Adults tend to be busy people with several roles to fulfill. Adult offenders are no different in this respect. Many offenders on probation are employed. Some are parents. Others are students. Some are unemployed. Getting to an Attendance Centre program scheduled for early evening sometimes means that probationers arrive at class tired from the work of the day, hungry if they have missed a meal, or upset from arranging for transportation or child care. People learn better if their physiological needs are met. They need to feel free to get coffee or other refreshments such as tea or juice when they wish. Some kind of snack, preferably one that contains protein, should be available for those who may require it. If there are individual food needs, such as those of a diabetic, alternate arrangements need to be made to accommodate the requirements of those members.

Adults need to interact with other group members and to discuss what they are learning with other people. This is more likely to happen if the educator makes provision for

the members of the group to get to know and to trust one another. People will learn better if their need for psychological safety is met. Involvement and trust building within a group is an ongoing process. People need to chat informally with one another both within the group, at official coffee breaks, and after class. They also need plenty of discussion time in class so that they may check out new ideas with others and so they may share their experiences. As well, building in times for fun and for socializing in a program helps to meet the social needs of the group members. When people's social needs are met, they are more likely to learn.

The area of trust building is a sensitive one for the adult educator of offenders. Adult offenders even more than other adults may not want to reveal the nature of some of their past experiences. Adhering to adult education theory means that the educator will respect that the offender, as other adults, needs the psychological safety of being able to share only that information that he feels comfortable sharing. This need for psychological safety extends even to waiting for an offender to acknowledge the educator first if they should meet out in the community. In the Centre, the offender needs to know that whatever is shared will not be revealed outside the room in which the discussion is taking place. If there is a volunteer probation officer in the classroom whose role demands he

report back information about the offender to the offender's probation officer, this sense of safety could be jeopardized. Educators need to discuss this possibility with the learners. As well, if the learner reveals information about an illegal act that he has committed, this could put the educator in a difficult situation.

The population of an adult education class is heterogeneous. So it will be with a class of adult offenders. There will be a wide range of ages, abilities, and interests among the potential learners. Adult learners will learn more easily if their learning deals with their current developmental tasks and social roles. Programs need to be designed around the current life needs of the adult offender. Adult offenders, as other adults, do not want to take part in programs that "waste their time," that is, with programs whose content has no immediate and practical application within their own lives. The offender can then deal with his own problems and develop his own solutions rather than work on hypothetical problems or accept prescribed solutions. His own solutions to his own problems need to be tested in a safe environment. Acquiring skills requires actively using them. Transforming previous experience takes time since it includes re-examining past experience, redefining one's values, and testing out the new skills. Adults will be motivated and will acquire new skills if they can choose the direction of what is to be

learned. If this is not always possible, as in a mandatory environment, the teacher must provide full information about the objectives already selected. The offender needs to be able to redefine his own objectives to conform with those of the program. Time is needed at the beginning of a program for the educator and the offender to share their expectations of the course.

Adult offenders, as any adult learners, tend to begin learning programs under some stress, and learning tends to increase the possibility of uncertainty and instability which causes more stress. Adults do not like to appear upset in public, and more stress is added as they try to mask their emotions. Adult educators need to provide activities to reduce stress at the beginning of a course and as it arises throughout the course. A distressed person may use dependent behaviour and poor communication skills. Adults who are labelled as childish or immature or are told that their contributions are out of line are liable to withdraw further from the learning process and feel even more pressure. The educator needs to encourage learners to share their thoughts and feelings and be able to listen to these without labelling or judging.

Adult learners have different learning styles and will be at different levels of cognitive development. The adult educator must be flexible enough to respond to a wide variety of individual offenders. Since no one teacher can

be ideal for all adult learners, the adult educator must be aware of those with whom he is mismatched. There should be some assessment of what the members already know about an area of study, what they do not know, and what they need or want to know. The educator must be able, then, to provide learning situations that are likely to help fill the deficits in the knowledge of the learners. The educator should present a wide range of learning resources in a variety of formats to cater to the different learning styles and ability levels.

Another problem area arises with adult offenders who are learning new ideas and skills. For example, assertiveness training teaches verbal ways of standing up for oneself, protecting one's own rights, and respecting the rights of others. For some offenders, this runs counter to what they have experienced before. Previously, they may have hit first and talked later. Sending them back into a family situation where only one person knows new skills sometimes makes for a difficult fit. Yet, in the Attendance Centres, having family members attend classes other than classes on money management was the exception rather than the rule. Not all persons who are on probation fall into that category of people labelled "disadvantaged," unless one considers that the mere fact of being on probation is a disadvantage. However, the adult educator needs to be aware of the characteristics of disadvantaged people and be able

to provide learning situations appropriate to their needs.

The Attendance Centre co-ordinators used volunteers from the community as probation officers to record offender attendance, to record offender behaviour and participation in class, to write an evaluation of educator performance, and to rule on issues of discipline within the class. In mainstream society, taking part in adult education is a voluntary venture. The adult learner votes on the relevance of an adult education class with his feet. If he does not like the class, he leaves. In a mandatory setting, the adult learner, the probationer, has to attend. Usually, as any adult, he responds to irrelevant education in one of three ways. He becomes disruptive (fights); he daydreams or "tunes out" and risks punishment by not participating or not attending class (withdraws), or he verbalizes his discontent and suggests something different take place (negotiates for a change). A skilled adult educator can usually analyze what is happening and provide appropriate group process skills to handle a situation. If evaluation of offender behaviour and participation is required by the host institution, the volunteer probation officer should possess an appropriate educational background and the necessary experience to be able to make professional judgments about adult learners. If evaluation of adult educators is required by the host institution, then the volunteer probation officer needs to have an appropriate educational

background and sufficient experience in teacher evaluation to be able to make an adequate professional assessment. If the host institution insists on the presence of a volunteer probation officer in class, in addition to a permanent adult educator, leadership conflicts will be avoided if these officers are trained to be non-participant observers of class process. Consistency of group membership will be maintained if the same volunteer probation officer is assigned to each class in a particular course.

There must be an awareness that duplication of program content can occur when probationers are joined by inmates from the Community Training Residence or Urban Camp. The administrators of these facilities also make provision for educational programming to be offered to the offenders. As well, in certain programs, such as assertiveness training, different levels of programming need to be provided to address different levels of skill development. Methods need to be devised to determine the learning needs of the offender prior to enrolling him in a particular class.

Little data existed to determine if offender learning did in fact take place. Some insight into this question could be gleaned from evaluation forms filled out by the offenders at the end of selected courses. Whether these comments reflected a true evaluation of the course or whether they reflected a recording of what the offenders

thought their educator or their probation officer would like to hear is not known. A wide range of responses was revealed, but the majority of the offenders made some positive remarks. These ranged from "I enjoyed it" to "I learned some things I guess." Probation officers interviewed for this study stated that they felt there was a qualitative difference in the attitude and behaviour of the clients they had referred to the Centre and, in the main, this difference represented a change for the better.

Information recorded in a log maintained by the writer for the purposes of phenomenological program evaluation was available. As a volunteer educator for the Saskatoon Centre in 1984, the author of this thesis conducted a six week course in assertiveness training and an eight week personal development course for probationers. She also took part as a participant observer in several other classes run by community volunteer educators and Attendance Centre co-ordinators in Saskatoon and Regina. Offenders demonstrated that they could adequately use skills taught in the classes while they were within the classroom environment. Whether these skills could be used in other environments was not known. However, individuals sometimes reported that they had successfully used a particular skill in certain instances in their personal lives. Some offenders stated they had received information in particular classes, such as the alcohol education class, that was

useful to them in their daily lives.

There were informal ways of judging whether learning took place. In some classes the education of offenders appeared to encompass more than just skill training and the provision of information. Education should enable a person to weigh alternatives and to make decisions about where and how to move on from his present situation. The role of the adult educator is to be a facilitator of adult learning. There was some indication, through the method of continuous assessment of individual progress, that, on occasion, this kind of learning did happen for some offenders in the Attendance Centre.

For example, in one class an eighteen year old diabetic man, Darren, revealed his personal story. He recently had moved to Saskatoon and had not been able to find employment. Forced to seek social assistance, Darren was unsuccessful in securing approval for the extra money allowed for special food requirements from his social assistance worker. His food intake was irregular, and he often went hungry since his social assistance cheque barely covered his rent, utilities, and clothing. Darren was a quiet, shy, soft spoken, eighteen year old man. He was also desperate. Group members worked with him to bolster his confidence in himself and to assure Darren that he had a right to appeal the unfair behaviour of his social assistance worker. The steps he should take to appeal were

rehearsed in class, as was his approach to his social worker. One probationer offered to go with Darren to the social assistance office and to wait with him until the worker agreed to see him and to hear his story. As a direct result, this young offender succeeded in his appeal and received an increased food allowance to cover his diabetic needs. Darren then sought out and entered a Manpower training course, graduated, and became steadily employed. His fellow workers declare Darren to be an excellent employee and a "great guy."

The Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project displayed considerable potential to become a more effective adult education institution despite the obvious limitation of its mandatory nature. While much more could have been done to enhance the effectiveness of the Centres, the Corrections administrators did appear to want the Attendance Centres to succeed. In fact, the Centres probably would not have survived without the dedication and commitment of both management and staff. It is possible, of course, that their motives might have come from a desire to promote a low cost alternative to incarceration. Certainly, if Saskatoon Probation Service Manager Mel Robinson's figures were accurate, the use of adult education in the Attendance Centre for offenders was a less expensive method of providing offender supervision than either traditional probation or low-cost incarceration. On the other hand,

motives are difficult to assess.

The probation officers interviewed did seem to feel that, the question of cost-effectiveness aside, some positive things were happening for some of the probationers who attended the Centre. They felt that the offender who attended the Centre was more liable to weigh alternatives and to make rational decisions. Whether these offender decisions resulted in community activities that were in accordance with what were considered desirable standards by his society whose members judge his performance was not known. There appeared to be little way of knowing whether the offender was coping better socially in the community. In connection with his ability to cope better in the community in a legal sense, no figures appeared to be available about the recidivism rate of offenders who had attended the Centres.

Some of the benefits of providing adult education to offenders who attend the Centres cannot be measured in quantitative terms. Education, whether it is the education of children or the education of adults, is about the development of people. It promotes a person's feeling of confidence in himself and in his abilities. An educator must provide learning opportunities that enhance a person's feeling of self worth, that will enable a person to make some change within himself "for the better." Education is about supporting someone in his efforts to develop into the

person he is capable of becoming, "for the better."

Measured in this way, it would have been difficult to put a dollar price on the cost effectiveness of providing educational opportunities in the Saskatchewan Adult Attendance Centre Project. To provide educational opportunities is one thing, however. Whether the offenders learned anything is another. Did any of the adult offenders who attended the Centres learn anything in these terms? Let one sixteen year old offender answer that question:

"Why did you keep coming here?"

"I kept coming here because you made me feel good inside."

"What did you learn?"

"That I am a worthwhile person."

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