

**Turnkey to Case Manager:
The Professionalisation of the Correctional Officer
Headingley Correctional Institution, Manitoba, 1930-1996**

BY

Christian J. R. Stansfield

**A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in Partial
Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

**Department of History
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba**

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**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
of
Master of Arts**

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This thesis is the product of long years of work in the field of corrections as a correctional officer, as a correctional supervisor and as a probation and parole officer. It derives from the realization that the events which unfolded around us were not always what they seemed. To complete this has required the effort and support of many: my thesis advisor Dr. DeLloyd J. Guth, Faculty of Law, University of Manitoba, (Director, Canadian Legal History Project), the staff of the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Manitoba Justice, and the Department of Community Services.

Additionally, this project has received financial support from the Legal Research Institute, Faculty of Law, the University of Manitoba, for which I am sincerely grateful.

Most important was the support of my wife, Sharon.

DEDICATION

As this work is about corrections, correctional officers, and Headingley Correctional Institution, I would like to dedicate this thesis to the men and women everywhere who, however long, have attempted to work in this difficult occupation, but especially to the staff of Headingley Correctional Institution.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO CANADIAN CORRECTIONS

1.0 The Topic and What Will Be Shown

Gaol, prison, the penitentiary, the hoosegow, the nick and the correctional institution all refer to the place where losers in the criminal law, who are not allowed to remain at large in society, are confined. For the most part close scrutiny of correctional operations has historically been of a reactive and remedial nature, to find out why a riot, a hostage taking or some other serious event happened. The justification is to try to ensure that it does not happen again, which it often does, or simply to investigate such an event as a matter of academic scholarship. In these studies, the correctional officer, the turnkey, the screw, the bull or the guard has been largely overlooked until recently.¹ Yet it is these individuals, more than any other, who have the most significant impact, both positive and negative, on the incarcerated.² They remain one of the most understudied groups within the entire criminal justice system.

1.1 Historical Introduction

Pre-1870 Manitoba prisons were constructed and operated by the Hudson's Bay Company and also by civil authorities. By 1880 the federal correctional system had established responsibility for sentences over two years³ and operated five penitentiaries:

¹Susan Philliber, "Thy Brother's Keeper: A Review of the Literature on Correctional Officers", Justice Quarterly, IV[1], 1987, pp. 9-10.

²James E. Thomas, The English Prison Officer Since 1850: A Study in Conflict (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 205-6.

³*British North America Act, 1867*, 30-31 Victoria, c. 3, s. 91, re: powers of Parliament; ss. 28 re: the establishment of penitentiaries; s. 92 powers of the provinces, s.

Kingston, St. Vincent de Paul, British Columbia, Dorchester and Stony Mountain.

To handle prison sentences under two years, Manitoba opened its first Winnipeg institution at Vaughan Street in 1883.⁴ Gaols opened in Portage La Prairie in 1882, in Brandon in 1883 and in Dauphin in 1904. The new gaol at Headingley was opened to prisoners on 20 October 1930. Most inmates came from the old Vaughan Street Gaol, and others from the Industrial Prison Farm near East Braintree, Manitoba.

There were two competing methods of correction at this time, the silent system (Auburn, N.Y.), an American development, and the separate system (Cherry Hill, P.A.), based on the English system first employed by the Quakers. Headingley used the silent system:

it was a system of congregate work by day and separation into individual cells by night. Prisoners worked in various trade shops in the institution. Stern discipline, silence, downcast eyes, and lock step were all aspects of this system⁵

The provincial correctional system and the correctional officer are both firmly grounded in a correctional paradigm which defined what work the correctional officer was expected to perform, how this work was to be done, and its location in the administrative contexts of government. These administrative contexts become clear through examination of the legislation governing provincial correctional facilities and the organisational

6, the establishment of public and reformatory prisons.

⁴Edith Paterson, "Vaughan Street Gaol Right up to Date - in 1883", Winnipeg Free Press (17 March 1973).

⁵Shirley Skinner, Otto Dreidger and Brian Grainger, Corrections (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981), p. 7.

framework of the department(s) under which corrections fell during the period covered.

1.2 Legislative Authority for Correctional Operations

The administration of justice through incarceration was devolved to the provinces by the British North America Act.⁶ The first Manitoba provincial legislation dealing with corrections gained assent on 14 May 1875.⁷ The Act respecting gaols relegated control and supervision of the common gaol in the province to the sheriff.

The gaoler shall hereafter be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, on the recommendation of the sheriff, and all turnkeys shall be appointed by the sheriff, with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council ... [and] the gaoler and turnkey shall be under the order, control and direction of the sheriff.⁸

The sheriff was also responsible for providing proper direction, preserving discipline and adopting proper security measures for those in custody at the gaol.⁹ Furthermore, the sheriff was empowered to make rules and regulations for governance of the gaol.¹⁰ The 1891 version of the *Manitoba Gaols Act* recognised three gaols in use: Winnipeg, (Vaughan Street), Portage la Prairie and Brandon. Administratively, the sheriff of each judicial district, as these territories were known, was in control of each respective gaol's

⁶Canada, *The British North America Act* 1867 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1948), s. 92.

⁷Manitoba, "An Act Respecting Gaols", 38 Victoria 1875, *Statutes of Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1875), p. 299-300.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 299.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 300.

operation and supervision.¹¹

By 1913, five judicial districts existed in the province, with new sites located at Morden and Minnedosa. While sheriffs remained in control of the gaols, responsibility shifted to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council for the creation and passage of rules and regulations for the “management, internal economy, proper security, due ordering and government of said common gaols, [and] for the conduct and duties of the gaolers and other officers.”¹²

In the 1940 revision of the *Manitoba Gaols Act*, the responsibility for the appointment of gaol staff shifted from the sheriff to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. By this time the sheriffs were no longer responsible for gaol operations, the gaolers or their staff.

In following up on these significant 1940 changes the Deputy Attorney General, John Allen, wrote a memorandum to Attorney General James McLenaghan, K.C., on 24 October 1946, in which he outlined the authority of sheriffs in the province of Manitoba over provincial gaols.¹³ He cited the various versions of the previous acts, including removal of the sheriff's responsibility over prisons in the 1940 Revised Statutes of Manitoba, Chapter 82. Mr. Allen in conclusion stated “the common gaols in Manitoba not being now under the control and supervision of the sheriffs of the respective districts

¹¹Manitoba, *An Act Respecting Gaols and Prisons* (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1891), p. 730.

¹²Manitoba, *An Act Respecting Gaols and Prisons*, Cap. 76, Revised Statutes of Manitoba (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1913), p. 1115.

¹³ PAM, Box K-2-6-18, F# Sheriffs & Gaols in Manitoba,.

appears to harmonize with the existing situation in England.”¹⁴ In a 15 November 1946 memorandum headed “the Sheriffs in Manitoba and their relationship to the Provincial Gaols”, sheriff Douglas C. M. Kyle of the Eastern Judicial District, which included Winnipeg and Headingley, wrote that there was a threefold relationship between his department and the gaols. He was a “representative of the Attorney-General and his department; chief administrative officer of the courts; and chief executive of the crown within the district”.¹⁵ Kyle was in effect refusing to relinquish the power and control he previously had over Headingley Gaol. Regarding the 1940 changes he and Mr. Weeks, then superintendent of the gaol, wrote and signed a letter recommending two amendments to the *Sheriffs Act*, whereby the sheriff would remain in general control of the gaols’ operation and stating he would not “interfere with the internal economy of said gaols.”¹⁶ Governor Weeks and Sheriff Kyle formally signed a copy of these amendments and forwarded them to the Attorney General on 6 November 1946, indicating that it was “the understanding upon which we are carrying on our respective duties, and we do hereby recommend the same for your approval.”¹⁷ These changes were not subsequently made to the *Sheriff’s Act*.¹⁸

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁵PAM, Box K-2-6-18, “Memorandum for the Honourable James McLenaghan, Re the Sheriffs in Manitoba and their relationship to the Provincial Gaols”.

¹⁶PAM, Box K-2-6-18, 15 November 1946, p. 2.

¹⁷PAM, Box K-2-6-18, Memorandum for the Honourable James McLenaghan, 6 November 1946, from George Weeks and D.C.M. Kyle.

¹⁸It was Kyle who headed the inquiry into the 1954 riot at Headingley in which Mr. Weeks was removed from the position of superintendent.

“An Act Respecting the Reception, Care, Treatment, Custody, and Rehabilitation of Juvenile and Adult Offenders”¹⁹ became effective on 1 February 1966 and changed the name of the premises previously known as common gaols to “correctional institutions” and its staff to “correctional officers”. With that, the superintendent, under the direction of the director had “the entire execution, control and management of all the affairs of the correctional institution of which he is in charge”.²⁰ Furthermore, the superintendent, subject to the director’s approval, may enact rules and orders respecting:

- (a) the conduct and duties of officers and employees of a correctional institution;
- (b) the conduct and discipline of inmates of correctional institutions; and
- (c) such other matters and things that are necessary for the maintenance of order and good government of correctional institutions.²¹

This legislation was replaced in 1998 with the *Correctional Services Act*. Up to that point no major revisions had occurred except for the addition of two sets of regulations governing inmate rules and disciplinary issues.²²

1.3 Organisational Placement of Correctional Operations Within Government

Until the appointment of Alfred J. Kitchen as Director of Corrections in 1957, the reporting line within the department had gone from the superintendents up the chain of command through the Assistant Deputy Attorney General, the Deputy Attorney General

¹⁹Manitoba, *The Corrections Act*, Chapter C230, (Winnipeg: Queen’s Printer, 1966), p.1.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 16.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 17.

²²Manitoba, *Manitoba Gazette, Part II, Regulation 227/92* and *Manitoba Gazette Part II, Regulation 21/95*.

and finally to the Attorney General. As mentioned before, the sheriff of each judicial district was removed from this reporting authority as the person of first contact and responsibility between 1940 and 1946.²³ With the appointment of Mr. Kitchen, the government had finally acted on recommendations made by the *Fauteux Report* (1956) and established a provincial probation system for juvenile and adult offenders, as well as a person to be responsible for the operation of provincial correctional institutions. Mr. Kitchen's appointment expanded the adult correctional network to post-incarceration periods. Most importantly, it harmonised Manitoba with other provinces, which had already established some form of probation services to deal with adult offenders.²⁴ The organisational structure of the department remained essentially the same until the complete revision of the Act in 1966 when Manitoba entered the Community Era of Canadian corrections.

To outline the organisational changes which took place from 1966 onward is to trace a busy and hectic period of Manitoba's governmental history. Briefly, the Department of Health and Social Services became the provincial agency which dealt with the wide range

²³Under dispute and discussion between the Deputy Attorney General, Mr. Allen, and then Sheriff, D.C.M. Kyle.

²⁴Skinner, *et al.*, *supra* note 5, p. 122. Saskatchewan set up adult probation in 1948; and, Peter Oliver and Michael D. Whittingham, "Elitism, Localism, and the Emergence of Adult Probation Services in Ontario, 1893-1972" in *Legal/Administration and Counselling Syllabi* (Hamilton: Ministry of Correctional Services - Ontario, 1998). Ontario set up adult probation services in a minor way in 1922. A systematic effort began in 1952.

of social issues, including correctional programs in the fiscal year of 1968.²⁵ In May 1970 the department changed its name to Health and Social Development, recognising that the department “must provide ... health and social services in terms of the total individual, family or community in relation to the total environment.”²⁶ Each division of the department reported through the Deputy Minister to the Minister. By 1972 the department had undergone an internal reorganisation into four main subgroups, of which the Inter-Regional Operations Division included corrections. On 2 July 1974, in response to increasingly complex and difficult programs and operations, “corrections were placed under the direction of the Honourable J. R. (Bud) Boyce who had just been appointed Minister of Corrective and Rehabilitative Services within the Department of Health and Social Development”.²⁷ In 1978 the name of the organisational body changed to Health and Community Services, in which Corrective and Rehabilitative Services operated as an associated ministry.²⁸ A Division of Corrections within the Department of Health, Community Services and Corrections was created in 1979. By November Community Services and Corrections was made into a separate portfolio from Health, and operated as

²⁵Public Health Division, Mental Health Division, Administration Division, Central Services Division, Corrections Division, Housing and Agency Relations Division, and Social Services Division were all contained within this omnibus department.

²⁶Manitoba, Annual Report 1970 (Winnipeg: Health and Social Development, 1971), p. 9.

²⁷Manitoba, Annual Report 1974 (Winnipeg: Health and Social Development, 1975), p. 45.

²⁸Manitoba, Annual Report 1978 (Winnipeg: Health and Community Services, 1979), p. 50.

such until 1984 when it became solely the Department of Community Services.

In the year 1988-9 the shift from the Community Era of Canadian corrections²⁹ to the Post-social Era³⁰ took place. This included a shift from social based beliefs about crime causation and rehabilitation to an actuarial nature of the new penology which included new correctional methods like strategic planning, environmental analysis, the development of a mission and mandate statement for corrections, and concern for the aggregate and not the individual.³¹ This was exemplified by transfer of Corrections from Community Services to the Attorney General's Department on 9 May 1988, and then a change of name from the Department of the Attorney General to simply, Justice.³² (See Appendix A for fuller details on administrative changes)

The correctional system of Manitoba underwent many legislative and organisational changes. This discussion has not been meant to examine the politics of those moves, which are beyond the scope of this discussion; rather, it is to stress that the problem with affecting change to the system was dependent on staying fixed on a paradigm of systemic

²⁹Skinner, *et al.*, *supra* note 5.

³⁰Pat O'Malley, "Post-Social Criminologies" *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, VIII [1], 1996, pp. 26-38. In brief the social focus of corrections which sought to plan rehabilitation for the offender has been replaced by one in which the offender selects and attends activities from a range of offered programs and activities.

³¹Malcolm Feeley and Jonathon Simon, "The New Penology: Notes on the Emerging Strategy of Corrections and Its Implications", *Criminology*, XXX (1992), pp. 449-74.; Richard Ericson, Maeve McMahon and Donald Evans, "Punishing for Profit", in *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, XXIX (4), 1987, pp. 29-60.

³²Manitoba, Department of Justice. *Annual Report 1988-9* (Winnipeg: Justice, 1989).

operations. However, the number of name and types of name changes in the 1970s and 1980s make it easier to understand specifically why the association with a particular model was difficult.

1.4 Statement on Professionalisation

Corrections could not really start to plan its own destiny while the overall operations were the responsibility of the sheriff of the district. The lack of an avid spokesperson at higher levels of government made this difficult. Two events gave the department more power over its own destiny, the appointment of a Director of Corrections and the movement of “corrections” from the Attorney-General to Health and Social Development. During the community or social corrections era, the department was placed in various social service oriented departments, before returning to a post-social placement in *Justice*. The term Justice has not solely been a “law and order” mind set, rather, it is the justness of the penalty to the crime, effective management and the importance of the offender in taking part in his or her own rehabilitation. Equally so, it is providing the type of work to correctional officers which would help them to use skills beyond simply being turnkeys.

Shifts within government coincided with changes in philosophical beliefs and paradigms. With each shift came changes in what the correctional officer formally did at work with the offender. Changes in recruitment and staff training efforts attempted to prepare the correctional officer for this new role. These were systemic actions meant to raise the standards of the correctional officers work and require them to take greater direct control of the rehabilitative efforts in the institution. However, this was an external initiative and herein lay one of the points of conflict about professionalisation. Chapter

Five will examine actual correctional officer characteristics to determine what their education and abilities were, and ultimately whether they were prepared at various points to assume more "professional" types of social service work. It will also test whether hiring in the different eras was effective in raising the worker standards.

1.5 Research Model for the Correctional Officer

This examination will be centred on Headingley Correctional Institution, located approximately fourteen kilometres west of the city of Winnipeg in the Province of Manitoba. It was for many years the flagship of the provincial fleet of correctional facilities³³ and is still the largest provincial penal institution,³⁴ located convenient to the boundary of Winnipeg, the seat of provincial political power.

The selection of this institution was influenced by a number of factors. The first is that it had to be in existence for a suitable period of time for historical analysis. Second, that there was material written about the role and operation of the institution and its staff. Third, that the sample of correctional officers be statistically significant for analysis of a random sample. In these terms, only Headingley, Brandon and Portage la Prairie Correctional Institutions had suitable longevity. However, both Brandon and Portage la Prairie institutions and their staff were quite small, and neither Brandon nor Portage la Prairie institutions had been the subject of examination by governmental reports in the way that Headingley Correctional Institution has.

³³Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada, Memorandum presented on behalf of the Government of Manitoba by the Honourable W. J. Major, K. C., 1938.

³⁴Manitoba Justice, Annual Report 1995-6, (Winnipeg: Department of Justice, 1996), p. 35.

1.6 Methodological Issues

The time frame will be from Headingley's opening on 20 October 1930 until 25 April 1996, the day of a significant riot and near destruction of that venerable institution. While being a common gaol and later a correctional institution, it primarily held sentenced prisoners³⁵ and dealt with offenders in some form of treatment orientation, up to and including the current case management paradigm.³⁶ Therefore, the level of the correctional officer's qualifications and education would be expected to be appropriate for the role and function of that type of institution. The professionalisation of the correctional officer therefore is directly related to a type of institution and inmate involvement in which specialised knowledge is used by the correctional officer in the positive rehabilitation of the offender. Other factors may have produced, through the selection of individuals as correctional officers, a group of people who give the appearance of professionalisation unrelated to official efforts. For instance, extant hiring criteria like previous military or police service, while important qualities in their own right, may subsume other values like educational level, personal stability, an ability to think under pressure, and the ability and willingness to use force when required.

It would be extremely negligent not to mention the biases that I may consciously or unconsciously bring to this examination. I was employed at Headingley Correctional Institution from 1984 until 1997 as a correctional officer and a correctional supervisor.

³⁵Varied from two to four cell blocks at some points, but always held two cell blocks.

³⁶Case Management was started in 1991 at Headingley.

Like many others³⁷ I had a relative working at the institution that pre-dated my employment, my father, James D. Stansfield. Despite this, I believe that my experience with Manitoba provincial corrections, historical knowledge, and graduate degree in criminology will add, rather than detract, from this work: the proof will remain in the reading.

1.7 Burden of Proof

Obtaining workable data is a problem with this kind of inquiry. Because the period under examination involves pre- and post-computer technologies, the historical survival of records, specifically staff lists and personnel files, and the peculiarities of provincial civil service filing methods,³⁸ has made the use of a consistent sampling methodology impossible. Rather, three different methodologies have had to be adopted. The first deals with the period from 1930-1952, during which the annual reports listed the retirement dates of employees. Therefore, the sample for these years will rely on termination dates to identify the subjects for examination. From 1953-1977 names were selected from a list that includes both start dates and an employee number from a computer based human resources program.³⁹

³⁷Winnipeg Free Press, August 1991.

³⁸Filed by termination or retirement dates. Manitoba, Attorney-General, Hedingley Correctional Institution, Annual Reports 1947-1957.

³⁹List is circa 1977 and may not include all employees hired during those years, but only those still on staff at that time who started during those years: M.E.I.S. means Manitoba Employee Information System.

The final portion of the sample was derived from a list of all employees at Headingley Correctional Institution on staff the day of the riot, 25 April 1996, using a second generation human resources program.⁴⁰

1.8 Substantive Issues

Two substantive issues exist with the material used in this study. The first is the availability and cost of data. To photocopy a complete sample of all institutional officers at ten year intervals, due to the issues discussed above, has been officially estimated to cost \$5,600. This has been modified by selecting a sample to produce a list which would be random, statistically accurate and reduce the cost of access significantly.⁴¹

The second substantive issue is the paucity of material available due to fire, destruction, theft and restriction to, or non-retention of, records. It also covers the fact that access to lists of files is strictly controlled by the provincial Justice Department staff.⁴²

One must rely on their knowledge of the material and their willingness to provide it to the applicant. Finally, the efficacy of archival record keeping may also influence what can be found *versus* what exists. The 'catch-22' clearly exists: without access to classification lists and indexes of corrections documents, one cannot identify exactly which documents one needs!

Chapter Two will explore the definition of professionalisation in the sociological and

⁴⁰C.H.R.I.S. = Canadian Human Resources Information System.

⁴¹Taken from a staff list from the 1970s.

⁴²Using Freedom of Information and Privacy Protection Act (F.I.P.P.A.) legislation.

correctional literature and explore the cornerstones, specialised knowledge and higher education, as they are applied to the correctional officer.

CHAPTER TWO: PROFESSIONALISATION: A LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Why do people often want to be seen as more than just a worker in a job? Why also is it necessary to think of the work of a correctional officer specifically as more than just a job? It appears at first look as if the skills needed by correctional officers are quite common: authoritarian, interested in working with people and protecting society. Yet, there is something more involved here. Clearly it takes time to learn and develop the skills of most jobs and correctional work is no exception. Controlling twenty or thirty persons in a prison location cannot be considered easy work, but correctional officers do this daily without a knife, gun or club. Where do these skills and abilities derive? Are they inherent in the individual selected as a correctional officer? Do they accompany higher educational attainment? Are they developed through professional training? Or are they learned like a craft?

For years the professionalisation of the correctional officer has been officially claimed to be taking place. This thesis will put this claim, and other popular and political claims, to the test of empirical analysis. It will look at whether they are, or are not, becoming professionals. This study will focus on the examination over time of one institution in Manitoba, to determine whether correctional officers there did or did not meet the criteria of professionalisation.

2.1 The Concept of Professionalisation in the Sociological Literature

What are the various theoretical premises necessary to achieve professionalisation as derived from sociological and correctional literature? A profession can be a group who

gather together formally or informally, to guide the practice of, and entry into, a work activity. The groups intention is to secure earnings and alternatively raise the public perception and value of those working in that activity.⁴³ This provides a starting place for the examination of correctional work, whether it can be considered a profession and whether those so employed could be considered professionals. What are the tenets of professionalisation in the literature?

Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders (1933) found that the professions arose out of groups of adherents who sought standards of practice, control of admission to the practice, the on-going quality of those in a practice, and the honour of honest and competent service through adherence to an ethical code. The type of training that prepared those entering a particular practice involved both intellectual and theoretical knowledge, and practical training. "We have found that the application of an intellectual technique to the ordinary business of life, required as that result of prolonged and specialized training, is the chief distinguishing characteristic of the professions."⁴⁴ In contrast "where a technique is specialized, the rise of a profession is unescapable; where it is generalized, its coming must wait upon the growth of a sense of a common responsibility in order that the loose bond, created by the possession of a common but ill-defined technique, may be drawn more tightly."⁴⁵

⁴³Manitoba Law Reform Commission. Regulating Professions and Occupations (Winnipeg: Manitoba Law Reform Commission, 1994), p. 5.

⁴⁴Sir Alexander M. Carr-Saunders, The Professions (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1933).

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 491-2.

Theodore Caplow⁴⁶ (1954) suggested that professionals are able to exercise a greater level of autonomy and control over entry to a profession. He agrees with Carr-Saunders and finds that the service provided is considered unique to that group. He also finds a set of professional ethics adhered to by the group. Additionally there is a representative group who manage admission to the practice and maintain the standards of practice of the profession as a whole.

Vollmer and Miles⁴⁷ (1966) found five characteristics of a profession: a systematic theory, that is the theory underlying the professional skill, professional authority or expert knowledge, community sanction or the control over training in and admission to the practice of that knowledge, an ethical code, both formal and informal, and a culture of the group's values, norms and symbols, essentially a professional association.

Benjamin Frank (1966) uncovered some debate about professionalisation in the field of corrections: "some argue that correction has by this time accumulated a sufficient body of knowledge, skills, and techniques to warrant its being designated as a profession and that it is sufficiently unique to resist being absorbed by another profession".⁴⁸ Yet he suggested that others say it

has not yet achieved consensus on its objective, its knowledge is basically descriptive rather than explanatory (that is it is akin to a non-scientific endeavour like history rather than to a science like physics); and its skills

⁴⁶Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), pp. 170-2.

⁴⁷Howard Vollmer and Donald Mills, eds., Professionalization (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966).

⁴⁸Benjamin Frank, "The Emerging Professionalism of the Correctional Officer", Crime and Delinquency XII (3), 1966, p. 273.

and techniques, particularly those related to treatment, lack a unifying theoretical principle and thus are not susceptible to evaluation or standardization.⁴⁹

He went on to say that the developing professionalisation in corrections would be a role best assumed by the correctional officers of all the persons working in the field, thus allowing “a change from an exclusively custodial role to that of ancillary to administrative and professional practice, thus providing an avenue of professional preparation for assuming administrative or re-socialization functions.”⁵⁰ The number of, and the central role of, correctional officers in the inmate’s life made them prime candidates to affect the greatest positive change with them. Frank suggested that the unanswered questions are: who is to be trained, in what, by whom, how and evaluated in what manner?⁵¹

Hall (1976) suggested that there were two types of variables in deciding whether a group was on their way to professional status. These were structural and attitudinal. Among the structural ones were: the creation of a full time occupation, the establishment of a knowledge based training model to raise the status of the occupation, the formation of a professional association, and the formation of a code of ethics. The attitudinal attributes included: the use of the professional organisation as a major reference: a forum, a belief in service to the public, a belief in self-regulation, a sense of calling to the field, and, autonomy.⁵²

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 274.

⁵² Richard H. Hall, “The Components of Professionalization”, in Classes, Conflict and Control: Studies in Criminal Justice Management (Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing Company, 1976), pp.

Jurik and Musheno (1986) found that external groups were seeking professional status for the correctional officer. The correctional officer had not received an increase in authority or autonomy over the inmate nor had they designed a code of ethics governing practice. The only standard sought was an increased educational level for the entry-level correctional officer. This had been done by correctional managers to quell the concerns of community and government over on-going problems in the facilities. Management lacked an understanding of what it meant for the organisation as a whole to recruit educated persons.⁵³ What this study found was that, instead of more job satisfaction, the more educated officers had less job satisfaction than their counterparts.⁵⁴ This was due to a lack of autonomy, to inter-staff socialisation issues and to exclusion from institutional decision-making.⁵⁵

Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988) considered that “any individual or group may portray a professional interest without necessarily being identified as belonging to one of the organized professions ... or without having obtained the credentials required to gain admittance to a professional fraternity”.⁵⁶

To them, professionalisation implied:

1) a vocation or calling entered into by choice;

478-80.

⁵³Nancy Jurik and Michael C. Musheno, “The Internal Crisis of Corrections”, Justice Quarterly, III [4], 1986, pp. 457-9.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 477.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 471-5.

⁵⁶John W. Ekstedt and Curt T. Griffiths, Corrections in Canada (Toronto: Butterworths, 1988), pp. 122-3.

- 2) the measure of one's competence was decided by one's peers;
- 3) there was a branch of advanced learning or science associated with the field, which was also seen as a vocation requiring special skill, tools and techniques; and
- 4) the person must be dedicated to their vocation.⁵⁷

A professional interest in corrections is defined as being present whenever the following exist:

1. A correctional employee has satisfied the requirements for admission to an organized professional group or is a member of such a group.
2. A correctional employee has chosen corrections as a vocation and is interested in developing that career in association with and supported by his/her peers.⁵⁸

In looking at Table 2.1.1, the following characteristics were present in every study: a specialised body of knowledge - or at least theoretical knowledge, control of admission to the profession, self-regulation, and a professional association. Next most often came a code of ethics and quality control. Miscellaneous findings were: authority, autonomy, full time employment and a sense of calling to the field.

The primary difficulty with the criteria of specialised education for correctional officers is that it is not entirely clear what form it should take. It is clear that the correctional officer also requires the social science knowledge demanded in other correctional professionals, like psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers, to a lesser degree. The next section will examine that more fully.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 123.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 123-4.

Table 2.1.1 Criteria in Beliefs of What Makes Up Professionalisation

Carr-Saunders	Caplow	Vollmer & Mills	Frank	Jurik and Musheno	Ekstedt & Griffiths	Hall
Collective Group	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Std of Practice	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Control Admission	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Quality Control	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Ethical Code	Yes	Yes		Yes		Yes
Unique Knowledge	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Authority				Yes		
Autonomy				Yes		Yes
Sense of Calling					Yes	Yes
Full Time						Yes

2.2 Specialised Knowledge, Higher Education and Other Factors

The problem in achieving higher education and thus professional status for correctional officers has been in defining what it is that the correctional officer does, in order to recruit those skills, talents or types of education best suited to this type of social service work.⁵⁹

A behavioural approach is based on the realities of the job, not what the correctional

⁵⁹Robert Ross, "Psychological Tests for Correctional Officer Selection" in Prison Guard/Correctional Officer (Toronto: Butterworths, 1981), pp. 252-3.

officer 'ought' to be doing. The most desirable characteristics in correctional officers are: understanding human behaviour, patience, empathy and sensitivity, self-confidence and team work.⁶⁰ These are also the attributes of higher education which coincide with the characteristics sought by correctional administrators.⁶¹

As Jurik and Musheno indicated earlier there is another side to this debate about the benefits or deficits of higher education to the organisation which affect correctional officer professionalisation.⁶² Recent literature⁶³ has looked at one American state's correctional system, and the Correctional Service of Canada, to test the effects of education on staff commitment and job satisfaction. There are three main reflections of educational attainment and job satisfaction: the reform perspective, status inconsistency, and the work environment.⁶⁴ For those with the appropriate degrees, status inconsistency was expected to undo any concurrent positive effects derived from the higher education requirement. In

⁶⁰Ian L. Heper, Richard L. Skok, and T. F. McLaughlin, "Successful Correctional Officers", Corrective and Social Psychiatry, XXXVI (3), 1990, p. 48.

⁶¹Robert Wicks, Guard! Society's Professional Prisoner (Houston: Gulf Publishing Co., 1980) p. 42; Nancy Jurik, "Individual and Organizational Determinants of Correctional Officer Attitudes Toward Inmates", Criminology, XXIII (3), 1985; Robinson, et al., "The Influence of Educational Attainment on the Attitudes and Job Performance of Correctional Officers", Crime & Delinquency, XXXIII [1], 1977, pp. 60-77.

⁶²Ben Crouch, "Guard Work in Transition", in The Dilemmas of Corrections (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1986), pp. 164-183, public, government and administrative opposition; not enough money to establish pay commiserate with experience; and role conflict, p. 178.

⁶³Jurik, supra note 61; Jurik and Musheno, supra note 53; Jurik and Winn, "Describing Correctional-Security Dropouts and Rejects: An Individual or Organizational Profile?", Criminal Justice and Behaviour, XIV (1), 1987, pp. 5-25; Jurik, et al., "Educational Attainment, Job Satisfaction and the Professionalization of Correctional Officers", Work and Occupations, XIV (1), 1987, pp. 106-25; Robinson, et al., supra note 61.

⁶⁴Jurik, et al., Ibid.

short, the skills being recruited are inconsistent with the needs of the position, the desire for advancement, and the type of organisational management style. Finally, the working environment and management style can also provide the greatest stress to those with higher education, and the related desire to contribute more positively to the organisation.⁶⁵

When those opportunities are denied to the worker, they become disillusioned, cynical, and seek other employment. This study perceived working conditions to be the strongest predictor of job satisfaction. These conditions included the following qualities: human service orientation, possible career development opportunities, and openness within the organisation. While not directly linked to professionalisation, they were consequential qualities associated with the attainment of higher levels of education.

A recent article⁶⁶ considered educational attainment and job satisfaction from two positions: attitudes and behaviours towards the offender, and occupational adjustment, taken as job satisfaction and burnout. The results support those of others⁶⁷ that higher education and job satisfaction are negatively correlated. The higher level of education produces unfulfilled expectations about what their influence in the organisation will be. Still, there is a correlation between organisational commitment and those correctional regimes which are engaged in reforms that involve the correctional worker. On the other hand, organisational commitment is related negatively to status inconsistency, which produces a positive relationship in the correctional officer between educational level and

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 108.

⁶⁶Robinson, et al., supra note 61.

⁶⁷Jurik, et al., supra note 63; and Philliber, supra note 1.

skills used. This occurs when working conditions equate and coincide with human service work, higher education, and professionalisation.⁶⁸

Therefore it is not only the correctional officer who requires specialised knowledge or higher education plus the other pre-conditions to be considered a professional. The type and source of that education is of some debate, as is the degree to which the organisation is prepared to accept and adapt those workers. The next section will consider how to relate the concept of professionalisation to the correctional officer.

2.3 How to Evaluate the Professionalisation of the Correctional Officer

The correctional officer is not created and does not exist in isolation from the rest of the world and its influences.⁶⁹ Therefore, the professionalisation of the correctional officer has, for its fulfilment, at least six obstacles. First, changes in the correctional paradigm and purpose occur frequently enough to keep the correctional system in a state of flux, conflict and internal resentment. Second, while there is a recent demand⁷⁰ by correctional managers for higher education both at entry level and as a promotional requirement for correctional officers, people with the necessary requirements may not be willing to work in this field in sufficient numbers to fulfil the demand. Third, when the economic situation offers better opportunities elsewhere for people with higher educational levels, their retention in the field of corrections will be difficult to maintain. Fourth, there are three

⁶⁸Robinson, *et al.*, *supra* note 61, pp. 61-3.

⁶⁹Total institutions as in: Erving Goffman, *Asylums* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1961) are no longer valid, as suggested by Keith Farrington, "The Modern Prison as Total Institution?", *Crime & Delinquency*, V. XXXVIII (1), 1992, pp. 6-26.

⁷⁰1970 onward: *supra* note 53, p. 458.

types of role inconsistencies: what people were hired to do as correctional officers, what they are allowed to do, as well as what they are later asked to do.⁷¹ Those with higher levels of education are often prevented from applying it in practice because the use of that education is not a value supported by institutional management.⁷² The more highly educated may also be prevented from admitting to their education among peers, due to the perception of a threat to the less educated person's job and the negative psychological effects it may produce in the less educated individual. Fifth, unionisation has further strained relations between correctional officers and correctional managers in the battle for professionalisation, by requiring both sides to relinquish or challenge respective domains to meet self-interests.⁷³ Lastly, privatisation has become a constant threat to public correctional systems, the correctional paradigm and unionisation itself.

Of these six obstructions to professionalisation, three will be discussed here. These were selected on the basis of the abundant and consistently available information for the period under examination. They are: changes in the correctional paradigm, the recent demands of recruiters for higher education of correctional officers, and the role of inconsistency of standards caused by changes in the correctional paradigm. The other three remain for subsequent researchers to investigate.

⁷¹Crouch, supra note 62, pp. 166-7.

⁷²Officer involvement in operations and follow through on the reform movement in the prison. Jurik and Musheno, supra note 53, p. 471.

⁷³Crouch, supra note 62, pp. 177-8; Mary Ann Farkas, "Professionalization: Is it the Cure-All for What "Ails" the Correctional Officer?", Journal of Crime and Justice XII (2), (1990), pp. 43-6.

2.4 Professionalisation and the Correctional Paradigm

Now that the theories have been formulated, it will be necessary to describe briefly how they will be tested. Professionalisation as we have seen has deep roots in the sociological literature,⁷⁴ particularly in the traditional areas of medicine, dentistry, and law.

The application of the concept to corrections is recent. To place it in context the meaning of professionalisation will be discussed historically within the four main correctional paradigms in Canada during the period under discussion, 1930-1996, in Chapter Four. These are: punishment, treatment, community corrections and post-social penology.⁷⁵ In particular, consideration will be given to the types of work performed by correctional officers when these models were being used, to identify any skills that may contribute to the professionalisation of the correctional officer.

To test the reactive hiring theory of the correctional officer is to ask if there were differences within groups hired in certain sets of years, or between groups hired in certain sets of years and other sets of years. One issue has continually been promoted in governmental reports: upgrade the current staff and hire and train new staff on a more professional model.⁷⁶ Has this been done and were these initiatives effective? Or was this rise reflective of a rise in the general educational level of the population of either Manitoba or Canada? This will be examined in Chapter Five.

⁷⁴Carr-Saunders, *supra* note 44, p. 491.

⁷⁵ Skinner, *et al.*, *supra* note 5, discusses the first three; the fourth is added from: O'Malley, *supra* note 30, and Feeley and Simon, *supra* note 31.

⁷⁶Report of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada [Archambault] (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1938), p. 350; Report to Parliament: The Subcommittee on the Penitentiary System in Canada [MacGuigan] (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1977), p. 159, #6, (the Royal Canadian Mounted Police).

The contention here is that the professionalisation of the correctional officer is not presently possible for the following reasons: because correctional officers do not fully meet the cornerstone of professionalisation, that is specialised knowledge or at least higher education, because governments are continually refining what the treatment and the correction of the offender is and how it is accomplished, and, because the hiring of correctional officers is reactionary to governmental reports and political objectives.

2.5 Conclusion

What has professionalisation meant? What criteria have evolved for that professionalisation? How has the professionalisation of the correctional officer developed to date? The conclusion, based on a number of factors, is that they historically have not been professionals. The best that can be hoped for is the attainment of a status that recognises and rewards the difficult work done by correctional officers and the eventual development of some form of professionalism through both management initiatives and by the officers themselves. That depends on whether the correctional officer can achieve, or be allowed to attempt to achieve, status and recognition without the presently unrealistic hope of becoming a 'profession', then the hope may ultimately become more realistic. For the most part the higher education criteria has brought with it attitudes to the job like human service interest, positive consideration of people, willingness to contribute to the organisation and a desire to shape its future. Higher education has been indirectly linked as a benefit through those regimes which involve and utilise staff talents more effectively. Chapter Three we will look at professionalisation in the context of federal and provincial governmental reports.

CHAPTER THREE: PROFESSIONALISATION IN GOVERNMENT REPORTS ON CORRECTIONS

3.0 Introduction

As seen in the previous chapter professionalisation is a grant of status that the public is willing to give to a group of persons practising a particular, unique or specialised skill, who have standards of admission and practice, ethical codes of operation and a public service orientation. The simplest index of professionalisation, specialised knowledge or higher education, will be used to assess the interplay between the concept and the expectation of the correctional officer, based on specific federal and provincial governmental reports.

3.1 The Concept of Professionalisation in Federal Governmental Reports

Government has the responsibility to provide services for the public, to provide that service to a level acceptable to the public, and to provide those services in a cost effective manner. Reports by various levels of government on their operation of correctional institutions have in many cases followed riots, escapes and exposes of systemic problems.⁷⁷ Among the usual recommendations are found reference to staff recruitment, selection and training, as well as descriptions of the function(s) correctional officers and staff are to perform. With this in mind we will now turn to specific reports by the Federal

⁷⁷Report on Headingley Correctional Institution [Garson] (Winnipeg: 1983) following the breakdown in the effective operation of the institution by its managers; the Report of the Independent Review of the Circumstances Surrounding the 25-26 April 1996, Riot at the Headingley Correctional Institution [Hughes] (Winnipeg: 1996); and the Report of the Royal Commission on the Toronto Jail and Custodial Services [Shapiro] (Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario, 1978), are just a few examples.

government, and then the Manitoba provincial government to illustrate how correctional officers and their roles have been conceptualised and how suggested changes were to be effected. A detailed list of the chairpersons, members and positions in civilian life are found in Appendix D.

The Federal government is responsible for an extensive correctional system spanning the country. The investigation of penal matters has been a significant focus for both external and internal bodies including: Report of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada [Archambault] 1938, Report of a Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Principles and Procedures followed in the Remission Service of the Department of Justice of Canada, [Fauteux] 1956, Report on the Canadian Committee on Corrections, [Ouimet] 1969, and, Report to Parliament: The Sub-Committee on the Penitentiary System in Canada, [MacGuigan] 1977.

3.1.1 Archambault (1938)

The most significant report, due to its longevity as a hope for change in the correctional formula of Canada, was the Report of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada, [Archambault] in 1938.⁷⁸ It recommended that the present federal system of corrections be changed from a para-military one to that of a commission system.⁷⁹ It further recommended that federal and provincial corrections be amalgamated under a national system, which would be the responsibility of the Government of

⁷⁸*Archambault*, supra note 76.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 354.

Canada.⁸⁰ The leadership of the proposed commission system would need to develop a definite plan for the complete restructuring of the staff of its present system along new lines. "Heretofore, officers have been selected with little regard for their ability to perform other than custodial duties. The result has been that there are few officers in the service who have either the capacity or the training to exert any reformatory influence on the prisoners. They are "guards" and nothing more."⁸¹ In planning for the next five years the Report recommended recruiting "...new officers who have capacity for training, and in sufficient numbers to form the basis of a service that will ultimately be comparable in training, character, and general proficiency, to the British Prison Service or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police."⁸² As for the criteria of such new officers: "Efforts should be made to interest university students in this branch of the public service and to assure them an opportunity to make it a career once they have entered the service."⁸³ The present unacceptable staff were to be dismissed without delay. The commissioners also stated that: "It is hopeless to attempt to raise the standards of the personnel to the necessary levels, however, unless merit is to be recognized as the only basis of promotion and *political considerations are to be entirely eliminated* from the selection and promotion of officers."⁸⁴

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 344-5.

⁸²Ibid., p. 350.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Ibid.

The other major recommendations regarding staffing were:

- (a) That an orderly reconstruction of the whole personnel be planned to be completed in not less than five years;
- (b) That a training school be at once organized for penitentiary officers;
- (c) That all applicants for the penitentiary service be required to take the course and pass the necessary examinations;
- (d) That officers at present on the staff be required to take refresher courses at the training school when organized;
- (e) That all hopelessly incapable officers be retired from the staffs;
- (f) That the selection of new officers to fill vacancies be made on merit only, and with a view to selecting officers who, with experience, would be capable of being promoted to senior positions;
- (g) That the pay of the officers be brought up to a reasonable level, having regard to the type of service performed.⁸⁵

3.1.2 Fauteux (1956)

The next federal government report on corrections was the 1954 Report of a Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Principles and Procedures followed in the Remission Service of the Department of Justice of Canada, [*Fauteux*] which considered that "correction" described

the total process by which society attempts to correct the anti-social attitudes or behaviour of the individual. Within the correctional field fall such matters as punishment, treatment, reformation and rehabilitation of the offender and the various means by which these objectives are attempted to be obtained.⁸⁶

For staff recruitment the recommendations included "a planned policy of recruitment and training of professional staff".⁸⁷ This commission stated: "We believe that university

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 353.

⁸⁶Report of A Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Principles and Procedures followed in the Remission Service of the Department of Justice in Canada [*Fauteux*] (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1956), p. 5.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 87.

education for career work in the correctional field has not been satisfactorily developed, despite recommendations for such courses of study in the Archambault Commission Report of 1938.”⁸⁸ They identified two types of university education: those of professional specialities⁸⁹ increasingly used in prisons, in probation services and in after-care agencies,⁹⁰ and, specific university training in criminology itself, to deal with the “size and the urgency of the crime problem in Canada [which] underscores the need for professional training which focuses directly upon crime and its treatment, rather than representing these subjects merely as aspects of other welfare problems.”⁹¹ “We further believe that a serious effort should be made to integrate the contributions of criminology with those of law, social work, psychology and other disciplines which are concerned with the treatment of offenders.”⁹² However, this professionalisation was clearly not meant to include the ordinary correctional officer.

3.1.3 Ouimet (1969)

The Report of the Canadian Committee on Corrections [*Ouimet*] in 1969 made a distinction between two different uses of ‘professional’ in the corrections field.

In one sense it refers to any staff member, whatever his academic background, who is employed full-time in the corrections field and who brings to his work an obvious degree of competence, open-mindedness and commitment. In the other sense it refers to the person who is a member of

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 85.

⁸⁹Specifically, social workers, sociologists, psychologists, and criminologists.

⁹⁰*Fauteux*, supra note 86, p.10.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 85.

⁹²Ibid.

a recognized profession. In this section the term "professionally-trained staff" is used to refer to those who are members of a recognized profession and who are employed in the corrections field in positions where they practice the techniques of their respective professions.⁹³

Regarding the training of non-professionally trained staff, the commission found three categories of non-professional workers:

- 1) those who spent almost their entire working hours with the inmates,
- 2) those whose contacts with the inmate are part-time or occasional,
- 3) those who have little or no direct contact with the inmates.⁹⁴

The commissioners concluded that the first group exerted the greatest influence "in shaping inmate attitudes."⁹⁵

Of the two types of persons who meet contact criteria one - trades instructors, maintenance supervisors, and custodial staff - the correctional officer traditionally lacked any special knowledge which he/she could have imparted to the offender.⁹⁶ "The handicap faced by the custodial officer can be alleviated only if he is trained to a level where he carries the same competence, status and self-confidence in discharging his responsibilities as the instructor or maintenance supervisor does...related to his specialty."⁹⁷ Training is to be career long and pay increases should reflect efforts to increase competence. In

⁹³Report of the Canadian Committee on Corrections [Ouibet] (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), p. 418 which is close to that used by Ekstedt and Griffiths, supra note 56.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 420.

⁹⁵Thomas, supra note 2; F. E. Emery, Freedom and Justice Within Walls, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1970), pp. 61-103.

⁹⁶Thomas, supra note 2, pp. 197-199.

⁹⁷Supra note 93, p. 420.

conclusion, their recommendations were directed toward recruitment and educational initiatives for both professional and non-professional staff.⁹⁸

3.1.4 MacGuigan (1977)

Ouimet was the catalyst for increased discussion of correctional reform in Canada, which produced among other things, a flurry of reports in the mid-1970s of which the next three are representative.⁹⁹

By the Report to Parliament: The Sub-Committee on the Penitentiary System in Canada [MacGuigan] in 1977, principles had changed in federal corrections to the belief that: “As far as possible, all staff members should have dual responsibility for security and program”.¹⁰⁰ Staff qualifications had taken on a new minimal dimension. Grade twelve was recommended for all correctional officers. Relevant interpersonal job experience; aptitude, maturity; stability and self-discipline were also considered important qualities for correctional officers. The organisational commitment of staff and money to periodic training initiatives of one week per year, and the centralisation of all hiring to avoid resentment were key recommendations. Again a professional structure was taken from the R.C.M.P. model to increase status and pay levels.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, the implication in Recommendation #5 in *MacGuigan*, was that correctional officers were not professional staff. Custodial staff should have full access to “continuing professional educational

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 421; community college education and other facilities were recommended for the training of non-professional staff.

⁹⁹*Supra* note 56, p. 321-2.

¹⁰⁰*MacGuigan*, *supra* note 76, p. 162.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, pp. 51-57.

development” through yearly refresher courses or upgrading of at least one week.¹⁰² The formal integration of security and program functions in the correctional officers role was an important step in developing professionalisation.

3.1.5 The Canadian Correctional Service (1977)

The Canadian Correctional Service [Chair - A. Wakabayashi] (1977)¹⁰³ dealt with organisation and management of the proposed new Service in terms of: basic training, decentralisation of current responsibilities, implementation of an effective appraisal system, acquisition of specialised resources to assist in the management of change, the development of a long-term approach to staff relations and highly competent, specialised staff relations officers. What the federal government had realised was that the service had to be redesigned because it was deemed to be inefficient, outdated and constantly in conflict with its community corrections counterpart, the National Parole Board. Specific human resources policies that needed to be examined were: career streaming, a re-definition of certain current jobs, selection criteria, management training, and organisational development at all levels. The impact of this was not only to look at changes in the organisation, but also to anticipate systemic improvements in staff quality.

3.1.6 Role of Federal Corrections (1977)

The trend of critical self-examination continued in the Role of Federal Corrections [Chair - A. Wakabayashi] (1977)¹⁰⁴ where four emerging trends in criminal justice were

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 162.

¹⁰³Canada. The Canadian Correctional Service (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, April 1977).

¹⁰⁴Canada. Role of Federal Corrections (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1977).

identified: a growing community orientation, growing demand for private sector involvement and non-governmental service providers with a community orientation, increased collaboration of provincial and federal governments in the development of correctional policy, and increased recognition of the need for more effective manpower planning, training and development within corrections. The report echoed the often heard remark: "It has always been difficult to obtain good, qualified people and there has been an even greater problem in keeping them".¹⁰⁵ Organisational changes were specifically designed to integrate all levels of staff in the participation, the management and the administration of the organisation. To assist the new focus on human resource development and participation required a change in, or some definition of, a consistent philosophy in correctional treatment at the federal level.¹⁰⁶ These ultimately included staff recruitment and training issues contributing towards correctional officer professionalisation.

3.1.7 Vantour (1984)

The Report of the Study Group on Murders and Assaults in the Ontario Region [Vantour] (1984), found that because violence could not reasonably be expected to be erased from institutions¹⁰⁷ the goal of federal corrections would be to reduce or minimise its incidence. A major difficulty was in facilitating better communication between management and staff, and between staff and inmates, another was in the ordering of

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁰⁷Canada, Report of the Study Group on Murders and Assaults in the Ontario Region (Ottawa: Correctional Service of Canada, 1984) [Vantour], p. 1.

inmate communities now that the idea of “total” institutions was gone. For the goal to be reached, the federal system “must consider a basic philosophical change in what prisons are all about. Secondly, it must reassess the organization of the prison system”.¹⁰⁸ Seven of the twenty-seven recommendations dealt with a shift to goal orientation, defined roles in the mission statement and decentralised authority and autonomy that had long been a problem in the federal service. Autonomy, responsibility and the application of human service concepts were central to this new view of corrections.

These recommendations were:

- # 2 Institutional management and line staff must be allowed to take initiatives, to make decisions and to exercise discretion. At the same time, however, the warden, other managers and line staff must be held accountable for the consequences of their decisions.
- ...
- # 7 Correctional officers should be assigned to a small unit of inmates for sufficient periods of time to enable both parties (staff and inmates) to get to know one another.
- ...
- #13 Furthermore, post standards should be reviewed and restructured with a view to ensuring that:
 - correctional officers are never removed from inmate-contact posts for extended periods nor should there be areas that they do not inspect frequently; and
 - correctional officers are assigned to specific units for a period of time that will permit staff and inmates to get to know one another.
- ...
- #23 Meaningful staff-inmate communications must be an integral part of the special handling unit program and phases.
- ...
- #25 Current efforts being made to develop staff training program for special handling unit are to emphasize “interpersonal relations”.
- ...
- #26 Small groups of staff-inmates enhancing communications, to ensure

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 2.

consistency in the application of rules, and for evaluation.¹⁰⁹

A further influence on staff relations was the proliferation of offender advocacy groups and formal rule creation in the institution. The effect was to decrease local autonomy, take responsibility from the correctional officer group for rehabilitation and place it with the inmate, and increase the feeling of powerlessness for the correctional officer due to excessive bureaucratisation and external scrutiny.¹¹⁰

3.1.8 Correctional Philosophy (1986)

In Correctional Philosophy [McPhail - Chair] (1986), the application of the 'opportunities model' was not confined to treatment staff but extended "to all staff who have contact with offenders. This might require emphasis in job training and development on counselling and communication skills, problem solving and peaceful dispute resolution".¹¹¹ The model provided

opportunities designed to assist the offender in the development of daily living skills, confidence to cope with his personal problems and social environment and the capacity to adopt more acceptable conduct norms. The opportunities principle based on the assumption that the offender is ultimately responsible for his behaviour.¹¹²

The shift in the role of the correctional officer was to hold the inmate to changes which they decided to make and provide guidance based on social science principles.

Relating to the theoretical concept of professionalisation in the sociological literature

¹⁰⁹Ibid., pp. 2-7.

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 31-7; Crouch, supra note 63.

¹¹¹Canada, Correctional Philosophy (Ottawa: Solicitor General, June 1986), pp. 35-6.

¹¹²Ibid., # 9 in references.

two dimensions of the educational criterion were raised over and over: formal pre-selection attainment of higher education, and post-selection job-specific vocational training. The first is further broken down into entry level educational requirements for professional staff and then for non-professional staff. Both groups shared a common environmental indoctrination or vocational training component.

3.1.9 Summary

It is clear that at any given point of historical examination, corrections, its staff and its theoretical directions were inconsistent with each other. Professionalisation was also consistent with the needs or wants of society, the elected representatives, and the offenders under their control. In particular the various commissions sought to create a "Service" concept based on a commission model that, rather than divesting itself of the para-military model, subsumed it through organisational form and leadership.¹¹³ However, from the outset training, promotion through merit, and the removal of external political influence in the selection and promotion of staff were necessary to change how the system worked, what it did and the effectiveness of those who did the work.

Professionalisation entered official discussion with the *Ouimet* Report, inaugurating emphasis on university education for operational careers in the criminal justice field and on the need for the theoretical study of crime in Canadian society. Professional training through education divided into recognised professions and the non-professional staff. The importance here to the concept of the professionalisation of the correctional officer is that

¹¹³Well into the 1950s senior military officers continued to be appointed as commissioners of the Canadian Penitentiary Service, General R. B. Gibson and General D. M. Ormond, to name two.

the criteria is assessed of all correctional staff: full time employment, competence, open-mindedness and commitment to their work. This formula has progressed by the time of the *MacGuigan* Report to a minimal educational level, a public service orientation, relevant experience, and personal characteristics like maturity, stability and self-discipline. Report authors continued to place co-responsibility on government and the correctional system to provide staffing and funding, for continuing education and training to maintain currency and effectiveness, thereby helping to fulfil other tenets of professionalisation. The next section will specifically examine government and sanctioned reports on corrections in the Manitoba context.

3.2 Provincial Government Reports

Specific reports on provincial corrections in Manitoba come late in the twentieth century. Other than Mr. W. J. Major's¹¹⁴ memorandum to the Archambault Commission in 1938, there were eight main reports by the government, or sanctioned agents, specifically examining corrections in Manitoba. These are: the Memorandum of Colonel Royal Burritt to A. A. Moffatt, 7 August 1946; the Final Report Regarding the Riot Which Took Place at Headingley Gaol on the 18th Day of December, 1954 [Kyle], (1955); the Report from the Welfare Council of Greater Winnipeg [Hunter], (1956); the Report of Committee on Services for Juvenile and Adult Offenders [Thompson], (1963); a report by Professor Burke M. Barker called Manitoba Corrections [1968]; The Rise of the Sparrow, (1972); the Report on Headingley Correctional Institution [Garson], 1983; the Redevelopment Plan for Headingley Correctional Institution, (1988).

¹¹⁴William James Major, Attorney General of the Province of Manitoba.

3.2.1 Burritt (1946)

Colonel Burritt followed up institutional issues and the implementation of the *Archambault Report*, (1938) in his 1946 report to the Deputy Attorney General, A. A. Moffatt. In regards to staffing, he suggested “[s]elf control, coupled with a sense of fair play and justice, must be exercised by all officers if good discipline is to be maintained. Arrogant and inconsiderate officers wreck the good discipline of any penal institution.”¹¹⁵ In particular, staff training and encouraging staff to be interested in their jobs were key strategies behind establishing a training school for officers in the winter of 1938-9. At this time a monthly bulletin “The Guards’ Digest”¹¹⁶ was issued to all officers of the gaol to “refresh their minds”.¹¹⁷ What was behind these suggestions was not explained. However, the implication was that stagnation had taken place in some officers, that some officers never had the necessary schooling and that other officers had attitudinal difficulties towards their work, their charges or their superiors. The next report was by a three member committee after a riot at the institution in 1954.

3.2.2 Kyle (1954)

Following the substantial riot at Headingley Gaol on 18 December 1954 the Government ordered an inquiry into its cause and called for recommendations to improve the causational factors. The Final Report Regarding the Riot Which Took Place at

¹¹⁵Colonel Royal Burritt, Implementation of the Recommendations of the Commission appointed in 1936 to investigate the Penal System of Canada (7 August 1946), p.10.

¹¹⁶Issues of this publication could not be located despite reference in the Annual Report of Headingley Correctional Institution, Year Ending 31 March 1945, (Winnipeg: Attorney-General, 1945).

¹¹⁷Supra note 115, p. 8.

Headingley Gaol on the 18th Day of December, 1954, was investigated by High Sheriff, D. C. M. Kyle, Judge F. A. E. Hamilton and M. E. Newton, Chief of Police, City of Winnipeg. Regarding discipline it recommended that all new staff be “required to take a period of training when thorough instruction shall be given them regarding the rules and regulations of the institution and their responsibility for their enforcement”.¹¹⁸ Attempts were to be made to engage staff from Manitoba in the Prison Officers’ Training Courses at the Staff College (Federal) in Kingston, Ontario. It was further recommended that all non-permanent officers be given a temporary uniform before being sent on duty and that all permanent staff should be provided with a “regulation” uniform. These recommendations were far from the educational and professional issues discussed in the federal government reports and suggested that serious problems existed in staff turnover, the financial capability of the government and in the commitment of the province to the prison service. There was also a recommendation directing the appointment of a Director of Provincial Reform Institutions and Chief Probation Officer, which eventually brought Alfred J. Kitchen to the combined post in 1957. The report further suggested that there was a lack of communication between the administrators of the institution and the correctional officers.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸Manitoba, Final Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into and Report on All Relevant Matters Pertaining to the Riot Which Took Place at Headingley Gaol on the 18th Day of December, 1954 (Winnipeg: Department of the Attorney General, 1955), [Kyle], p. 2.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 1.

3.2.3 Welfare Council of Greater Winnipeg (1956)

Following shortly after that, and in response to pressure from the opposition for penal reform in Manitoba,¹²⁰ the government co-funded the Welfare Council of Greater Winnipeg to “examine, study and assess all services in this Province for juvenile and adult offenders and to make recommendations to strengthen the services and provide additional services which ... were required to give Manitoba an adequate rehabilitation program for offenders.”¹²¹ In their conclusion they found “while Manitoba has developed the basis for an effective rehabilitation program for juveniles, the structure on which to base a sound program for adults is lacking.”¹²² Two specific recommendations were made regarding staff: the first is that short courses be given by qualified instructors on a regular basis including the “administration of correctional institution, improved correctional programs, discipline, human behaviour and staff teamwork”;¹²³ secondly, “that salaries of institutional staff be revised and that staff be paid according to their training, experience and responsibility.”¹²⁴

¹²⁰Journal of the Legislative Assembly (Winnipeg: Queen’s Printer, 8 February 1955), p. 36; and, Lloyd Stinson, Political Warriors (Winnipeg: Queenston House Inc., 1975), pp. 155-6.

¹²¹Welfare Council of Greater Winnipeg, The Committee on Juvenile and Adult Offenders: Final Report (Winnipeg: Welfare Council of Greater Winnipeg, 1956) [*Hunter*], p. 2.

¹²²Ibid., p. 38.

¹²³Ibid., p. 45.

¹²⁴Ibid.

3.2.4 Community Welfare Planning Council (1963)

The renamed Community Welfare Planning Council (assisted with the support and sanction of the Attorney General, Sterling Lyon), set out to “bring up to date the 1955 report of the Council... to assess and report on the adequacy of existing correctional services, both public and private, and to make recommendations concerning changes in existing services and the provision of new services.”¹²⁵ Among the objectives that they felt were necessary for a satisfactory correctional system in Manitoba were:

IX) A program of training in modern correctional methods for law enforcement officers and staffs of institutions and services concerned.”¹²⁶

The first General Recommendation was that:

Legislation should be enacted to provide the principles for, and the authority for, the development of a comprehensive correctional system in the Province of Manitoba.¹²⁷

Despite activities to rehabilitate the inmate through work or other methods what counts more than anything else is the quality of those who are placed in charge of the prisoner and the kind of relationship that exists between the prisoner and the staff.¹²⁸

Under Recommendations Concerning Services for Adults there were two items that specifically related to staffing and staff training:

35. Staff training programs at Headingley Gaol should be enlarged and similar training courses should be available for the staffs of the other provincial institutions...[and]
38. Salaries for the staffs of adult as well as juvenile correctional institutions should be increased to attract and hold suitable

¹²⁵Community Welfare Planning Council, Report of Committee on Services For Juvenile and Adult Offenders, 1963 (Winnipeg: Community Welfare Planning Committee, 1963) [Thompson - Chair].

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 41.

¹²⁷Ibid.

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 33.

personnel.¹²⁹

A reference to a specialised course in corrections was found relative to parole and the School of Social Work program at the University of Manitoba.¹³⁰ But again this contained nothing that was really new and was aimed towards non-institutional staff.

3.2.5 Barker (1968)

Professor Burke M. Barker of the University of Alberta, Faculty of Law, (1968), [funded by the Alberta Institute of Law Research and Reform] investigated Manitoba's correctional progress in terms of the financial abilities of the government and prepared a report¹³¹ claiming that Manitoba lacked the necessary financial resources, paid staff low salaries and had archaic physical plants for institutions.

With the exception of Colonel Burritt's Memorandum of 1946, all of the investigations of Manitoba's correctional systems were conducted by outsiders, ostensibly with the sanction of the government. The next report was prepared as a white paper on the future direction of Manitoba Corrections, by the Minister and departmental staff.

3.2.6. Rise of the Sparrow (1972)

The Rise of the Sparrow was the formative document in modern Manitoba Corrections, marking the transition from the treatment paradigm to the social or community model in corrections. The outline of the "new system" emphasised that

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 44.

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 35.

¹³¹ B.M. Barker, Manitoba Corrections (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1968).

“people change people”.¹³² “It is, therefore, essential that a staff resource of the highest possible quality be developed, whose members are attuned to progressive correctional concepts and dedicated to the full realization of rehabilitative objectives.”¹³³ This required a policy of definite staff recruitment and “should reflect the generally increased standards of basic and specialized education found in today’s society, and the personality characteristics essential for staff employed in the correctional field”.¹³⁴ In re-emphasising earlier federal government reports¹³⁵ the Rise of the Sparrow recommended: “[t]o encourage the recruitment of the appropriate type of staff, salaries should be competitive with those paid in allied fields, and the opportunity for career development, flexibility in employment throughout the system, and an active approach to job enrichment provided”.¹³⁶

3.2.7 Garson (1983)

In the Review Committee on Adult Corrections Report on Headingley Correctional Institution of 1983,¹³⁷ Staff Selection and Deployment Practices were summarised thus:

In the past, recruitment and hiring standards have been kept at a minimum level in the Corrections area. It is argued that this has been the result of a historical failure of Corrections to attract high quality personnel because:

¹³²Manitoba, The Rise of the Sparrow (Winnipeg: Department of Health and Social Development, 1972), p. 70.

¹³³Ibid.

¹³⁴Ibid.

¹³⁵*Archambault, Fauteux and MacGuigan.*

¹³⁶Sparrow, *supra* note 132, p. 70.

¹³⁷Manitoba, Report on Headingley Correctional Institution (Winnipeg: Minister of Community Services and Corrections, 1983) [*Garson*].

Corrections has a poor professional image, and is, therefore, regarded as a tainted field by those individuals seeking employment and careers in the social services area; and, in the Winnipeg area, there are better opportunities, with higher economic benefits and working conditions available within the Correctional Service of Canada (Stony Mountain).¹³⁸

Additionally it was “argued by senior Corrections staff that the personal qualities required for staff who work in institutional setting do not necessarily conform to academic ability or qualifications.”¹³⁹

Among the main problems found with staffing was that “[b]ecause there are no set goals for Headingley, and because those which informally exist are diametrically opposed, [custody and programs] this selection process has evolved into a system where individual employees reflect a complete range of attitudes and behaviours to their profession and to their clients.”¹⁴⁰ In addressing Staff Rights, Needs and Responsibilities in their

Conclusions and Recommendations, the Committee identified the following list:

1. A right to participate in the running of the institution which includes information and communication flow in both directions;
2. Clearly defined roles;
3. Education and training relevant to job activities and career development;
4. Differential assignments related to skills and abilities;
5. Informed behavioural science consultation on managing people;
6. The development of professionalism.¹⁴¹

Under Staff Requirements there were two important priorities identified: “Selection

¹³⁸Ibid., pp. 59-60.

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 60; also, Robert R. Ross and H. Bryan McKay, “The Correctional Officer: Selection Through Training” in Prison Guard/Correctional Officer (Toronto: Butterworths, 1981), p. 259, echo this sentiment.

¹⁴⁰Ibid.

¹⁴¹Ibid., p. 128.

methods for staff need to be aligned with institutional purpose and objectives. An active recruitment of Native personnel should be pursued; Comprehensive training and upgrading of staff must be an integral part of the corrections process.”¹⁴²

3.2.8 Re-Development Plan for Headingley Correctional Institution

The Redevelopment Plan for Headingley Correctional Institution (1988),¹⁴³ among other things, specifically addressed the shift from custodial operations performed by correctional officers, with program oriented duties performed by specialised staff, to a case management view of operations where the line correctional officer dealt with both static and dynamic security issues. In this role they became directly involved in offender programming needs. “Planning needs to take into account establishing links between the expectations of the employees and the needs and constraints of the organisation”.¹⁴⁴

Given the specific organisational culture the following will receive organisational priority: “reliance on the maturity, experience and competence of the personnel; accountability, evaluation and the quest for productivity and innovation; increased decentralization; [and the] rationalization of services”.¹⁴⁵

With these goals in mind, Corrections will lay more emphasis on the following: the vocational integration of personnel; greater employee participation in defining strategic and operational objectives regarding the services to be provided, as well as the organization of resources; the acquisition, maintenance and development of the competence of all

¹⁴²*Garson, supra* note 137, p. 135.

¹⁴³Manitoba, Policy and Process Outline Regarding the Redevelopment of Headingley Correctional Institution (Winnipeg: Community Services and Corrections, 1988).

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*

employees through training, retraining and career development; employee mobility; the development of harmonious, functional relations based on co-operation between the various lines of authority, job categories, branches, etc.; [and] the general improvement of working conditions.¹⁴⁶

3.3 Conclusion

The goals of professionalisation as discussed in Chapter Two have been espoused as goals of government, in government and other reports, but they remain, or appear to remain, lacking in actuality. Yet there is continual mention of these areas in each report. Is it that the goal has never been taken up by correctional administrators? Is it that there is no availability of higher educated or better qualified staff? Or is it that recruitment initiatives are short lived responses to external criticism? Whether these initiatives of government in recruiting better educated persons were successful will remain for Chapter Five to discover.

Viewed together, the importance of federal and provincial reports on the history of corrections in Canada has been to emphasise the value of pre-service educational attainment in achieving a respectable appearance of, or an actuality of, professionalism for Canadian correctional agencies. At first this was intended only for professional staff, later for all staff, eventually for the system and ultimately to benefit the offender. The reports have continuously recommended in-service training for all levels of staff, to enable them to adapt to the changing world of correctional service and continue to be effective in their careers. Yet these frequent calls draw attention to the fact that they have not been achieved or achieved to the degree which would be acceptable by their own standards.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 7.

There are a number of issues surrounding staff training in institutions: that there are not enough correctional officers to replace staff and allow persons to attend training, that it is an expensive proposition as all staff who are absent at training and those replacing them have to be paid, that overtime or time-in-lieu compensation may have to be paid if training takes place on days off, that there are not enough qualified trainers, or that the importance of training is not a goal supported by management.

Another and more difficult area is the evaluation and assessment of the interpersonal relationship components of the job that are mentioned in the literature about the community corrections era.¹⁴⁷ This is often cited as human behaviour, teamwork, maturity and experience, and assessing whether these have actually been brought to the job by the correctional officer.

Far and away the most difficult issue for correctional administrators and governments has been to choose a philosophical direction for the correctional system and to move towards attaining the goals of implementation. The public, staff and inmate reactions to changes are influenced by the meaning of changes to the status quo, which are seen as a direct threat to individual and collective group power, prestige and status.

It is important to place Manitoba Corrections in historical context and understand what went on in the specific correctional paradigms for dealing with the offenders. What was it that was required of the correctional officer in each of these era's and what stood in the way of implementing the recommendations contained in government reports towards the attainment of professional status by the correctional officer? This will be examined next.

¹⁴⁷Skinner, *et al.*, *supra* note 5.

CHAPTER FOUR: PROFESSIONALISATION AND THE CORRECTIONAL PARADIGM

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapters examined the concept of professionalisation in corrections generally and in various governmental reports, documenting the historical development of the Justice department. It is now time to look directly at the work of the correctional officer, the correctional paradigms used, the change from one paradigm to another, and the concomitant training issues. Ultimately this is to assess the success or failure of actions taken in those moves and examine them relative to the professionalisation of the correctional officer.

The theory of the “correction” of criminals derives from various philosophical avenues of investigation: legal, sociological, psychological, religious and social work. Some criminologists attempted to explain criminal behaviour through single causes like the socio-economic argument, the psychologically unstable argument or the simple unskilled labourer argument. Others have used more complex explanations.¹⁴⁸

The *Archambault Report* (1938) deduced three types of criminal: the accidental or occasional criminal, the reformable criminal and the habitual or persistent criminal.¹⁴⁹ It then adduced methods of dealing with each of their situations. Application of the law in Canada has attempted, through its sentencing vision, to allow for the best of the currently available methods in dealing with perceived causational factors. In the 1999 version of

¹⁴⁸Cesare Lombroso (1912) and Cesare Beccaria (1819) are two examples.

¹⁴⁹*Archambault*, supra note 76, p. 9.

Martin's Criminal Code, the purpose of sentencing is defined as:

to denounce unlawful conduct; to deter the offender and other persons from committing offences; to separate offenders from society, where necessary; to assist in rehabilitating offenders; to provide reparations for harm done to victims or to the community; and, to promote a sense of responsibility in offenders, and acknowledgement of the harm done to victims and to the community. [Furthermore] A sentence must be proportionate to the gravity of the offence and the degree of responsibility of the offender.¹⁵⁰

This reflected a shift away from a model of external force on the offender to change behaviour, often against his or her will, to a model that makes the offender responsible for his or her own changes, as facilitated by state agents upon request.

The shift in paradigms from simply incarcerative or retributive corrections to the treatment, community and post-social phases has taken just sixty years. Consider that an officer hired at the age of twenty-one in 1938, and who retired at the age of sixty-five in 1982, would have served from the end of the Punishment Era, through the whole of the Treatment Era and almost the whole of the Community Corrections Era! This role inconsistency of what they were hired to do and what they were later required to do, as part of their jobs, calls into immediate view their skills, education and training. That also assumes that the state, not the individual, had responsibility to assist this transition.

4.0.1 The Saskatchewan Framework

Not only has society gone through significant changes in its attitudes toward crime and the criminal, but the law and various philosophical approaches have also changed. Most fundamental has been the effects of these changes on individuals, the staff and inmates,

¹⁵⁰Martin's Criminal Code, 1999 (Toronto: Canada Law Book Company, 1999), s. 718 and 718.1.

within the correctional institution. It is these shifts in correctional paradigms, and the resultant changes in the role of correctional institutions and the tasks of correctional officers, that contribute to difficulties in hiring and training, and ultimately in professionalisation. Discussion of these changes will be guided by definitions presented in Corrections: An Historical Perspective of the Saskatchewan Experience.¹⁵¹ None of the time-frames for these eras are rigid and some aspects are clearly more fluid than others in Manitoba. It is the relative fit of Manitoba's activities to those indicated in work on Saskatchewan that provides the time-frames for activities in each era.¹⁵²

The work of the correctional officer is most accurately described as a cumulative progression of the formal tasks, developed through each era of correction, predicated on the role the correctional officer in each era or paradigm performed. Quite simply these represented security activities such as counts, searches, and ensuring safe prisoner movements. There was little formal care or concern, at least in the active way we think of it now, for the individual in the Punishment Era. The job tasks progressed in the Treatment Era to include security, work supervision and cursory interaction with prisoners as people. It is during the Community Corrections Era that security and work supervision occupied a less constant focus for the correctional officer and these were replaced with greater concern for the individual prisoner as a person.

The Post-Social Era (1988-present) has involved the correctional officer further in the

¹⁵¹Skinner, et al., supra note 5.

¹⁵²I used the framework found in Skinner and added to it the idea of a post-social era based on the writings of Feeley and Simon, supra note 31, pp. 449-74; O'Malley, supra note 30, pp. 26-38.

personal life of the offender, in direct case management functions, discharge planning, victim contact and early release applications, as well as in traditional static security functions.

Manitoba was much the same as her sister province, Saskatchewan, in that the initiatives of the various paradigms were individually considered, although differentially applied. The first task in assessing the implementation of new paradigms in Manitoba has been to ask: What was it that the correctional officer formally did during each era and how was he treated in each? From there it is necessary to look at the specific indicators of each era and attempt to measure any progress within each time frame. To what extent were the goals in each paradigm fulfilled? The final task is to look at staff training initiatives which indicated, among other things, performance deficiencies, minor changes in practice, or drastically new ways of doing business involved in adopting new paradigms for the correctional officer.

The professionalisation of the correctional officer rests on the application of skills or specialised knowledge which no one else in society can, or is allowed to, apply. This is controlled in part by the fact that the state hires the people who work in correctional institutions, sets limits of behaviour, and defines the framework of their activities. It is not the same as going to several clinics looking for a satisfactory doctor. They, their education and their professional association determine how those skills are practised. The doctor who works in a correctional institution is, by contrast, often the sole provider of medical services. The second part to this is that there has to be some basis of theory behind an application of methods, in this case, of dealing with an offender towards

resuming or taking up lawful behaviour. This is usually considered treatment, often called rehabilitation and can be applied through case management. Only in some eras and correctional paradigms was the correctional officer required to apply some skill, based on social science theory, towards the treatment or rehabilitation of the offender. That begins in the Treatment Era (1954-1966) and continues through the present.

To achieve these aims it is essential that the management of the correctional operation espouse and support the application of these methods to, or by the request of, offenders. This can be seen in a variety of ways, including: support with financial and equipment resources, staffing with more qualified staff, and initiating and supporting staff training towards systemic objectives.

Headingley Correctional Institution was the flagship of Manitoba correctional institutions and as such was historically oriented to implementing new initiatives. This provided an avenue for the willing correctional officer to engage in more social science oriented work with the offender, and ultimately to contribute to their professionalisation and that of the correctional officer group.

The third consideration towards the professionalisation of the correctional officer is that pre- and in-service staff training must be oriented towards new systemic goals in terms of treatment and rehabilitation, and consistently available for each officer at each change. What is important here is that the practice for the particular specialised knowledge, like social work or psychology, may not have changed but attitudes towards the application of that knowledge, and outcomes expected, may have. Training in the treatment theories that the correctional managers are operating under must be transmitted

to, and understood by, the correctional officer in order to be properly and effectively applied.

A final factor of professionalisation in practice is the willingness of the inmate to engage in reform by breaking out of their own mind set of silence to engage more than casually with staff in dialogue towards those objectives.¹⁵³ The uncertainty of change makes it equally difficult for all sides to change the status quo.¹⁵⁴

4.1 The Punishment Era (1931-1954):

4.1.1 Introduction

The purpose of criminal law is to punish offenders for their misdeed(s). The Punishment Era regime was harsh,¹⁵⁵ the silent system operated here which offered little opportunity, let alone work, inside the institution. While humanitarian ideals prevailed in this era they existed with a form of benevolent paternalism. During the era came a growing belief that individualising the inmate's punishment was needed because many different events in his life brought him to this place. Once there a person was subject to "treatment" by the state. It is important for us to first define what was meant by the often heard goal of "treatment". Most simply this is "everything that happens to a person in

¹⁵³Eugene J. Hlushchak, "The Bellhops of Heartbreak Hotel" (Winnipeg: Unfinished M.A. Thesis, 1980), p. 149; Gresham M. Sykes and Stanley L. Messinger, "Inmate Social System", in Crime and Justice, V. III, 2nd Ed., (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1977), p. 186, #5.

¹⁵⁴Hlushchak, supra note 153, p. 173.

¹⁵⁵Provincial Archives of Manitoba [PAM], Proposed New Rules Governing Gaols [March 1931] Public Works, RG 18, B2, Box 10.

prison or under some sort of supervised program.”¹⁵⁶

The *Archambault Report* (1938), considered treatment in the sense of dealing with what is done to, or by, an accidental or reformable offender to assist “unceasingly to the advancement of the individual’s personal and emotional rehabilitation.”¹⁵⁷ “[W]ithout proper *classification and segregation*, the motivation of his offences, and his basic capacity for effective citizenship, without physical and mental exercise, moderate recreation, and above all, without *humane approach*, any treatment is bound to fail.”¹⁵⁸ Hugh Christie¹⁵⁹ extended the concept of individualised needs in provincial institutions to include proper investigation, assessment, and classification of offenders to determine what the required treatment was. The idea of an indeterminate sentence was used here to allow the time necessary to prepare the offender to resume “responsible citizenship in the community”,¹⁶⁰ when he would then be supervised by parole officers.

First we will examine the role expectations of the correctional officer during this era and then the training initiatives and the time frames for development in Manitoba. A list of the governments in power during the era, including the Premier(s) and the Minister(s) is found in Appendix A. A list of the superintendent(s) is found in Appendix B.

¹⁵⁶Gordon W. Russon, “Treatment”, in W. T. McGrath, ed., Crime and Its Treatment in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1965), p. 414.

¹⁵⁷Supra note 76, p. 10.

¹⁵⁸Ibid. [Emphasis in original].

¹⁵⁹Hugh Christie, “Treatment in Provincial Institutions”, The Canadian Bar Review, XXVII, 1949, pp. 1052-66.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., p. 1059.

4.1.2 Role Expectations

In the Punishment Era the task of the correctional officer was to ensure that the offender remained in prison, obeyed the rules and learned from punitive silence and hard work, to avoid crime. They were to admit and discharge prisoners, clean areas using inmate workers, and perform general security duties, including routine patrols. The correctional officer did not enter into discussion with the offender other than as discipline or institutional necessity required. The behaviour of staff was rigid and para-military, as was the department and the staff uniform until the mid-1970s. They were required to wear hats and ties at all times, inside and outside of the institution.¹⁶¹ Staff in general were to enforce “strictly the observance of the rules and regulations of the prison.”¹⁶² This was assisted by conduct to command the respect of prisoners and the rigid observance by officers for the wishes of the gaoler.¹⁶³ “All officers shall not have familiarity with any prisoners, nor permit any to be used towards him.”¹⁶⁴

More specifically, J. C. Downie, Governor in 1937, recommended that a guard must be 30 years old, mentally alert, physically fit, have military bearing, average education, breeding, be neat in appearance, quiet in manner and understand who the prisoner is. He was also to take personal interest in his work at all times, use tact and keep his mouth closed. In short there was nothing specific or special to the work; rather, that definition

¹⁶¹Supra note 153.

¹⁶²Ibid., p. 11, #6.

¹⁶³Ibid., p. 11, #11.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., p. 12, #14.

above spoke to general qualities desired of all employees. What is clear is that there was little or no interest in officer contribution to the running of the institution.

4.1.3 Manitoba Training Initiatives and Time Frames

During this period inmates worked mostly to reduce the costs of their incarceration and to teach them useful trades, such as farming, given the nature of prairie society.¹⁶⁵ The primary concept in dealing with inmates was that they could be formed into rehabilitated citizens, with law abiding values and behaviours, through the examples of staff and by rule adherence, again enforced by staff.¹⁶⁶ The *Archambault Report* recommended classification of the offender so as not to contaminate young or first time inmates by locating them with long time, recidivist or serious offenders.¹⁶⁷ The hopes for central control of corrections by the federal government were not forthcoming, despite recommendations in the *Archambault Report* (1938) and the *Fauteux Report* (1956). Major-General R. B. Gibson, Commissioner of the Canadian Penitentiary Service, in a letter to Manitoba Attorney General McLenaghan in March 1947 stated that

from what has been said by the commissioner¹⁶⁸ on this subject, he would appear to take the view that the matter of rehabilitation is one for social service organizations and that the government should give only a very limited measure of financial support to organizations undertaking this

¹⁶⁵Skinner *et al.*, *supra* note 5, p. 39.

¹⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁶⁷*Archambault*, *supra* note 76, p. 8.

¹⁶⁸One of the three person commission allowed under the *Penitentiaries Act* in this era.

work.¹⁶⁹

Deputy Attorney General, O. M. Kay, stated in response to a letter of inquiry about rehabilitation in Manitoba in June 1948 that

[r]ehabilitation is one of the components of our plan. However, it has been felt that our efforts should relate to the period of incarceration and that upon release the work should be undertaken by social agencies with some assistance from the state. The measures taken by us consist of segregation, vocational training and recreation.¹⁷⁰

What segregation meant at this time was separation into remands, juveniles, witnesses and convicted adults. These were further delineated by drug addicts, sex perverts, young persons and first offenders, maximum security and recidivists. As for vocational training, a dedicated building was finally completed in December 1951 and fully operational for training by 31 March 1952.¹⁷¹ The trades available were: carpentry, shoe-making, painting, and tailoring. This was apart from existing work in either the kitchen, the laundry or on the farm.

The availability of educational, recreational and religious instructions was supported by various community volunteer groups that operated within the institution.¹⁷² These programs became increasingly popular towards the end of this period and signified

¹⁶⁹PAM, Memorandum, from an unknown author reporting comments by General Gibson to Mr. McLenaghan, Box K-2-6-2 TB 52, File 107, 21 March 1947, p. 7.

¹⁷⁰PAM, Letter from Deputy Attorney-General to Mrs. W. P. Fillmore, Chairman, Committee on Penal Reform, Winnipeg, Box K-2-6-2 TB 52, File 107, 29 June 1948, p. 2.

¹⁷¹Manitoba, Attorney General, Annual Report, Year Ending 31 March 1952, (Winnipeg: Attorney General, 1952), p. 26-7.

¹⁷²E.g., Salvation Army, Welfare Association of Manitoba - Prisoners Aid, Catholic and Protestant Ministers.

transition to the Treatment Era, through a more organised state effort in starting and supporting them. Subtle changes occurred along the way, for instance on 22 April 1944 inmate attendance at religious services became voluntary. At this time recreational facilities consisted of a court yard and involved essentially fresh air. The showing of films began in 1939 and were shown weekly except in the summer. A physical training program by a qualified staff member was implemented in 1948 for men under 30, who were in good shape and who did not already work. This was held outside the prison buildings for those who could participate due to their sentenced status at the institution. Those on remand were limited to an enclosed courtyard called a "bull pen".¹⁷³

In 1949 at the behest of the Attorney-General's department, gaol officials undertook an assessment of the illiteracy of the gaol population and two difficulties were found affecting the implementation of literacy training: a great deal of foreigners and a quantity of Native offenders comprised the gaol population. Additionally, the difficulty in implementing a more extensive technical training program was that most sentences were too short and that at least one year was needed to complete such required courses. However, educational resources were continually improved by the addition of text books, wider correspondence and training course offerings, and increased volunteer group involvement. In 1951 a staff member was appointed education officer along with his regular institutional duties.

As for specific staff training initiatives, a Penal Officers School was established in 1938

¹⁷³Manitoba, Attorney General, Annual Reports (Winnipeg: Attorney General, various years).

at the Vaughan Street Detention Centre by Colonel Royal Burritt, superintendent of Headingley. This course included first aid, tear gas use, an address on penology, a lecture on the Borstal System (England) and a lecture on criminal law. "It was the objective of this school to develop a more efficient institutional service to both the province and the inmate."¹⁷⁴ These sessions were attended by 35 staff members and 11 applicants for positions. In 1945 Colonel Burritt introduced a monthly publication called Guards Digest for those "who are interested in social problems of which penology holds an important place".¹⁷⁵ It is not known when it was discontinued.¹⁷⁶

By 1945 the Canadian Penitentiary Service had moved to set up a training school of their own. An agreement was made at the Dominion-Provincial Conference in 1947 to allow Manitoba staff members to attend this college. The Attorney General of Manitoba admitted that Manitoba did not have enough staff to "warrant the establishment of a training school with a staff qualified to give the necessary instruction."¹⁷⁷

4.1.4 Conclusion

It is obvious that little effort was made to improve the lot of the prisoner in this era.

¹⁷⁴Manitoba, Attorney General, Annual Report Year Ending 31 March 1939 (Winnipeg: Attorney General, 1939), p. 13.

¹⁷⁵Manitoba, Attorney General, Annual Report, Year Ending 31 March 1945 (Winnipeg: Attorney General, 1945), p. 6.

¹⁷⁶It has not been possible to find any copies of the Guard Digest at the University libraries, the M.G.E.U., the institution or the Legislative Library of Manitoba.

¹⁷⁷PAM, Memo from Deputy Attorney General, A. A. Moffatt to Attorney General McLenaghan, regarding Agenda - Conference on Penal Institutions, Box K-2-6-2, File #107, undated, p. 13.

Prison administrators were more concerned with keeping costs down and occupying prisoners' time with cost-reducing vocational activities,¹⁷⁸ rather than actively allowing them to develop into lawful citizens through planned, supported and funded educational efforts.¹⁷⁹ Neither were the careers of staff developed in any real way, nor was their input into the system seemingly sought or desired. This type of action was for the next era.

4.2 Treatment Era (1954-1966):

4.2.1 Introduction

The Treatment Era brought with it increased formal interaction between the correctional officer and the offender. This was done using a “systematic and scientific approach to the control and treatment of crime and criminals, and [to] put an emphasis on the rehabilitation of the offender.”¹⁸⁰ As stated earlier, the provinces finally realised that they would have to take responsibility for their own correctional systems because the federal government was unlikely to assume responsibility for them as recommended by the *Archambault* and the *Fauteux Reports*. This realisation enhanced provincial efforts in the treatment of the offender. As anything could be considered “treatment” it was not a useful definition for us unless it addressed a person’s criminality. Dr. Russon went on to say that another meaning of “treatment” was to improve patterns of living to healthy ones

¹⁷⁸Those available for inmates at Headingley included: carpentry, woodworking, painting, tailoring, shoe repair, cooking and baking, and barbering along with farming, animal husbandry and gardening.

¹⁷⁹Those available were: correspondence courses, self improvement through reading books located in the library, physical education, games, religious services and attending movies.

¹⁸⁰Skinner, *et al.*, *supra* note 5, p. 90.

based on citizenship concepts, of being or becoming a productive and useful member of society.¹⁸¹ And from his position in 1965, the future use was to create a specific therapy directed to an offender's individual needs and disorder.¹⁸² He was careful to distinguish between dealing with the causes of the delinquency and the symptoms of it. To counteract his view of criminality it was necessary to examine the origin and attitudes of the offender to determine what to do with him.¹⁸³ Again we will examine the role expectations of the correctional officer during this era and then the training initiatives and time frames for development in Manitoba.

4.2.2 Role Expectations

The reforms of this era facilitated self-motivated change and fell short of providing substantial institutional supports in staff services for classification, counselling and education. They also lacked corresponding opportunities for change like classrooms, treatment facilities and counsellors. This in part is what differentiated the Treatment Era from the Community and Post-Social Periods. The approach in this era encouraged offender participation in rehabilitation programs. The most liberal change was to allow staff-inmate communications, for role-modelling and relationship building purposes. The rules guiding officer conduct in the period 1961-1965 were reduced considerably from the 1931 version. The most telling was: "No officer should at any time engage in any conversation with prisoners concerning any member of staff or listen to any stories from

¹⁸¹Russon, supra note 156, pp. 411-12.

¹⁸²Ibid., p. 417.

¹⁸³Ibid., p. 418.

prisoners relative to officers of the Gaol.”¹⁸⁴ In other words gossip was frowned upon, but other forms of conversation were free to take place. Whether or not this was actually a change in practice or in the rules to allow what had been occurring is uncertain.

Naturally, this openness was likely not an easy transition for the staff or the inmates to make and was surely met with a good deal of skepticism by both groups. After all, this was not what veteran staff were hired for and the recidivist inmates only wanted to “do their time” and be left alone.¹⁸⁵ It was also questionable whether the public wanted such humanitarianism. Political support fell short of the actual contribution of money to the problem of crime and its correction. At least one commentator of this period, Lloyd Stinson of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, criticised all of the Attorney-Generals from McLenaghan to Lyon for a lack of action in not supporting penal reforms to the extent required.¹⁸⁶

4.2.3 Manitoba Training Initiatives and Time Frames

The focus of the Treatment Era, as in the Punishment Era, was vocational shops, limited educational programs, crafts, films, recreation, religion and group work such as farming, field work and kitchen work. The vocational trades building was in full operation. However, from 1950, limited educational programs were presented by the “John Howard Society and Department of Veterans Affairs in co-operation with the

¹⁸⁴Officer’s Handbook, Provincial Gaol, Eastern Judicial District, Headingley, Manitoba, #12, (at institution).

¹⁸⁵Skinner, et al., supra note 5, pp. 107-9.

¹⁸⁶Stinson, supra note 120, pp. 129,.154-5, 156, and 201.

Department of Education of all provinces and the American School, Chicago, U.S.A.”¹⁸⁷ As for recreation, the fenced sports field was completed and opened on 22 May 1956, for baseball during the summer and hockey in winter. The physical training instructor was hired in 1947 to keep the prisoners active and fit.¹⁸⁸ Similarly, religious services continued to be provided by volunteers from the Roman Catholic Church, various Protestant churches and the Salvation Army.¹⁸⁹

The specific indicators of change in this period in Saskatchewan included bureaucratic expansion in the creation of a Corrections Division, with a trained penologist, a probation service, in-service training for staff, a classification unit including a social worker, a psychologist and education officer. These efforts took some time to arrive in Manitoba.

In May 1957 Alfred J. Kitchen became the first Director of Corrections in Manitoba; before that the superintendents reported directly to the Deputy Attorney General.¹⁹⁰ He had been chief of provincial juvenile probation and administrative officer of the Juvenile and Family Court prior to this time. Adult probation services had not existed in Manitoba,

¹⁸⁷Manitoba, Attorney General, Annual Report Year Ending 31 March 1952 (Winnipeg: Attorney General, 1952), p. 12. There is no indication from the annual reports that much in the way of educational services existed before 1950; Manitoba, Attorney General, Annual Report Year Ending 31 March 1950 (Winnipeg: Attorney General, 1950), p. 21.

¹⁸⁸The playing of sports was until then limited by the size of the area between the two parts of the building and the end wall that served as the exercise space. The annual report from 1948 suggest that in the summer months the inmates played baseball, football and volleyball in a recreation area outside of the prison.

¹⁸⁹Religious services had ceased being compulsory in 1944.

¹⁹⁰See Chapter One for full details of the organisational structure and changes that occurred.

and the recruitment of adult probation officers was underway, thus fulfilling another *Fauteux Report* (1956) recommendation. A full-time psychiatrist for the department was also hired in May 1957¹⁹¹ and the call for a classification officer would have to wait until 1962 to be answered. Finally, the educational officer did not come into being until the mid-1970s.

These moves at least partially fulfilled recommendations of the *Fauteux Report* directly applicable to treatment, including:

- a.) a high degree of integration between all parts of the correctional system;
- b.) a well developed and extensive system of adult probation;
- c.) a concentration of effort on treatment by way of training, rather than the mere imposition of punishment...;
- d.) specialization of institutions and ... methods of treatment, with a concentration of professional staff in the areas where it is most needed¹⁹²

It was during this period that staff training initiatives were again made to improve correctional officer skills to meet new systemic objectives of enhanced staff-inmate contact and roles, and to set some standards for job knowledge, like security and a theoretical understanding of criminals. The Report of the Sub-Committee on Juvenile and Adult Offenders [*Hunter*, 1955] recommended that “the correctional officer should be a high school graduate with keen interest in the work and with convictions about the reformability of offenders. He should have a stable personality and be able to relate well

¹⁹¹“He Holds the Key Job for Prison Reform”, Winnipeg Tribune, 21 May 1957.

¹⁹²Supra note 86, p. 53.

to inmates of institutions.”¹⁹³ Attendance at the federal training college continued and a core of trained senior officers was being built up in the hopes of some day conducting in-house training at Headingley. Attendees included Mr. Littlewood, on his appointment as Superintendent in 1955, and Deputy Superintendent Lawson.¹⁹⁴ Ten staff were actually dismissed in 1956 for failing to meet new standards of training and knowledge.¹⁹⁵

In the same year Mr. Littlewood recorded an “[e]mphasis being placed on staff training through staff conferences and training programs.”¹⁹⁶ The 1957 Annual Report claimed that “[a]rrangements [were] inaugurated to set up an in-service training program during the summer of 1957 and will be reported more elaborately in next year’s report.”¹⁹⁷ The 1958 report stated that eight qualified instructors would form the nucleus of future in-service training. However, overcrowding curtailed anticipated staff training efforts, as resources had to be directed away from rehabilitation efforts. In 1959 Mr. Littlewood wrote to Attorney General S. Lyon stating that a training course was being offered to

¹⁹³Welfare Council of Greater Winnipeg, The Committee on Juvenile and Adult Offenders: Final Report (Winnipeg: Welfare Council of Greater Winnipeg, 1956), p. 5.

¹⁹⁴Manitoba, Attorney General, Annual Report, Year Ending 31 March 1956 (Winnipeg: Attorney General, 1956), p. 2.

¹⁹⁵“Headingly’s New Look Eases Prisoner Unrest”, Winnipeg Tribune, 20 July 1956.

¹⁹⁶Supra note 194, p. 10.

¹⁹⁷Manitoba, Attorney General, Annual Report, Year Ending 31 March 1957 (Winnipeg: Attorney General, 1957), p. 2.

existing staff and pre-service candidates. He did not detail this initiative.¹⁹⁸

Attorney General Lyon supported these aims in saying that “rehabilitation teams of professional staff should be set up [and]... [t]raining courses for all staff to acquaint them with the philosophy of rehabilitation should be formed”.¹⁹⁹ In 1961 such a course was developed in cooperation between the Department of the Attorney General and the Department of University Extension and Adult Education at the University of Manitoba, entitled “Extension Course in Corrections, 1961”. It included a section on the “The Goals of Corrections”, written by A. J. Kitchen, in which one of the two main goals for corrections was “the rehabilitation of the offender”.²⁰⁰ The other was the prevention of crime and delinquency.²⁰¹ Mr. Kitchen stated that the rehabilitation of the offender “is incompatible, or nearly so, with the commonly accepted method of achieving this goal, namely the prison system as we have known it.”²⁰²

The basic message here was that times were changing and everything was open to examination in finding a better way to achieve rehabilitation of the offender. The old fashioned way of locking them up and offering the inmate no help or resources had to be replaced, because it simply did not work. In doing so, research and investigation became

¹⁹⁸PAM, Memorandum, Mr. Littlewood to Attorney General Lyon, 26 February 1959, Box J-4-4-12 TB 115, File 107.

¹⁹⁹Winnipeg Tribune, 16 March 1961.

²⁰⁰Alfred J. Kitchen, in Proceedings: Extension Course in Corrections (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1961), p. 138.

²⁰¹Ibid., p. 137.

²⁰²Ibid., p. 138.

the key to finding the replacement.²⁰³ Information became key and classification was not just applying labels; rather,

the process of pooling of all relevant information and knowledge about the inmate by the staff so that important decisions and activities affecting the inmate may be better coordinated. A classification officer is needed to direct this classification process within the institution and in so doing contribute to the total process of rehabilitation.²⁰⁴

In moving toward these goals, on 31 March 1962 a number of rehabilitative positions were added to the staff at Headingley: most notably, Roman Catholic and Protestant chaplains, a hobby craft officer, a sports officer, a barber instructor and a classification officer.

A 1964 staff training initiative involved a two week orientation course which included:

[a] series of lectures and field trips and material covered consists of the law as it relates to Gaols, handling techniques and procedures, probation, parole, the function of provincial psychiatrists who work in co-operation with our institution, the clergy and the various social work and after-care agencies who work within the province. The superintendent and senior staff officers, along with the Training Officer take an active part in the training and we are gratified at the marked improvement in overall staff performance since the inception of training.²⁰⁵

Despite these improvements the 1964 report chaired by the Community Welfare

²⁰³Ibid., pp. 138-40.

²⁰⁴Ibid., p. 144.

²⁰⁵Manitoba, Attorney General, Annual Report Year Ending 31 March 1965 (Winnipeg: Attorney General, 1965), p. 22.

Planning Council²⁰⁶ again found Manitoba's correctional facilities inadequate, with little attempt being made at rehabilitation. These conditions existed because

there is no planned policy of corrections. Although Manitoba has a director of corrections, there is no statutory authority to develop a program. ... Manitoba has not yet developed a sufficient understanding of the problems of dealing with an offender. ... Nowhere is the purpose of a corrections system stated.²⁰⁷

The appointment of the second Director of Corrections in 1965 signified the coming of the community model of prison operations in Manitoba. Mr. Ray Slough, a former social worker and superintendent of the Prince Albert Correctional Institution in Saskatchewan, believed that "to really protect society, we must teach the men to live in society".²⁰⁸ This represented a fundamental change in the way the rehabilitation of the offender was approached in Manitoba. He was also an advocate of the work camp type institution and, as a result, the number of these increased during his regime, which ended in December 1972.²⁰⁹

The 1966 Annual Report indicated that three significant developments had taken place: an advanced level staff training course had been set up, the orientation course was behind

²⁰⁶Community Welfare Planning Committee, Report of Committee on Services for Juvenile and Adult Offenders (Community Welfare Planning Council, 1963).

²⁰⁷Val Werier, "Manitoba jails don't give prisoners a fair break", Winnipeg Tribune, 15 January 1964.

²⁰⁸Ted Allan, "Inmates must think of the outside", Winnipeg Tribune, 1 April 1965.

²⁰⁹Manitoba, Information Services Branch, "Eric Cox Appointed Corrections Director" News Service, 26 January 1973. Egg Lake Camp in The Pas is the last work camp that still exists; Manitoba, Justice: Annual Report, 1995-6 (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1996), p. 29.

by twenty due to high staff turnover and lack of funds, and staff training was now centralised. As we close this era, the stage is set for the larger environmental change to be achieved through smaller institutions in local community settings, for direct community involvement in the institutions and for a new commitment to staff preparation and training.

4.2.4 Conclusions

While the correctional officer came to have greater involvement with the offender during the Treatment Era, it was not until the Community Corrections Era that the rehabilitation of the offender became the main focus of corrections in Manitoba. The achievement of systematic and rehabilitative objectives during the Treatment Era did not seem to keep pace with social changes occurring in society at large. The reasons were numerous, but the three significant ones were: the lack of a tax base with which to afford the system that the government wanted, the lack of a clear direction about what the correctional system wanted to achieve, and the lack of a clear direction in how to achieve it.

4.3 The Community Corrections Era (1966-1988):

4.3.1 Introduction

While the move to involve family, parents and community contacts with the offender initially took place in the treatment period, it was not until the Community Corrections Era that things changed in terms of services made available to the inmate and the type of personnel provided.

In Saskatchewan many of the social service staff of the 1950s were professional staff. During this period the correctional officer was occupying positions such as classification,

program and rehabilitation, assisted by consulting psychologists and social workers. In Manitoba it was not until 1970 that professional and lay persons took on this work together. Again we will examine the role expectations of the correctional officer during this era and then the training initiatives and time frames for development in Manitoba. The instability of the department and its leadership (Chapter One) was also evident here, in that ten persons served as superintendent during these twenty-two years.

4.3.2 Role Expectations

The new *Corrections Act*²¹⁰ (1966), sought to integrate the offender into the community, and to normalise them through contact with family, friends and community on a daily basis. This change was further substantiated by a shift of the “Corrections” Department to the Health and Social Services Department. In the Saskatchewan system, three main concepts accompanied this era: work training, probation and parole;²¹¹ for which the motive was to reduce costs, to provide “good” treatment to offenders by way of charitable-minded community providers, and to illustrate government progressiveness.²¹² The Manitoba *Corrections Act* reflected this.²¹³ Yet a provincial system of parole allowed for in the legislation was never implemented. It remained under contract to the federal government. While it appeared from the plethora of commentary and reports on Manitoba

²¹⁰An Act Respecting the Reception, Care, Treatment, Custody, and Rehabilitation of Juvenile and Adult Offenders Chapter 230, S.1 Statutes of Manitoba, 1966.

²¹¹Skinner, et al., supra note 5, pp. 129-30.

²¹²Ibid., p. 130.

²¹³Part I Probation S. 3(1) - 5, Part III Correctional Institutions S. 33(2), Part IV Parole Board S. 47(1) - 51(2).

corrections that there were many things wrong with the system, these errors were illuminated in large part in reports which the government had commissioned from outside sources, inviting community involvement and comment [*Hunter*, 1956, and *Thompson*, 1963].

An investigative report by B. M. Barker of the Faculty of Law, University of Alberta, in Edmonton in 1968 had found that “no minimum education requirements are stipulated for correctional officers employed at Headingly.”²¹⁴ A position description for correctional officers from January 1976 identified the typical duties as: supervision of work and activities of inmates, periodic security checks, counts, producing verbal and written reports on significant or unusual occurrences, assisting with admission, discharge and orientation, and to “respond to verbal and written requests from residents either directly or after consultation with senior officers or treatment personnel”.²¹⁵ Education and training suggested a minimum of grade eleven, with grade twelve preferred, and completion of the prescribed correctional staff training program, ostensibly pre-service.

By 1985 the basic correctional officer training curriculum was twenty-three in-service days in total. Changes to training in 1986 involved the:

development of a generic job description (with a greater emphasis on counselling and supervisory skills) for correctional officers. Training modules are continually being developed to ensure that correctional workers have the knowledge and skills to perform all necessary program,

²¹⁴Barker, *supra* note 131, p. 52

²¹⁵Material in author's personal collection.

security and administrative functions the job demands.²¹⁶

4.3.3 Manitoba Training Initiatives and Time Frames

During this period the expansion of institutional services included, among other things, life skills courses, medical services, advocacy of self and others' rights, internal inmate committees, and correspondence courses in educational upgrading from a recognised credible source.²¹⁷ There was a counselling unit having at least one trained counsellor. The *Corrections Act* required a training initiative to help keep staff current with its new outlook and with progress in criminology and the social sciences. These required the use of new concepts such as dealing directly in referrals to institutional services, understanding why persons ended up in gaol and in trying to assist them to make changes in their lives so that they avoided returning to gaol.

Part of the benefits were that:

Staff members who conscientiously study the course and participate in class sessions and discussions will by their attitude and greater awareness of the demands and opportunities, gain more satisfaction from being better equipped to meet the challenge of their work.²¹⁸

This did not mean that the government was looking for a different type of correctional officer. "The ones who have been working in the jails for many years, are adapting

²¹⁶Manitoba, Community and Social Services, Annual Report Year Ending 1986 (Winnipeg: Community and Social Services, 1987), p. 20.

²¹⁷Teachers provided to assist with correspondence and university courses, 15 June 1977, Winnipeg Tribune.

²¹⁸"Manitoba Prisons Are 'In Training'", Winnipeg Free Press, 2 September 1967.

themselves to the new schemes and admit they are reaping benefits from this training.”²¹⁹

The 83 page manual which accompanied part one of this two year course included topics like: a review of security procedures, philosophical and historical factors of criminology, treatment of the delinquent, techniques of supervision, introduction to psychology, personality development and a study of personality disorders. The first year involved twelve days of instruction and eight written assignments. The second year included a 76 page manual and was more practical in orientation. It included new treatment models, behavioural and reality theory, interviewing techniques and institutional-community contacts. It also included an introduction to the principles of classification. After completion of both parts of the course there was a pay raise.²²⁰

In 1967 the Department felt that:

It is quite evident from the results achieved that we have many line officers who, with additional training, would be quite suitable to undertake more skilled and responsible tasks in the process of rehabilitation. It seems possible, with a minimum of expense, to train a number of these officers to take over at least some of the treatment duties that would assist in changing our institutions from places concerned primarily with custody to institutions of correction.

In addition, a number of officers at each institution will be selected from amongst the graduates to receive on-going instruction in admission, orientation and classification procedures, interviewing, individual counselling and the use of group counselling and group work as a means of helping the inmate with his problems so that he may better be able to adjust to living normally in society upon his release. This will involve setting up programs within our institutions where these skills can be utilized. Instruction will be given in conjunction with these new programs, aimed at

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Supra note 131, p. 53.

the more effective rehabilitation of inmates placed in our care.²²¹

Yet this is at odds with at least one investigation into the Manitoba correctional system, (Barker, 1968), which less than one year later found:

...[a] discrepancy between aspirations and the practices of a penal system in its employment of a custodial apparatus. The discrepancy can be accounted for by a lack of financial resources. ... Low salaries and archaic physical plant can only result in a programme of simple retribution despite the valiant efforts of a few within a custodial system to make it otherwise. If retribution were the avowed aim of the custodial system of Manitoba, all would be well. Such is not the case.²²²

To accomplish this new work:

Since guards must become correctional officers, they should be recompensed by salaries and working conditions commensurate with such responsibility and such an enhanced concept of their role. Obviously recruiting and selection will have to recognize staff training of an intensive nature must transform the attitudes and capacities of those already in the service.²²³

To meet expanding counselling and classification needs a new phase of advanced level studies for rehabilitation officers began in 1969. "It is planned to have a limited number of professionally trained staff who can supervise their work and develop the program."²²⁴

²²¹Manitoba, Attorney General, Annual Report Year Ending 31 March 1967 (Winnipeg: Attorney General, 1967), p. 8; Russon, supra note 156, p. 412, gives a second meaning of treatment: "activities deliberately used to foster improved concepts of citizenship."

²²²Supra note 131, p. 68.

²²³A. M. Kirkpatrick, "Penal Reform and Corrections" in Crime and its Treatment in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1965), p. 480.

²²⁴Health and Social Services, Manitoba, 1968 Annual Report (Winnipeg: Health and Social Services, 1969), p. 87.

These activities will be:

1. Improved and co-ordinated admission procedures.
2. More adequate classification. A good classification system is the basis of any effective correctional system.
3. Additional education and vocational training opportunities, some of which can be obtained from schools and training centres operating outside the institution. It is still necessary, however, for the arrangements to be set up by the institution, and the general supervision of the inmate is still the institutions responsibility.
4. Individual and group counselling.
5. Work release/Day Parole Programs to be extended.
6. A co-ordinate Recreation Program.
7. Extended use of Community Resources.²²⁵

There was also an increase in community organisations involved at the institution during 1969: Alcoholics Anonymous, the United Church Chaplain's Volunteers, the John Howard Society, and the Winnipeg Committee on Corrections were included.²²⁶

The 1969 Annual Report detailed that: "An outgrowth of the correctional staff training program was the preliminary development of a classification program in each of the institutions."²²⁷ A leaked 1970 special consultant's report on Headingley Correctional Institution, proposed to hire "a classification officer to be responsible for all phases of a classification program for inmates, three assistants to the classification officer, two assistant counsellors and a psychiatric nurse"²²⁸ Plans were also made to hire supervisors to oversee rehabilitation programs, education, training and counselling.

²²⁵Ibid., p. 88.

²²⁶Manitoba, Health and Social Services, 1969 Annual Report (Winnipeg: Health and Social Services, 1970).

²²⁷Ibid., p. 155.

²²⁸"Facelift for Headingley Jail", Winnipeg Tribune, 9 November 1970.

The 1970 Annual Report noted the addition that year of “several professional staff who will develop and implement the treatment programs for which the groundwork has been laid in the past several years”,²²⁹ through staff training initiatives. Four professional staff and ten assistants were added to “further develop the training and treatment program ...[and] the main emphasis of this program will be to relate the institutional program more closely to the community.”²³⁰ In the June 1970 Bison, staff training initiatives were supported by the union:

The approach toward correctional operations in institutions in Manitoba is gradually shifting from one of strictly custodial care of inmates to one where treatment and rehabilitation are emphasized. A key factor in this transition is that of staff training for [the] Correctional Officer.²³¹

However, it was not until The Rise of the Sparrow,²³² that the Manitoba Government was to attempt to assess and analyse their own system²³³ and to chart a path for the future.

The RISE OF THE SPARROW is an attempt by the Department of Health and Social Development to synthesize the philosophy, policies, directions and objectives of a modern corrections program. The document does not constitute a statement of government correctional policy although certain aspects of current policy are enunciated in the text of the report. This paper is being made available to all interested members of the public in order to stimulate open discussion of this very significant aspect of public

²²⁹Manitoba, Health and Social Services, 1970 Annual Report (Winnipeg: Health and Social Services, 1971), p. 31.

²³⁰Ibid., p. 34.

²³¹Bison (Winnipeg: Manitoba Government Employees Association, June 1970), p. 20

²³²Sparrow, supra note 132.

²³³This lends itself to inherent problems of information control, dishonesty and protectionism.

social policy. It is hoped that many concerned individuals and groups will avail themselves of the opportunity to communicate with government on this matter.²³⁴

It took awhile for the philosophy behind “Sparrow” to develop into a plan of action and for the staffing initiatives to take place that were needed to achieve the ambitious changes it heralded in staff and community participation. The annual report of the same year detailed the first correctional program objective for Manitoba.

It is the aim of the adult correctional program in Manitoba to return the offender to the community as a contributing member of society. Changes in attitudes and behaviour patterns are achieved through appropriate use of staff skills, institutional facilities and community resources. As a result, offenders are able to discharge more effectively their responsibilities as citizens to the community.²³⁵

Programs in this case would assist “in the modification of attitudes and behaviour”.

Treatment was now defined as to “assess the social and employment background to enable the institution to place the resident in the treatment stream most suited to his needs.”²³⁶

However, this did not sound like the assessment and tailoring of specific needs of the program to the offender, but rather the tailoring of the offender to institutional needs.

Over successive annual reports this rehabilitation aim was further redefined and clarified until the 1974 version became the stock version: “The utilization of a range of differentiated programs designed to re-integrate and re-socialize an individual into his or her own community setting through the co-ordination of all available institutional as well

²³⁴Sparrow, *supra* note 132, p. 3.

²³⁵Manitoba, Health and Social Development, 1972 Annual Report, (Winnipeg: Health and Social Development, 1973), p. 40.

²³⁶Ibid.

as community resources.”²³⁷

In 1975 the Ministry espoused a departmental philosophy for accountability in the following areas:

- a) to fulfill the conditions of imposed legal sanctions in a responsible and consistent manner;
- b) to ensure the protection of society from those individuals who present an existing or potential danger to other persons or property;
- c) to recognize the essential worth of every individual in the exercising of justice;
- d) to provide maximum opportunity for the rehabilitation and treatment of the offender;
- e) to involve the entire Manitoba community in the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, the prevention and reduction of crime and delinquency and the provision of adequate resources to explore every available avenue necessary to correct the relationship between the offender and the offended.²³⁸

This “requires redevelopment and restructuring of existing institutional programs, continuing assessment of the needs of offenders, and on-going evaluation of rehabilitative effectiveness of programs.”²³⁹ At this time a new correctional officer orientation training course had been developed and was set to be implemented the next year.

Planned changes were introduced to the Manitoba correctional system by Dr. John Banmen, Associate Deputy Minister, Corrections, in July 1976. They included increasing the manpower skills of correctional staff in order to deal with new and changing work concepts, as well as to emphasise the community corrections focus.

²³⁷Ibid., p. 45.

²³⁸Manitoba, Health and Social Development, 1975 Annual Report (Winnipeg: Health and Social Development, 1976), p. 46.

²³⁹Ibid., p. 46

Correctional activities will be happening closer to the community and we want the community to be involved in determining the best kinds of correctional activities. For that the men will almost [certainly] need community development skills.²⁴⁰

There were three innovations in his call for training:

[P]rison guards and other corrections personnel would for the first time ever, undergo organized training; employees in the ministry would be able to develop a career in the corrections field, with opportunities for horizontal mobility, i.e. to go from a guard to a probation officer; with the introduction of pre-employment training, would come an increase of recruitment of minority groups, especially from the native community, and disadvantaged groups, who might lack the education to qualify at present.²⁴¹

Staff were historically hired without training and little was given once they were hired.

The department realised that corrections presented a problem in not knowing what they were hiring someone to do. This initiative would create “a task bank to simplify recruitment and hiring by identifying the skills required for each job”.²⁴² This included the training of current staff with new skills to keep them current with systemic changes and ambitions. It included orientation to the goals of the criminal justice system, correctional rehabilitation services, their institution and the provincial government. “It is hoped that by explaining to prison guards exactly where they fit into the whole picture, they will become more ‘treatment oriented’, more concerned with what becomes of their charges”.²⁴³

The first principles for the Ministry were introduced the same year:

²⁴⁰“Principle Changes in Prison System”, Winnipeg Tribune, 6 July 1976.

²⁴¹Ibid.

²⁴²Ibid.

²⁴³Ibid.

1. Reintegration of the offender into family and community can best be achieved by using the community as a base for correctional programs;
2. Because the behavioural problem of offenders are varied and complex, treatment processes and techniques must be tailored to individual needs; and
3. Rehabilitative efforts require coordination of all elements of the system, from apprehension to after-care, without artificial barriers as to age, location, type of program, etc.²⁴⁴

By the end of this period in the federal correctional system, the “opportunities” model became prevalent.

This resultant “correctional opportunities” model is based on the assumption that the offender is ultimately responsible for his behaviour. This approach further recognizes that the offender is convicted and sentenced on the basis of his criminal behaviour, not on the basis of some underlying personality disorder or deprived socioeconomic condition.²⁴⁵

This model also took root in Manitoba.

By 1977 the department stated the following were responsibilities of its operation

1. Restricting the liberty of individual inmates.
2. Maintaining humane living conditions.
3. Providing opportunities for reform and rehabilitation.
4. Establishing treatment methods to meet individual needs.²⁴⁶

The annual report this year also stated that each offender was assigned a case worker and a specific work or training program.

The 1978 report confirmed the trend to provide “care, custody and rehabilitative

²⁴⁴Manitoba, Health and Social Development, Annual Report 1976 (Winnipeg: Health and Social Development, 1977), p. 55.

²⁴⁵Supra note 111, p. 31.

²⁴⁶Manitoba, Health and Social Development, 1977 Annual Report (Winnipeg: Health and Social Development, 1978), p. 53.

programs...upon admission, a rehabilitation plan for each inmate begins with an interview with a classification officer, placement officer, physician and/or nurse."²⁴⁷

Community programs included work placements, community volunteers and half way house community re-entry programs. At the institution rehabilitative programs were expanded in 1979 to include the John Howard Society, the Elizabeth Fry Society, Alcoholics Anonymous, Native Clan, Converse, United Church halfway house, Grosvenor House, Open Circle, Scotia House, X-Kalay and Frontier College.²⁴⁸ The commitment to meaningful job training for inmates saw completion of the new Trades Building in 1980, with shops for painting, carpentry, shoe repair and making clothes.²⁴⁹ According to the *1981 Annual Report*, "inmates with sentences of seven months or over are involved in the development of an individualized program plan which attempts to identify specific inmate needs and a series of activities are developed to meet these needs."²⁵⁰ This differed from previous practice in attempting to co-opt the offender and assess commitment to the treatment plan. It further extended the idea of individualised treatment along with the opportunities model discussed earlier.

The 1983 and 1984 reports strongly emphasised the role of the Temporary Absence, in

²⁴⁷Manitoba, Health and Social Development, *1978 Annual Report* (Winnipeg: Health and Social Development, 1979), p. 51.

²⁴⁸Manitoba, Health, Community Services and Corrections, *1979 Annual Report* (Winnipeg: Health, Community Services and Corrections, 1980), p. 44.

²⁴⁹Manitoba, Community Services and Corrections, *1980 Annual Report* (Winnipeg: Community Services and Corrections, 1981).

²⁵⁰Manitoba, Community Services and Corrections, *1981 Annual Report* (Winnipeg: Community Services and Corrections, 1982), p. 25.

allowing the inmate to be gainfully employed in the community, reside in a half-way house at night or attend school and other rehabilitative programs.

Changes to the organisation in 1985 included a “revised mandate, a streamlined management structure, enhanced communication, and development of improved information services.”²⁵¹

A major initiative supporting these goals (rehabilitation) was the introduction of a generic job description (with a greater emphasis on counselling and supervisory skills) for correctional officers. Training modules are being developed to ensure that correctional workers have the knowledge and skills to perform all necessary program, security and administrative functions the job demands.²⁵²

While traditional programs like counselling and education were maintained, emphasis was on expanding work and employment activities in the community.²⁵³

4.3.4 Conclusions

In particular, “the current ‘opportunities model’ is a reaction to the rehabilitation philosophy”²⁵⁴ of the previous era, and its perceived failure²⁵⁵ in the prison system. The opportunities model placed responsibility on the offender for personal changes in lifestyle and attitude. This shift changed the role of staff from one which up to now lacked any

²⁵¹Manitoba, Community Services, 1985 Annual Report (Winnipeg: Community Services, 1986), p. 22.

²⁵²Ibid.

²⁵³Ibid., p. 23.

²⁵⁴Supra note 111, p. 29.

²⁵⁵Robert Martinson, “What Works? -- Questions and Answers About Prison Reform”, The Public Interest, XXXV, Spring 1974.

clear role in treatment beyond simply incarceration, to a supportive one. The conflict between the two regimes, security and programs, deteriorated inter-staff communications further.²⁵⁶ The problem of reforming corrections had been tied to the shift in paradigms and to the fact that “the correctional system must be prepared to swing with the pendulum and suffer the inequalities and inefficiencies that follow philosophical and political change.”²⁵⁷ Reform had not happened for a variety of reasons. The shift from the idea that there was something wrong with the offender, to making the offender directly responsible to correct himself through available resources, was most significant. If they had that ability, then change and rehabilitation could already be accomplished. However, other psychological factors are involved in the process of change and rehabilitation. These are deeply rooted in complex bio-psycho and social factors. If it was solely the application of the individualised knowledge gained through social science methods, and the increased information gathering of the state systems that Foucault suggests was intended for the transformation of the prisoner, then this information was not used to its full potential and has instead created a perpetual prison population.²⁵⁸

Toward the end of correctional reform in this era, the system took an actuarial or risk management approach to early release, community programs and in-custody placements, both within and between institutions. The major shift to the Post-Social Era has been

²⁵⁶Supra note 111, p. 30.

²⁵⁷Supra note 56, p. 306.

²⁵⁸Foucault, Michel, Discipline and Punish (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 306.

away from belief in the community as the major force in helping to re-shape the offender. The community was now seen by correctional administrators as those who needed protection from the offender. This era also contained a rise in business style practices in an effort to show effectiveness and efficiency in how corrections conducted its business. The impact on the correctional officer was to raise the standards of admission to reflect increasingly difficult and complex work which corrections had become in the evening of the Community Corrections Era.

4.4 The Post-Social Era (1988-1996)

4.4.1 Introduction

The development of an actuarial basis for correctional decisions came from the conceptualisation of corrections as a business, and from the legal, legislative and societal reforms, contained in the neo-conservatism of late 1980s governments. It was a move away from a socially constructed view of criminal theory and from a view of human nature where destructive forces acted on the individual. It was a focus on the victim rather than on the offender. When Gary Filmon and his Progressive Conservative government came to power in 1988, Corrections was transferred from Community Services to the Justice Department, where it remains.

4.4.2 Role Expectations

The role of the correctional officer expanded in 1991 to include case management. This included information gathering for numerous purposes, classification, immediate and long term needs, and on-going case management. The correctional officer was made directly responsible for interviewing offenders, gathering information and creating written

intake, assessment and planning documents, in addition to their routine, static security duties. This work also involved developing case plans with goals to be accomplished on an offender-driven basis during incarceration. In part to achieve these aims, the little used Section 6 of the *Prison and Reformatories Act*²⁵⁹ was used to compel offenders into such treatment activities, on threat of removal of remission, or “good time”, for not doing so.

4.4.3 Manitoba Training Initiatives and Time Frames

There are differing beliefs about the post-social or new penology phase of corrections and what it is. It is certainly a developing concept which offers an alternative way to view changes in correctional practice that have taken place in Great Britain, Manitoba, Ontario and Australia since the late 1980s. Two articles will be used here to examine these changes: Feeley and Simon²⁶⁰ (1990) and O’Malley²⁶¹ (1996).

Feeley and Simon were most concerned with the shift away from the individual to the “actuarial consideration of aggregates”²⁶² in their view of the ‘new penology’. They cited an increased reliance on the imprisonment of offenders that merged demands for enhanced surveillance and custody. This shifted the correctional focus away from punishing individuals to managing groups of dangerous offenders,²⁶³ and ultimately enhancing the

²⁵⁹Canada, Prison and Reformatories Act (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, Chapter P. 21).

²⁶⁰Feeley and Simon, supra note 31, pp. 449-74.

²⁶¹O’Malley, supra note 30, pp. 26-38.

²⁶²Feeley and Simon, supra note 31, p. 449.

²⁶³Ibid.

protection of society. The cause of this paradigm shift was in “multiple and independent origins and are not reducible to any one reigning idea.”²⁶⁴ They found that the shift involved three distinct areas: the emergence of new discourses, the formation of new objectives and the deployment of new techniques in corrections. For instance, the probability to re-offend and risk management replaced the clinical diagnosis of the offender and the retributive and rehabilitative justice focus of incarceration. The efficient control of internal systems replaced the traditional goals of rehabilitation and crime control, by largely denying the relevance of outside or social influences of causation. Finally, new techniques focussed on target groups of offenders and were no longer concerned with individual needs or principles of equity in the provision of services or penalties.²⁶⁵ These changes fit in with demand by the courts and legislatures for accountability and program rationalisation,²⁶⁶ by “the development of more cost-effective forms of custody and control and in new technologies to identify and classify risk.”²⁶⁷ This change can be seen specifically in the use of actuarial risk management instruments, like the Level of Service Inventory in Ontario (1982) and the Offender Risk Assessment and Management System in Manitoba (1997). O’Malley’s assessment of post-social criminology focussed more on the political environment that accompanied these changes.

Such post-social political rationalities constitute their subject not as

²⁶⁴Ibid.

²⁶⁵Ibid., p. 450.

²⁶⁶Ibid., p. 456.

²⁶⁷Ibid., p. 457.

members of an overarching social whole, shaped by social conditions and to be governed through social interventions, but as autonomous individuals, responsible for their own fate, invested with personal agency and thus with personal responsibilities for their actions.²⁶⁸

On 2 April 1991 the most recent major paradigm shift in the treatment of offenders in Manitoba was officially introduced, with the unit and case management concept. It was also the year which produced the first mission and mandate statement in Manitoba Corrections. Case and unit based managements were integrally connected. In short, it involved a decentralised organisational approach with smaller management units and flatter lines of authority than in traditional correctional regimes. In this sense, the line officer was to have more authority and more autonomy over his or her direct involvement with inmates (a possible indication of professional status) in their individual rehabilitation. This change involved the correctional officer intimately and extensively with that of the offender, to a degree not yet experienced here. A six month review of the implementation of case management at Headingley found that it was not smooth and in particular it was marred by the lack of formal training initiatives and clear performance expectations. Unlike the centralized training initiatives of the past fifteen years, the implementation of unit management was given to institutional authorities who ostensibly had the best ideas on how, when and where to implement the training to meet the required objectives. Other concerns raised in the review were: a lack of perceived increased authority for decision-making, long-standing internal conflicts, staff feuding and undermining activities.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸O'Malley, supra note 30, pp. 27-8.

²⁶⁹Memorandum James Wolfe, Executive Director, to Denis Lemoine, Superintendent, 23 October 1991, with review committee report on Unit Management

In the Report of the Independent Review of the Circumstances Surrounding the April 25-26, 1996, Riot at the Headingley Correctional Institution, the Hon. E. N. Hughes, detailed the lack of clear lines of reporting and authority as significantly contributing to circumstances leading up to the riot.

The second change [in implementing case management] brought serious disruption into the lives of a number of correctional officers. Prior to the change, officers almost exclusively provided a security function. They were not expected to have either close contact with or utilization of different skills – skills that many of them did not possess. It was a very scary experience for several of them.²⁷⁰

This particularly spoke to the skills not being developed to a sufficient degree to be utilised in the role of case manager, because these skills were dramatically different from those officers were hired for five, ten and twenty years ago.

Retired Justice Hughes was:

... satisfied that management sincerely thought that adequate groundwork had been laid for the introduction of the new system. Some training did occur, and attempts were made to accommodate the particular needs of some staff members. A serious miscalculation occurred, however, with the failure to appreciate that, given the extremely difficult labour/management environment existing in the institution, very, very special care was required in the introduction of the process, and consequently, that crucial special care was not taken. Indeed, serious disruption that the change brought to the lives of a number of the correctional officers has never been fully understood nor fully accommodated for by management.²⁷¹

Justice Hughes discovered that the pre-service training received by recruits were from two sources: one by way of a certificate course from Red River Community College, the

Implementation (in autho'rs possession).

²⁷⁰*Hughes, supra* note 77, p. 17

²⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 19.

other from the 13 week program with Manitoba Justice, Human Relations Service Division. Applicants in the second case applied to a specific institution and, if accepted, entered the program and completed the course. If they passed they were accepted into the institution, pending available work, on a casual basis. Centrally provided post-service training involved four mandated areas: suicide prevention, non-violent crisis prevention, first aid and C.P.R., and fire safety. Additional courses were up to each institution to provide, and these were few.²⁷²

A staffing analysis of all positions at Headingley Correctional Institution took place in 1993. By 1994 there were other indications of business oriented practices being used, with the completion of a long range accommodation plan to deal with future system needs in housing offenders based on projected criminal demographics. Three main programming initiatives took place in 1993-4: the development of a concept of core programs, the introduction of a domestic violence program (victim response), and the implementation of a long-term six month sex offender treatment program.

By 1995 the goal of the department was the "protection of society by the effective administration of sentences imposed by the courts, by the humane care, control and reintegration of offenders into society, and by encouraging active community participation in achieving these objectives."²⁷³ The major goal and key result areas for the branch now were:

1. To protect the public from those who break the law and are

²⁷²Ibid., pp. 77-8.

²⁷³Manitoba Justice, 1995-6 Annual Report (Winnipeg: Justice, 1996), p. 29.

- sentenced to time in custody [incapacitation];
2. To provide a living environment and services which are essential to the mental, emotional, physical and spiritual well-being of inmates [safety, care and custody];
 3. To provide a range of work, programs and learning opportunities for inmates to address the causes of crime and prepare for their return to the community as productive law-abiding persons [opportunities model]; and,
 4. To manage branch activities effectively, efficiently and in an accountable manner²⁷⁴[actuarial and business principles]

These were to be accomplished by, among other things, risk assessment, case management, branch level management by information systems, and operational reviews of services and operations at each institution to ensure effectiveness, efficiency and accountability. The culmination of the risk management type of activity was the introduction of the Offender Risk Assessment and Management System in Manitoba in 1997, which “will enhance the institutions ability to identify inmate risk factors and to respond with appropriate security and programming activities.”²⁷⁵

While this study of Manitoba Corrections cuts off before the close of this paradigm of correctional treatment, the department is still increasing the scope of business orientation, risk concepts in treatment and more ‘opportunities model’ motives for offender involvement.

It is obvious that the inmate view is missing from this discussion. There are at least two main problems: nothing has been independently written by ex-inmates for any era in the correctional system in Manitoba, other than what one finds in the occasional press

²⁷⁴Ibid., p. 30.

²⁷⁵Manitoba Justice, 1996-7 Annual Report (Winnipeg: Justice, 1997), p. 6.

reports and the dearth of representativeness of any commentator's view. However, this remains for others to take up.

4.4.4 Conclusions

The Post-Social Era was not only responsible for shifting the focus of the correctional system from the social causes of crime to the individual causes of crime. In terms of professionalisation, it was the era most paralleling the exercise of specialised knowledge, and of authority and autonomy for certain kinds of actions. These were most notably case management activities, information gathering, assessment and case planning, being directly and intimately involved with the offender. And while some correctional officers may have had relevant education, Mr. Justice Hughes found that many did not. Second to that was the comfort and willingness to use it. Beyond that, staff training efforts were not concomitant with the educational needs of the officers hired under past paradigms.

4.5 Summations

This chapter has attempted to show how changes made in correctional paradigms were relevant to the correctional officer's role and professionalisation efforts. It also provided a historical perspective of the philosophical developments in the department generally and on the institution specifically.

The discussion of the correctional paradigm, the application of specialised knowledge by the correctional officer and staff training demonstrated that the shift in the correctional paradigm has not been met systemically with either the broad use of that specialised knowledge by the correctional officer in the rehabilitation of the offender or the timely and appropriate staff training to assure and pursue new directions in correctional practice in

Manitoba. So far the theoretical information presented has attempted to explain why Manitoba's correctional system did not achieve more than it promised, since at least the 1930s.

Chapter Five will illustrate who was hired at different points and how their levels of education and other factors did or did not contribute to the professionalisation of the correctional officer.

CHAPTER FIVE: WHO WAS THE CORRECTIONAL OFFICER?

5.0 Introduction

The main occupant of the correctional institution apart from the inmate, without whom no one would be so occupied, is the correctional officer. This individual was known officially at different times as turnkey and guard. Informally, they are known as screw and bull. The Community Era of the correctional paradigm brought with it an upscale name that was proposed to represent or encourage the elevated status of correctional work. Correctional officer, therefore, will be used to simplify identification and to illustrate where we are going in our discussions.

This chapter will explore the demographics of the individuals hired as correctional officers and ascertain whether the standards were raised.²⁷⁶ The first question is whether the hiring in the different eras represented a higher standard than that which previously existed. The second question is the truth or falsity of assertions made about the nature, quality and motivation of individuals seeking employment as correctional officers, and the characteristics which ultimately detract or add to the professionalisation question. These assertions are: that previous military service is prevalent in correctional officer backgrounds,²⁷⁷ that they enter correctional work from unskilled or lower skilled

²⁷⁶Education being most relevant to professionalisation as discussed in Chapter Two, there have been programs for many years in corrections at Manitoba community colleges, e.g., Justice and Law Enforcement program at the University of Winnipeg and a Criminology major in the Sociology Department at the University of Manitoba.

²⁷⁷Ben Crouch and James Marquart, "On Becoming a Prison Guard", in The Keepers: Prison Guards and Contemporary Corrections (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas Pub. Co., 1980), pp. 61-103; J. E. Thomas, supra note 2, p. 48; Emery, supra note 95; T. C. Willett, "The 'Fish Screw' in the Canadian Penitentiary Service", Queen's Law Journal, III, 1976, pp.

occupations,²⁷⁸ and from un- or under-employment.²⁷⁹ The third question is whether there was a notable difference in individuals hired in certain years and other sets of years, as hypothesised in Chapter One. To be able to answer these questions, sampling studies of the staff of Headingley Correctional Institution have been made.

5.0.1 Sampling Methodology

The data gathered were obtained through two Freedom of Information and Personal Privacy Act access requests to Manitoba Justice. The first request had two parts. The first part of the first request, covering data from 1930-1978, derived from a list of names taken from annual reports in the period 1930 to 1952, identifying those who had retired. The Civil Service Commission of Manitoba filed the employee files in the Provincial Archives based on termination dates, from which starting dates can be taken once the employee records have been accessed. All the names found were submitted.

For the second part of the first request a human resources computer system dating from the mid 1970s made it possible to use employee numbers to find individuals more easily. This was done using employment start dates instead of termination dates, a method which coincides better with ideas about changes in staff hiring due to paradigm changes. A random sampling method, utilising a table of random numbers, was used for the selection of names. There were 16 names submitted for the first part of the first access

429-30.

²⁷⁸Supra note 95, Emery, p. 32 and Ibid., Willett, p. 430.

²⁷⁹Supra note 277, Crouch and Marquart; pp. 66-8 and supra note 277, Willett, p. 430.

request. In the second part of the first access request there were 150 names in appropriate classifications, of this 67 were identified. The two parts of the first access request produced data on 71 correctional officers.

The second access request was to gain information on all persons in correctional officer classifications employed at Headingley Correctional Institution on the date of the 26 April 1996 riot. There were 149 eligible persons. By the time the request was dealt with, information was only available on 69 correctional officers. The first request produced results for 45% and the second, 46% of the population size. The available information was then sorted by start dates and organised into eras. Due to missing data the final total or N value for the study is 128.

The methodological considerations of each information group are:

- a) Residence at Application: Urban, rural and not listed were the choices. Urban was deemed to be cities.
- b) Education Level: this was recorded in ordinal scale form, except where unstated.
- c) Secondary Education: This was scored as none, Technical Education Attendance, College or University Attendance, Completed College Certificates, and University Degrees.
- d) Military Service: This included past military service, police service, previous correctional and security experience.
- e) Marital Status: Single, married and not stated were used here.
- f) Previous Occupation Prior to Entering Corrections: These were grouped in the following manner: trades person, labourer, law enforcement, military service, clerical,

technical, cook/food services, executive/management, truck driver, hospital/medical/social work, sales including sales clerk, government worker and not listed.

g) Gender: Male and Female.

5.1 General Statistics

This section will be broken into six distinct parts based on the years identified as being an era of correctional paradigm, the total sample, and male and female sample comparisons. Due to the restrictions placed on the release of information by the Provincial Government, the birth dates of officers were provided in bands of 10 years. Any inference therefore, between age at entry into corrections or anything else is not possible.

5.1.1 Rural/Urban Population

Secondary research has confirmed a strong presence of staff with rural origin working in corrections. Among those making that claim are Jurik,²⁸⁰ based on traditional views that staff are rural and uneducated. However, the proximity of Headingley Correctional Institution to the city of Winnipeg might show that those applying to work there have strong urban connections. The “Residence at Application” results for the era samples remain firmly urban, ranging from 72% to 89%. The overall average is 79% urban.

²⁸⁰Jurik, supra note 61, p. 527.

5.1.1.1 Residence at Application - Period and Total Sample

Period	Punishment 1930-1954		Treatment 1954-1966		Community 1966-1988		Post-Social 1988-present		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Rural	3	27.3	4	19	17	21.8	1	5.6	25	19.5
Urban	8	72.7	17	81	61	78.2	16	88.8	102	79.7
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5.6	1	0.8
Total	11	100	21	100	78	100	18	100	128	100

The comparison in Tables 5.1.1.2 and 5.1.1.3 show the total male and female Community and Post-Social Era rural samples being roughly equal at 18% and about 80% urban.

5.1.1.2 Residence at Application - Female Sample

	Community		Post-Social		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Rural	1	20	1	16.7	2	18.2
Urban	4	80	5	83.3	9	81.8
Total	5	100	6	100	11	100

5.1.1.3 Residence at Application - Male Sample

	Community		Post-Social		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Rural	16	21.9	0	0	16	18.8
Urban	57	78.1	11	91.7	68	80
Not Stated	0	0	1	8.3	1	1.2
Total	73	100	12	100	85	100

5.1.2 Educational Levels

The table for educational level, 5.1.2.1, is self explanatory except for the “not stated” category. This may be related to the question asked on the employment application: what is your highest level of education? The concern is that those who attended college or university, or achieved college certificates or university degrees, did not also report having attained grade 12 where they had done so. This affects the accuracy of the grade 12 category.

Table 5.1.2.1 Education Level - Period and Total Sample

Period	Punishment 1930-1954		Treatment 1954-1966		Community 1966-1988		Post-Social 1988-present		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
6	4	36.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3.1
7	2	18.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.6
8	1	9.1	11	52.4	0	0	0	0	12	9.4
9	2	18.2	5	23.8	2	2.6	0	0	9	7
10	2	18.2	2	9.5	11	14.1	0	0	15	11.7
11	0	0	1	4.8	18	23.1	0	0	19	14.8
12	0	0	2	9.5	34	43.6	3	16.7	39	30.5
Not Stated	0	0	0	0	13	16.7	15	83.3	28	21.9
Total	11	100	21	100	78	100	18	100	128	100

Tables 5.1.2.2 and 5.1.2.3 compare female and male groups in the Community and Post-Social Eras. The women had a lower level of grade 11 and 12 attainment than the males and a higher level of “not stated” than the males overall. Again the not stated factor may be important as an indicator of post-secondary levels which will be examined next.

Table 5.1.2.2 Female Sample - Educational Level

	Community		Post-Social		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Grade 11	2	40	0	0	2	18.2
Grade 12	2	40	2	33.3	4	36.3
Not Stated	1	20	4	66.7	5	45.5
Total	5	100	6	100	11	100

Table 5.1.2.3 Male Sample - Educational Level

	Community		Post-Social		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Grade 11	16	26.7	0	0	16	22.2
Grade 12	32	53.3	1	8.3	33	45.8
Not Stated	12	20	11	91.7	23	32
Total	60	100	12	100	72	100

Until the Treatment Era the people hired did not have post-secondary education. This changes gradually until the Post-Social Era when 66.7% of correctional officers have some form of post-secondary education. The benefit to professionalisation, beyond the relevant type of education, has been stated as creating more open and accepting individuals, dedication to a human service ideal, ethical values, occupational identity rather than an organisational one and ultimately better decision-making ability.²⁸¹

Table 5.1.2.4 shows the progression by 10% in each of the Treatment and Community

²⁸¹Stanley K. Shernock, "The Effects of College Education on Professional Attitudes among Police", *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, III, (1), p. 75; and Jurik, *supra* note 61, pp. 524-5.

Eras over the previous era in those having some kind of post-secondary education. In the Treatment Era this was in the technical school category. By the Community Era this was mainly in the college-university attendance, college certificate or degree categories. In the Post-Social Era 50% had some college or university attendance with a strong showing in the college certificate and degree categories.

Table 5.1.2.4 Post-Secondary Education - Period and Total Sample

Period	Punishment 1930-1954		Treatment 1954-1966		Community 1966-1988		Post-Social 1988-present		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	11	100	19	90.5	63	80.8	6	33.3	99	77.3
Tech Attend.	0	0	2	9.5	3	3.8	0	0	5	3.9
College- Univ. Attend.	0	0	0	0	6	7.7	9	50	15	11.7
College Cert.	0	0	0	0	4	5.1	2	11.1	6	4.7
Degree	0	0	0	0	2	2.6	1	5.6	3	2.3
Total	11	100	21	100	78	100	18	100	128	100

The overall female results are on par with those of the men in terms of post-secondary educational attendance in the Community and Post-Social Eras. However, females have slightly higher college certificate attainment than men but no degree attainment. It is important to remember the small actual numbers of female officers in this sample.

5.1.2.5 Female Sample - Post-Secondary Education

	Community		Post-Social		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	4	80	4	66.7	8	72.7
Technical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Coll-Univ Attend.	1	20	1	16.7	2	18.2
Coll. Cert.	0	0	1	16.7	1	9.1
Degree	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	5	100	6	100	11	100

Table 5.1.2.6 Male Sample - Post-Secondary Education

	Community		Post-Social		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	59	80.8	2	16.7	61	71.8
Technical	3	4.1	0	0	3	3.5
Coll-Univ Attendance	5	6.9	8	66.7	13	15.3
Coll. Cert.	4	5.5	1	8.3	5	5.9
Degree	2	2.7	1	8.3	3	3.5
Total	73	100	12	100	85	100

5.1.3 Marital Status

The incidence of "married" correctional officers remained strong throughout the Post-Social era where the average drops to 61%. The importance of this is that it subsumes a level of inter-personal skills, employment and other kinds of stability like dependence on employment, in the person hired as a correctional officer. It may also be that it is a more common status for Canadian adults. The results here do not include common-law

marriage in the “married” category.

Table 5.1.3.1 Marital Status - Period and Total Sample

Period	Punishment 1930-1954		Treatment 1954-1966		Community 1966-1988		Post-Social 1988- present		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Married	11	100	17	81	67	85.9	11	61.1	106	82.8
Single	0	0	4	19	10	12.8	7	38.9	21	16.4
Not Stated	0	0	0	0	1	1.3	0	0	1	0.8
Total	11	100	21	100	78	100	18	100	128	100

Married also remained the highest response for females in the total Community and Post-Social Eras. However, in the Post-Social Era the results were evenly split between married and single status. More men were married by 10%. But again the female sample is quite small.

Table 5.1.3.2 Female Sample - Marital Status

	Community		Post-Social		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Married	5	100	3	50	8	72.7
Single	0	0	3	50	3	27.3
Not Stated	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	5	100	6	100	11	100

Table 5.1.3.3 Male Sample - Marital Status

	Community		Post-Social		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Married	62	84.9	8	66.7	70	82.4
Single	10	13.7	4	33.3	14	16.4
Not Stated	1	1.4	0	0	1	1.2
Total	73	100	12	100	85	100

5.1.4 Military/Law Enforcement Status and Occupations

In correctional work military or law enforcement experience was considered an important quality in new recruits. It prepared people for what was seen as work in a para-military organisation.²⁸² It also assumed some degree of professionalism and the preparedness to act in potentially violent or difficult situations, which correctional institutions often include. Yet the Community and Post-Social eras, which focused on human service delivery work, did not recruit this group in large numbers. In fact as Table 5.1.4.1 indicates, those having military or law enforcement experience declined from the Punishment and Treatment Eras onward. This may be due to the inclusion of the returning soldiers in the Punishment Era and the proximity of the Second World War to the Treatment Era.

²⁸²Crouch and Marquart, *supra* note 277, p. 66.

Table 5.1.4.1 Military, Law Enforcement Background - Period and Total Sample

Period	Punishment 1930-1954		Treatment 1954-1966		Community 1966-1988		Post-Social 1988- present		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	8	72.7	15	71.4	29	37.2	3	16.7	55	43
No	3	27.3	6	28.6	46	59	12	66.7	67	52.3
Not Stated	0	0	0	0	3	3.8	3	16.7	6	4.7
Total	11	100	21	100	78	100	18	100	128	100

The total sample male and female differences illustrate that men had slightly higher military or law enforcement experience. For the most part the era results were equal, with the “not stated” results being higher for women.

Table 5.1.4.2 Female Sample - Military, Law Enforcement

	Community		Post-Social		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	2	40	1	16.7	3	27.3
No	3	60	4	66.7	7	63.6
Not Stated	0	0	1	16.7	1	9.1
Total	5	100	6	100	11	100

Table 5.1.4.3 Male Sample - Military, Law Enforcement

	Community		Post-Social		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	27	37	2	16.7	29	34.1
No	43	58.9	8	66.7	51	60
Not Stated	3	4.1	2	16.7	5	5.9
Total	73	100	12	100	85	100

It is not surprising that few identified corrections as their ideal job and many times people end up in this field through less than the best of circumstances.²⁸³ Often cited reasons for entering correctional work are dissatisfaction with other jobs, the search for a stable job with benefits and a solution to previous unemployment.²⁸⁴ Law enforcement careers and military experience were captured in two ways: direct data about this experience and pre-correctional employment field information. The data illustrates how the early work situation of correctional officers changed. What attracts attention immediately is that manual labour or semi-skilled types of pre-employment work peak in the Treatment Era (1954-1966) and drop off in the Community (1966-1988) and Post-Social (1988-1996) Eras. Law enforcement experience decreases in the Treatment Era and remains between 18 and 23% otherwise. Again this tends to support suggestions about why persons enter correctional work and, at the same time, supports the previously cited need to develop a professional model like the R.C.M.P. and ostensibly other police or military service, by hiring people with those experiences. Yet it is uncertain what anomaly results in the almost reversed labourer and law enforcement results in the Treatment Era.

The additional benefits of law enforcement careers were to add people to the work place who were skilled and trained to act in potentially violent situations, skilled for working in groups, and familiar with the types of work, systems and clients. Again it is

²⁸³Ibid., p. 65.

²⁸⁴Ibid., p. 66-7.

important to return to the assertion made by Crouch and Marquart regarding the reasons people offered when entering correctional work: stable work, unhappiness with other employment and unemployment.²⁸⁵

Table 5.1.4.4 Occupation Prior to Entering Corrections - Period and Total Sample

Period	Punishment 1930-1954		Treatment 1954-1966		Community 1966-1988		Post-Social 1988-pres.		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Tradesman	2	18.2	3	14.3	5	6.4	0	0	10	7.8
Labourer	3	27.3	12	57	13	16.7	0	0	28	21.9
Law Enfor.	2	18.2	1	4.8	18	23.1	4	22.2	25	19.5
Military	0	0	0	0	7	9	0	0	7	5.5
Clerical	1	9.1	0	0	6	7.7	1	5.6	8	6.2
Technical	0	0	0	0	1	1.3	4	22.2	5	3.9
Cook/Food Service	1	9.1	1	4.8	3	3.8	1	5.6	6	4.7
Exec./Mgt.	0	0	0	0	4	5.1	3	16.7	7	5.5
Truck Driver	0	0	3	14.3	4	5.1	0	0	7	5.5
Hosp/Med	1	9.1	0	0	5	6.4	1	5.6	7	5.5
Sales	0	0	1	4.8	7	9	1	5.6	9	7
Not Listed	0	0	0	0	4	5.1	3	16.7	7	5.5
Civ. Serv.	1	9.1	0	0	1	1.3	0	0	2	1.5
Total	11	100	21	100	78	100	18	100	128	100

²⁸⁵Supra note 277.

Table 5.1.4.5 Female Sample - Occupation

	Community		Post-Social		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Law Enforc.	2	40	2	33.3	4	36.3
Clerical	1	20	0	0	1	9.1
Technical	0	0	2	33.3	2	18.2
Exec/Mgt.	1	20	0	0	1	9.1
Sales	1	20	1	16.7	2	18.2
Not Listed	0	0	1	16.7	1	9.1
Total	5	100	6	100	11	100

Table 5.1.4.6 Male Sample - Occupation

	Community		Post-Social		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Law Enforc.	16	45.7	2	20	18	40
Clerical	5	14.3	1	10	6	13.3
Technical	1	2.8	2	20	3	6.7
Exec/Mgt.	3	8.6	3	30	6	13.3
Sales	6	17.1	0	0	6	13.3
Not Listed	4	11.4	2	20	6	13.3
Total	35	100	10	100	45	100

5.1.5 Gender

Jurik, among others, echoes that women were increasingly hired in corrections because

they “exert a ‘calming’ effect on inmate behaviour”.²⁸⁶ It is in 1986 that women were finally hired as front line correctional officers in the same capacity as male officers at Headingley²⁸⁷ and their presence continues to increase.

Table 5.1.5.1 Gender - Period and Total Sample

Period	Punishment 1930-1954		Treatment 1954-1966		Community 1966-1988		Post-Social 1988- present		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Male	11	100	21	100	73	93.6	12	66.7	117	91.4
Female	0	0	0	0	5	6.4	6	33.3	11	8.6
Total	11	100	21	100	78	100	18	100	128	100

5.2 Comparison of Educational Level with the Manitoban and Canadian Population

Whether the educational attainment or post-secondary index was higher than that of either the Canadian or Manitoba population will be examined in the next section. Comparison of the correctional officer with the Manitoba and Canadian population will put the educational level in the larger social context.²⁸⁸ Data in Table 5.2.1 show a steady decline in those listing less than a grade nine level of education in the Canadian and Manitoban populations. However, those listing a grade 9-13 level of education remain relatively constant except for a spike in results in 1961. The results for the correctional

²⁸⁶Jurik, *supra* note 61, p. 525.

²⁸⁷Author’s personal experience.

²⁸⁸Statistics Canada, *Educational Attainment and School Attendance: The Nation*, Table 1, “Population 15 years and over by age groups and sex”; (Ottawa: Industry, Science and Technology Canada, 1993).

officer sample showed that 14% were in the under grade nine category, while 64% were in the grade 9-13 category. The “not stated” category included 22% of the total sample.

Thus when compared to the average values of the Manitoban and Canadian populations, the correctional officer groups at Headingley Correctional Institution were much higher in educational attainment than those averages. In the category of some post-secondary education and university degrees, the Manitoban and Canadian population results rise significantly, surpassing the correctional officer group.

Table 5.2.1 Canadian and Manitoba Census Information on Education Levels

Type /Year	Under Grade 9		Grade 9-13		Some Post-Sec.		Univ. Degree	
	Mb	CA	Mb	CA	Mb	CA	Mb	CA
1951	55.2	55.7	42.9	41.5	0	0	1.9	2.8
1961	43.8	46.8	52.6	49.0	0	0	3.6	4.1
1971	33.8	33.2	44.2	43.5	15.8	16.7	6.2	6.6
1981	23.1	20.8	43.2	41.8	24.8	27.5	8.9	9.9
1991	15.4	14.3	44.6	41.8	28.9	31.0	11.1	12.8

* In percentages.

Table 5.2.2 Correctional Officer Comparisons - Total Sample

Under Grade 9	Grade 9-13	Not Stated
14%	64%	22%

The information provided shows that the Community Era correctional officer was better educated than those previously recruited. The Post-Social Era has a high degree of both “not stated” educational levels and post-secondary education. However, while the correctional officers are still far below the university trained personnel that was sought in

most reports, they did meet with the minimum suggested in the *MacGuigan Report*.²⁸⁹

Table 5.2.3 Correctional Officer Comparisons by Era

	Punishment		Treatment		Community		Post-Social	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Under Grade 9	7	63.6	11	52.4	0	0	0	0
Grade 9-13	4	36.4	10	47.6	65	83.3	3	16.7
Not Stated	0	0	0	0	13	16.7	15	83.3
Total	11	100	21	100	78	100	18	100

Chapter Two suggested that role inconsistency may effect how persons with higher levels of education, training and skills were allowed to bring those tools to bear in their work. And it is these university trained individuals, called for in the numerous reports discussed in Chapter Three, who have not been attracted into correctional work in Manitoba to the extent desired. Chapter Four has illustrated that recruitment and training were being carried out in part to implement new ways of dealing with the offender. Despite a true rise in the levels of education of those hired, this call is continually made. What is missing here, and cannot be arrived at without the views of the correctional officer, is what factors impinged on their ability to bring their education to bear. Why was it that administrators were unable to attract more university educated staff and keep them?

Attempts to conduct a survey of the correctional officers currently at Headingley Correctional Institution to help answer these questions have been twice rejected by senior departmental management. The result of a recently conducted survey of the correctional

²⁸⁹*MacGuigan*, *supra* note 76, p. 161, #4 for federal correctional officers.

officers at Headingley Correctional Institution has been obtained but the data were not displayed in a manner that was useful here.

The answer to the question, what factors have impeded the recruitment of university trained persons as correctional officers, and what other operational factors may, or may not, lead to job dissatisfaction and role inconsistency, remain unanswered. As for suggestions about the lower or more manual nature of correctional officers, 20% or better had pre-employment of this nature and results depended on which categories one considered. Only 7% of this index listed military service immediately prior to entering correctional work, yet we saw the combined prior military and law enforcement experience index as high as 46%.

5.3 General Discussion and Discovery

Obviously it is not safe to assume that governmental reports have an influence on the hiring of correctional officers. Nor is it true, as many presume, that a large number of persons with military experience or former law enforcement experience, as correctional officers in other places, or as former police officers or security personnel, have made their way into the correctional service as recommended in *Archambault* and *MacGuigan*.²⁹⁰ A general rise in educational levels towards the present was seen. This was measured in two ways: by the number of people with a grade twelve education and an index of post-secondary education. However, while a concurrent rise in those hired having post-secondary education did occur, it was far below the Manitobas and Canadian averages,

²⁹⁰*Archambault*, supra note 76, p. 350, English prison system or R.C.M.P., *MacGuigan*, supra note 76, p. 159, #6, R.C.M.P.

and also far below the calls for higher education in the literature and governmental reports.

Whatever the effects of changing paradigms and moves towards professionalisation on the actual quality of officers on the job, the results for hiring at higher levels of education, less manual oriented pre-service employment, and more pre-service military or law enforcement experience, indicate a desire for, and attainment of, more educated and well rounded individuals than had been hired previously. The higher number of university trained individuals was lacking. In light of some successes in hiring, the important question becomes: why then is there a continued call for better educated and trained people? Why weren't as many university trained persons hired as correctional officers when it appears that those with higher educational levels were available in the population at large?

5.4 Conclusions

Four objectives have been answered: were attempts to raise the educational standards of those hired successful? Were the standards of those hired raised as time progressed? Were the assertions made elsewhere regarding the backgrounds of persons hired as correctional officers true? And, was there a notable difference in those hired in the different eras?

The results have clearly indicated that a better quality of individual has been more recently hired, although formal information about that effort has not been unearthed here. The results also show that the level of education held by persons hired as correctional officers has steadily increased after 1954 and that post-secondary education was evident beginning in 1984 and increasing thereafter. The research literature has suggested

stereotypical findings about correctional officer backgrounds in under- or un-employment, military service and unskilled pre-employment occupations: these were partially unfounded in this sample population. Military and law enforcement service was found in about half of the sample, and results favoured the under or unskilled pre-employment situations of many recruits into the correctional service. The shortfall in attainment of large numbers of university educated correctional officers could have been in the sample population captured here, or in the lack of those individuals hired into the system. Ultimately, there appears to have been recent success at systematic hiring efforts to recruit better qualified persons into the system as correctional officers. Questions still remain about the continuation of such initiatives and the inability of the work or pay to attract and retain university trained graduates.

It is important to reiterate that the views of current officers, and their reported information, could not be disseminated because the government survey did not separate data by institutions, or even institutional operations.

The next two chapters will compare the data analysed above with those under the charge of the correctional officer and those who control the correctional officer: the inmate and the superintendent.

CHAPTER SIX: THE INMATES

6.0 Introduction

Is there something unique or specific that characterises inmates other than their lawful conviction for criminality? Are they different from those who mind them or govern them? It has been suggested by Willett²⁹¹ and Emery²⁹² that the correctional officer was not much different from the inmate they governed, in terms of lower social class origins, their status as working persons who left school early, and those who were employed in semi-skilled or unskilled labour prior to entering correctional work. They were most often married, served in the non-commissioned ranks of the military and sought a job with a steady income. One aim of this chapter is to document the truth or fiction of those assertions which ultimately detract from claims of professionalisation. Another is to illustrate just what characteristics the inmate group had, since the 1930s.

6.1 Sampling Methodology

At first it appeared as if the same categories of data could be examined throughout the period for the inmates as has been done for the correctional officer. The early yearly institutional reports contained detailed demographic information about the inmates. This included age, gender, marital status, offence(s), education, religion, country of origin, sentence length and recidivism. However, the way information was collected and presented changed in the 1980s, shifting catchment categories of age and other factors, and eventually reducing the breadth of information presented to nothing. Notwithstanding

²⁹¹Willett, supra note 277, p. 425.

²⁹²Emery, supra note 95, pp. 28-33.

that, some demographic information is still available up to 1990.

The first annual reports detailed an extensive range of crimes committed. By the 1970s the categories had been reduced to 19 groups of offences and in the 1980s there were 21 categories. During the 1990s this data was dropped altogether. Any attempt at data comparison is not possible. The obvious reason that persons are criminal is that they were caught, prosecuted, convicted and sentenced. This is traditionally a very small percentage of those not only committing offences, but also of those being prosecuted.²⁹³

Because of the issues discussed earlier regarding the other available data, this particular section will consider: age, literacy/education, and marital status of the inmate population of Headingley Correctional Institution between 1930 and 1995. Analysis of the data will be used to illustrate differences and trends over time. This information then will be compared and contrasted with that of the correctional officer group from Chapter Five.

How representative is the available data? For instance, the total number of admissions in a given year may include the readmission of the same person for different offences. He can be either sentenced or remanded. He could also be held for more than one offence each time. Therefore, the information is at best aggregative, and personal, useful in discovering who the inmates were and what their background was.

Rather than analysing data from all years, information was gathered on inmates based

²⁹³Ted Robert Gurr "Historical Trends in Violent Crime" in Violence in America (Newbury Park, CA.: Sage Publications, 1989), pp. 21-53; and, Curt T. Griffiths, John Klein and S. N. Verdun-Jones Criminal Justice in Canada (Toronto: Butterworths, 1980), p. 147.

on five year intervals designed to correlate with the years ending in zero and five²⁹⁴ from 1945 to 1990. The use of five year interval data may reduce the accuracy of the results, but not enough to challenge significantly the outcomes given the (N) of each sample.

6.2 Inmate Characteristics and Correctional Officer-Inmate Comparisons

Inmate literacy was officially measured in two ways. The first was a crude system of: “read and write”, “unable to read and write”, “read and write a little” and “unknown”. This method of recording was changed by 1968 to one of actual grade levels, none or illiterate, unknown, and scaled up to post-secondary schooling indices. Table 6.2.1 shows that “read and write” increases slightly from 84 to 92% over the twenty year period from 1945 to 1965. The average value was 89.2%. This was balanced with decreases in the “unable to read and write” column and the “read and write a little” column. Obviously this is self-reported data, and the lack of grade levels makes the results less informative.

Table 6.2.1 Literacy

	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	Average
Read/write	84.1	88.3	90.7	90.8	92.1	89.2
Unable read/write	10	6	5.2	3.5	3.4	5.6
Read/write a little	5.8	5.5	4.1	5.6	4.4	5.1
Unknown	0.1	0.2	0	0.1	0.1	.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Method used is that of the departmental record keeping process. Expressed in Percentages.

²⁹⁴It was originally intended to use years ending in 1 and 6 to coincide with the April 1996 riot at Headingley Correctional Institution and Canada Census data, but the Annual Reports were inconsistently available.

Grade levels in Table 6.2.2 show the “grade 9 and under” category in 1970 being 62% of the inmate population, with the 1990 result of 18.3%. The most significant gain being made in the 10-12(13) group which rose from 32% in 1970 to 77.1% in 1990. The average values in each group are: 42.9% in the under grade 9 category, and 52.1% in the grade 9-12(13) category.

The other categories of interest are: “some college/technical school” which decreased from 4.1% in 1970 to 1.4% in 1990. “University” rose from .66% in 1970 to 2.2% in 1990. The average value of the total sample of correctional officers attending post-secondary educational institutions is 29%. For the inmate in the period 1970-1990, it is a mere 3.7%. There were 3% of the correctional officers who had a university degree. The percentage of inmates with “university” in the period 1970-1990 is 2%.

Table 6.2.2 Education Level

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	Average
Grade 9 and under	62.4	50.4	45.5	38	18.3	42.9
Grade 10-12(13)	32.9	42.4	51.2	56.6	77.1	52.1
Some Coll./technical	4.1	1.6	.1	1.6	1.4	1.7
University	0.6	2.6	1.3	3.1	2.2	2
Unknown	0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.2
None / illiterate	0	2.9	1.7	0.5	0.6	1.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Expressed in Percentages

The figures for marital status indicate a “single” value that peaks between 1960 and 1975 at close to 72% and then decreases to 63%. The average is 68% for single inmates

and 32% for married inmates. By drastic contrast, 83% was the mean for officers who were married at hire and 16% for those who were single at hire. Female officer rates of marriage were slightly lower at 72%.

Part of the reason for this may be in hidden or subsumed values of the system, institution or government in preferring persons who were married as correctional officers. This may be related to age at hire, although this could not be tested for officers because of the way correctional officer ages were released in ten year, not five year, bands.

Table 6.2.3 (a) Marital Status

	1945	1950	1955	1960
Single	67.1	67.4	63.6	72.7
Married	32.9	32.3	36.4	27.2
Unknown	0	0.3	0	0.1
Total	100	100	100	100

Single includes: widowed, divorced, or separated and other than unknown. Married includes common law. Expressed in Percentages.

(b)

	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990 ³
Single¹	70.2	72.9	71.1	68	64.4	63.4
Married²	29.7	27.1	28.9	32	35.6	36.5
Unk.	0.1	0	0	0	0	0.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹ Includes widowed, divorced and separated.

² Includes common-law relationship.

³ Annual reporting method, expressed in Percentages

It is important to consider the age of the person that the correctional officer dealt with in his or her daily work. As mentioned above, part of the difficulty is in melding the

various ways the data was collected and presented by the government. What seems significant is that the 21-30 year age group is most prevalent, with approximately 23.7-39.4% of the total. The under twenty age group is the next most significant proportion of the total with about 15%, and the 30-40 age group being third with 20-26% of the total. This establishes the young population in prison as a constant.

Table 6.2.4 (a) Age on Admission

Ages	1945	1950	1955
15-19	16.9	8.2	9.4
20-29	39.4	36.1	32
30-39	19.9	19.7	26.6
40-49	10.4	15.8	17.6
50-59	8.2	10.8	8.3
60-69	4.5	7.9	5.3
70+	.6	1.5	.8
Unknown	.1	0	0
Total	100	100	100

Expressed in Percentages

Table 6.2.4 (b) Age on Admission

Ages	1960	Ages	1965	Ages	1970	Ages	1975	1980
-18	2.3	-18	3.6	-18	1.7	-18	1.3	1.4
18-20	14.8	18-21	25.1	18-19	14.7	18-22	39.4	35
21-30	30.7	22-30	29	20-24	33.4	23-27	23.7	26
31-40	24	31-40	19.2	25-34	23.6	28-32	13.1	14
41-50	15.3	41-50	13.4	35-44	14.7	33-37	7.1	8.2
51-60	8.3	51-60	6.8	45-54	8.1	38-42	5.1	4.7
61-70	3.6	61-70	2.4	+55	3.8	43-47	5	4.9
+70	.9	+70	.4	0	0	+48	5.2	5.8
Unk	.1	Unk	.1	Unk	0	Unk	.1	0
Total	100	Total	100	Total	100	Total	100	100

Expressed in Percentages. Variance in capture categories in the years are due to changes in either departmental information gathering or presentation.

Table 6.2.4 (c) Age on Admission*

Age	1985	1990 [†]
15-17	0.3	0.2
18-19	8.6	8.1
20-24	31.7	26
25-29	23.2	22
30-34	14.2	17.2
35-39	9	11.5
40-44	6.2	6.3
45-49	3.1	3.7
50+	3.7	5
Total	100	100

* The Young Offenders Act came into being in 1984 changing the placement of Juvenile

offenders in adult institutions other than by transfer under the *Young Offenders Act*²⁹⁵
Expressed in Percentages

¹ Annual report method and the total stated in their list differed from the total in other columns, 2532 versus 2533.

6.3 Summary and Conclusions

The inmates themselves proved a rather stable group in the four areas of investigation allowed by the official record-makers: literacy/education level, post-secondary attendance, marital status, and age on admission. The inmate-officer comparisons of note were that the levels of education were slightly higher for correctional officers in post-secondary educational attendance, with higher grade attainment in secondary school attendance. The marital status results were almost reversed in proportion, as most officers were married and most inmates were single. This may be partly due to age, as most of the inmate group was under 30 and almost all of them under 40. Age could not be determined for the correctional officers.

6.3.1 Possible Meanings of the Differences

What do the differences between the correctional officer and the inmate values mean? There are many ways in which these may be interpreted. The educational values of the inmate are not wildly dissimilar to those of the correctional officers in either grade levels or post-secondary attendance and attainment. They are enough to show that the officer was better educated than the inmate.

However, marital status was vastly different and may subsume social, economic and psychological factors. Among these may be: family of origin values, lower social functioning, substance abuse issues, un- or under-employment, prior failed romantic

²⁹⁵Canada, Young Offenders Act R.S.C. 1985, C. Y-1. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1985).

involvement or learned patterns from parents, siblings or relatives. On the other hand, values associated with marriage may be subsumed into the hiring of officers. Among these are: commitment, economic stability, social functioning, reliability, and having people who need employment to support spouses and families, also suggesting stability. Clearly the suggestions by Willett and Emery²⁹⁶ are not accurate in terms of comparative educational levels, which discussion in Chapter Five showed, and the officers were in fact married, while the inmates were not! This may be influenced by a difference between Canadian and the authors' British cultural norms.

6.3.2 Incomparability of Results

The unfortunate consequence of inconsistent government record-making concerning inmates at different times has meant that more fields were not available for direct comparisons, which could more definitively have answered Willett and Emery's concerns. Overall, this weakens any ability to exhaustively or extensively compare the two groups, correctional officers and inmates. It also prevents us from deriving or implying meaning from the results we do have with any level of confidence. Suggestions by Thomas and Emery²⁹⁷ on potential similarities could not therefore be definitively confirmed or refuted. Ultimately, better data needs to be compiled within the corrections system, if there is to be any measuring of the people, processes and results involved in this final stage of the criminal justice system.

In the next chapter the institutional chief executive, the superintendent, will be examined and compared with the correctional officer and the inmate. The differences, will

²⁹⁶Willett, supra note 277, and Emery, supra note 95.

²⁹⁷Thomas, supra note 2; Emery, supra note 95.

illustrate the leadership and professionalisation qualities of that person, which it is presumed will have lent themselves, during their tenure, to the professionalisation of the correctional officer.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE SUPERINTENDENTS

7.0 Introduction

Why is the superintendent relevant to the professionalisation of subordinate correctional officers? As stated earlier, professionalisation developed externally and was imposed on the correctional system to keep the public from increased involvement. It also developed early in Canada as the hiring of university trained persons specialising in crime and criminology, as outlined in the *Ouimet Report* (1969). We have seen how professionalisation was applied to the correctional officer. The superintendent, therefore, apart from personal beliefs about professionalisation, often established and was personally involved in on-going training initiatives.²⁹⁸ It is this person from whom we most often heard from staff training, retention, and quality concerns. The ability to maintain and foster professionalisation is determined in part by the background, training and education of the person hired as superintendent.

The person in overall charge of a correctional facility, whether federal or provincial, is in a delicate position. He or she has to be strong, demanding yet sensitive to the needs and capabilities of the people employed, the inmates they govern, the organisation they work in, and the political climate. A government may signal change in its correctional paradigm by replacing a superintendent with a person who they believe will run the facility according to a new idea or to achieve desired organisational change(s).²⁹⁹ This may also

²⁹⁸Superintendents Burritt and Littlewood took active roles in staff training.

²⁹⁹“Big Shake-Up Due for Jail”, Winnipeg Free Press, 13 June 1955, also Table 8.0.3.2.

be done when a superintendent asks to be moved, or when the person is removed following a major riot, outbreak or labour relations fiasco. In Manitoba, the superintendent position was originally called the Governor.³⁰⁰ The name changed to superintendent between 1945 and 1947 when Mr. Edward G. Weeks took over the position from Colonel Royal Burritt. In the 1945 Annual Report, Col. Burritt signed off as Governor while in the 1948 Annual Report Mr. Weeks signed off as Superintendent. The confusion over what the position was officially called continued and was a point of dispute identified in the Final Report of The Committee Appointed to Enquire into and Report on all Relevant Matters Pertaining to the Riot which took place at Headingley Goal on the 18th. Day of December, 1954 (Kyle, 1955). The official name in the legislation was Gaoler, most persons called him Governor, while the name plate stated Superintendent.³⁰¹ Eventually the government settled on superintendent as the term used for the chief executive officer of the gaol. To avoid confusion, the term superintendent will be used throughout our discussions.

What would the superintendent have to do with the professionalisation of the correctional officer? What would the issues be for him? The person was usually hired to undertake one objective, like enhancing rehabilitation or case management efforts or providing stability, to name just three options. He would have a more direct influence over staff recruitment, hiring and training in the days before layers of the civil service

³⁰⁰Edith Paterson, "Vaughan Street Gaol Right up to Date - in 1883", Winnipeg Free Press, Saturday 17 March 1973.

³⁰¹Kyle, supra note 118, p. 15.

became involved in the process. The types of persons hired would reflect the superintendent's view of the role and function of the correctional officer. When the new recruit training ceased to be in-service and became pre-service in the late 1980s, it subsumed the service values of treatment, rehabilitation or human service delivery work. Those civil servants conducting the recruitment and selection process sought out persons with qualities based on systemic needs, ostensibly devised in consultation with the local superintendents and senior departmental management.

The superintendents assisted professionalisation directly through the support of other types of activities like: newsletters, conferences, one off training days, continuing education programs for individual staff and leaves of absences, based on the availability of resources and the willingness to set priorities to support them. These issues went beyond the assurance of quality decision-making by institutional staff and the maintenance of professionalisation through staff discipline.

7.1 Development of the Chief Administrative Officer Position

In the early 1930s the organisational chart for provincial corrections in Manitoba was flat. Even within the institution the organisational chart was quite flat. Only a chief turnkey and an assistant chief turnkey existed between him and the correctional officers.³⁰² The influences of politicians and senior managers, in the 1960s, 70s and 80s and changes in departmental responsibilities, added layers of intervention between the superintendent, the Director of Corrections and the political masters of the Ministry. With the return to a

³⁰²PAM, RG 18 B2 Box 10, Prison Advisory Board, January 6, 1931: Position Duties.

justice oriented placement in the governmental structure at the end of the 1980s, a similar purpose returned to daily operations in the institution. The layers between the superintendent and Minister were reduced to Executive Director, Adult Corrections, Assistant Deputy Minister and Deputy Minister. Yet within the institutional organisation in 1996, a deputy superintendent, three assistant superintendents - security, operations and programs, duty officers or unit managers, shift leaders, and floor supervisors or senior unit officers, existed between the line correctional officer and the superintendent. Therefore, the organisation remained firmly hierarchical and para-military based. However, each person made subtle changes and most superintendents from 1980-1996 had a fairly 'open door' approach, rather than a reliance on the 'chain of command' to hear staff concerns and suggestions. They tolerated the input of staff.

At first the smooth operation of the physical plant, the maintenance of order in the institution, the worthwhile occupation of the inmate, and fiscal responsibility were the requirements of the superintendent.³⁰³ The recent change in paradigm to community corrections, and then the actuarial or post-social model, along with the complexity of issues now surrounding government and corrections in general, has caused the work of the superintendent to evolve into many different fields apart from being simply a figurehead and maintaining status quo operations. Fiscal responsibility has taken on new dimensions of cost-effectiveness and efficient operations. Labour relations have more than ever occupied the time of the superintendent and other institutional administrators. No longer does the superintendent have the luxury of knowing his or her institutional staff or inmates

³⁰³Ibid.

intimately beyond their office doors. Staff training challenges, correctional officer competencies and inmate unrest are additional concerns.

Yet, with the growth in the sophisticated skills that the position demands has not come the call for specifically management-trained individuals to assume this leadership position. Instead, common wisdom has supported persons groomed from within the correctional framework to assume these positions, because they are said to understand the complex milieu in which they work and its peculiar circumstances.³⁰⁴ In saying that, they may also be part of the problem in maintaining the often deleterious effects of the *status quo*. Just as others³⁰⁵ have indicated, the problem in hiring correctional officers is that we do not understand what it is we are hiring them to do. The same logic needs to be applied to the superintendent position, although some have appeared to be better managers based on the relative lack of turmoil that existed during their regimes.

7.2 Mission within Each Paradigm

As discussed earlier, the changing correctional paradigms were adaptable for a number of reasons. Among these were: that change might conflict with what the prevailing paradigm was originally meant to do, that training often lagged behind the changes, if it occurred at all, and that new, better educated staff were hired to respond to these new demands, further causing inter-staff conflict and role inconsistencies.

³⁰⁴John DeIulio, Governing Prisons (New York: The Free Press, 1987).

³⁰⁵Ross and McKay, supra note 139, pp. 264-265; Cindy Wahler and Paul Gendreau, "Perceived Characteristics of Effective Correctional Officers by Officers, Supervisors, and Inmates Across Three Different Types of Institutions", Canadian Journal of Criminology, April 1990, pp. 266-267.

Similarly, superintendents had a feeling that they were hired to achieve certain organisational objectives, often related to new paradigms, or to become a stabilising force within the organisation. Failure to do so, or a self-perception that they were not effective, or that they saw their time had passed, caused some to move on. Therefore, an examination of what was officially required of the superintendent in legislative expectations for the position, contained in rules established for the proper operation and administration of a correctional facility, is in order.

In the 1875 *Gaols Act*, the sheriff of the district was in charge of the operation of the gaol, through the superintendent. That person was specifically charged with “the proper direction of the gaol, and the preservation of discipline, and shall also adopt all proper measures for the security of prisoners in custody therein.”³⁰⁶ The 1891 *Manitoba Gaols Act* was silent on any specific functions of the superintendent. By 1913 the superintendent of each judicial district shall

... semi-annually, on or before the fifteenth days of January and July, prepare and forward to the Department of the Attorney-General a statement showing (a) the names of persons committed for offences against or pursuant to any municipal by-law; (b) the names of the municipalities in which the offences occurred or from which such committals were made; (c) the date of the reception of each such person at gaol; (d) the date of discharge; and (e) the amount due the Province for the care and maintenance of each such person based on the rate herein before provided”³⁰⁷

Legislation allowed the Sheriff, and later the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, to:

³⁰⁶Manitoba, An Act Respecting Gaols (Winnipeg: Queen’s Printer, 1875), S. II.

³⁰⁷Manitoba, The Manitoba Gaols Act (Winnipeg: Queen’s Printer, 1913), S. II.

... from time to time, make rules and regulation with regard to the government of the Provincial Gaol, the maintenance of order therein, the duties of the gaoler and turnkeys, the maintenance of discipline among and the employment of the prisoners, and with regard to all matters necessary for the proper security and the due ordering of the gaol.³⁰⁸

In the “New Rules Governing Gaols” (1931), the Rules for the Gaoler (superintendent) included: (1) responsibility for the proper conduct of staff, the proper administration of every department within the gaol and making rules needed for this purpose; (2) know the duties of all persons employed at the gaol; (3) be responsible for the care and custody of physical plant and prisoners’ property; (4) when absent the Head Turnkey is in charge, or as delegated by the Attorney-General; (5) make irregular visits to check on effective operations and physical security; (6) have all prisoners searched on arrival and seen by doctor; (7) censor all mail, and if needed withhold it, detain all persons bringing in parcels until searched and declared free of contraband; (8) suspend officers for reporting unfit for duty or refusing a lawful direction, any breach of the gaol discipline is to be reported to the Attorney-General; (10) examine all officers as to their knowledge of the rules and regulations, and report unfit officers to their department supervisors; (11) make rules for the safekeeping of tools and implements; and, (12) post a copy of rules and regulations relating to “prisoners” in each cell for their guidance.³⁰⁹

The 1939 *Statutes of Manitoba* were silent on the specific duties of the superintendent. The 1955 *Kyle Report* chastised the superintendent for not keeping in touch with his staff

³⁰⁸*Ibid.*, S. III.

³⁰⁹Manitoba, Proposed New Rules Governing Gaols, March 1931 (Winnipeg: Attorney-General, 1931), pp. 1-2.

and for allowing the proper education, guidance and development of staff to deteriorate.³¹⁰

By the *Corrections Act* in 1966, “superintendent” became the official name of the person in charge of a correctional institution in Manitoba, and the powers and duties of the superintendent were described as:

... the chief executive officer thereof under the direction of the director and has the entire execution, control and management of all the affairs of the correctional institution of which he is in charge, and is responsible for the faithful and efficient administration thereof.³¹¹

He was also charged to make rules and orders respecting the conduct and duties of the officers, employees, inmates, and other “matters and things that are necessary for the maintenance of order and good government of correctional institutions”.³¹²

[However the] Lieutenant Governor in Council, may make such rules, regulations and orders, not inconsistent with any other provisions of this Act, respecting
 (a) the inspection, management, internal economy, proper security, order, and government, of correctional institutions; [and]...
 (k) all other matters and things necessary for the maintenance of order and good government of correctional institutions.³¹³

In the Review Committee on Adult Corrections: Report on Headingley Correctional Institution [Garson, 1983], the duties of the superintendent were found in the position description in the Appendix III:

The superintendent is accountable for the general management and operation of Headingley Correctional Institution. S/he provides

³¹⁰Kyle, supra note 118, pp. 1-2.

³¹¹Supra note 19, S. 55.

³¹²Ibid., S. 59 (c).

³¹³Ibid., S. 61.

administrative direction within the policy guidelines established by the Department of Community Services & Corrections. Reporting directly to him / her are the Deputy Superintendent, the Chief Correctional Officer, the Supervisor of Institutional Programs and the Supervisor of Bannock Point Rehabilitation Camp.³¹⁴

There is a high degree of autonomy and they report to a centralised directorate.

The Superintendent has an obligation to ensure development and provide coordination of programs and services for the treatment and general welfare of inmates. At the same time he must ensure sanctions imposed by the courts are carried out in a manner that is legal and humane and in keeping with current legislation and regulation. He must also guarantee conditions of security that protect both the general public and the persons in his custody. The superintendent is responsible for administering a spectrum of professional and technical services, for the management of material and human resources and for maintaining a stable staffing situation taking into account staff selection, training practices, evaluation and labour relations.

The superintendent must provide for dynamic organization. He must identify goals and set objectives in such a way the system can be seen to be progressive.³¹⁵

We have seen that the superintendent's role and function became exceedingly complex in the legislation as well as in practice. There is no doubt that personal beliefs regarding professionalisation influenced hiring and training in periods not under strict systemic or civil service control. The qualities or the credentials of the individual superintendent, like the correctional officer, increased over time to meet the needs of that complexity. The individual qualities of the person hired as the superintendent would be influenced by governmental reports in the way that the correctional officer was. For the proof of these assertions we turn to an analysis of the data collected.

³¹⁴Supra note 77, p. 29.

³¹⁵Ibid., Appendix III, no specific page numbering.

7.3 Sampling Methodology

Data was gathered on all superintendents serving in this period by a combination of personal interviews, access to civil service files in the case where these persons were deceased, newspaper articles, government news releases and other written sources. Two persons assumed the position more than once, and for short term periods of up to one year. These were counted as new persons each time, because they were brought back to fulfil certain objectives. In this case it was staff's familiarity and comfort with them that provided stability in the operation during the short-term and allowed the organisation to make a transition to a new model, or get back on track to an existing model. There were two specific periods when this occurred and both were post-riots (1984 and 1996). The data is presented in table form and will be discussed relative to similarities and differences with the correctional officer and inmate populations. These will be examined for the total sample and then for the different correctional eras.

7.4 The Superintendents' Characteristics

Data was calculated to correlate with areas identified as important in the correctional officer and inmate sample populations. These were: residence at application, educational level, post-secondary education, military-law enforcement experience, marital status, previous occupation and gender. Additional areas captured relative to professionalisation were: average age at promotion, why they were hired, and why they moved on. As many as 55% of the superintendents had military service and 22% had police experience, most of it obtained before 1984. This compared with the correctional officer group that had 47.2% with military or law enforcement experience overall.

Table 7.4.1 Military and Police Service

	Military Experience		Police Experience	
Yes	10	55.5	4	22.2
No	8	44.5	14	77.8
Total	18	100	18	100

In percentage.

The previous occupation of the superintendents was mostly law enforcement and military (89%). The balance was in management or government (11%). This compared with the correctional officers who had 43% identified as having law enforcement experience on that specific question. By way of the pre-service occupations indices, 25% had either military or law enforcement experience combined. This was not captured for the inmate group.

Table 7.4.2 Previous Occupation

Total	Law Enforce*		Military	
Number / %	17	83	1	6

* many were career civil servants previously in corrections. Where they were in government in corrections, it was scored as law enforcement rather than government, including police service.

With correctional officer professionalisation the theory has been that they became a more educated group in hiring periods which directly followed reports dealing with federal and provincial corrections. However, the level of education of the superintendent would be expected to have been higher anyway and employed in related law enforcement, social work or business occupations. The superintendent group from 1930 to 1971 was all common school or collegiate educated, with one unknown. Among these were two ex-

R.C.M.P. officers, one career civil servant, one person who served in the first World War and had a business career, and another who was in the military in World War II. From 1971 onwards the group possessed a large percentage (77%) with at least bachelor degrees and some (22%) with post-graduate degrees.³¹⁶ Fifty percent of the superintendents had a university degree, while the average for correctional officers was 2.35% and 1.96% for the inmate group.

Table 7.4.3 Education Level Attained

	Partial H.S., H.S., College		Undergrad Degree		Graduate Degree		Unknown	
Number / %	8	44.5	5	27.8	4	22.2	1	5.6

For the superintendent group all were married, for the correctional officers, an average of 82% were married at hire and for inmates, upon incarceration, an average of 32% were married.

The age at promotion suggests that some knowledge of the system, experience in management and familiarity with the institution was required. In the period following the *Archambault Report* (1938), persons were brought in from the military and the police on the assumption that they had a certain level of professionalism and that they could help recognise and develop it in others. Most superintendents did not stay around long. For many it was both the climax and exasperation of their careers. The minimum age at appointment was 34 and the maximum was 62. The length of service ranged from one to

³¹⁶Highest degree counted, bachelor degree was not included in undergraduate degree where a master's degree was obtained.

13 years, with the mean being 3.7 years. The longest serving and perhaps most respected was Sidney Littlewood (1955–1968).

Table 7.4.5 Average Age at Promotion / Years of Service as Superintendent

Average Age at Promotion				Years of Service as Superintendent			
46.6				3.7			
Min	31	Max	62	Min	1	Max	13

The superintendents perceived that they were hired for specific reasons. The two most significant of these were to carry out reform, and because they had demonstrated good judgment and experience in former capacities.³¹⁷

Table 7.4.7 Views on Why they were hired

Why Selected	Number	Percentage
Carry Out Reforms	5	27.8
Had been Acting in Job	2	11.1
Stabilisation	2	11.1
Previous Experience	5	27.8
Cross Fertilization	1	5.6
Unknown	3	16.6
Total	18	100

Equally interesting are the reasons these gentlemen had for moving on. Some 33.3%

³¹⁷14 June 1955, Winnipeg Tribune, “Ex-RCMP to Head Jail Here”, Touted by Attorney-General Hryhorczuk as “announcing adoption of entirely new approach to offenders at Headingley”; Legislative Library Biography File, *Forester, Reginald*, 18 May 1984, “Background and Experience”.

asked to move on for an assortment of reasons, some retired and one died. Many others were either promoted out, given a new assignment or went back to positions they formerly held when their acting status was over.

Table 7.4.8 Why they Moved On

	Number	Percentage
Retired	3	16.7
Died	1	5.5
Asked to Move on	6	33.3
Promoted Out	3	16.7
Given new assignment	2	11.1
Acting in Position	2	11.1
Current Superintendent	1	5.6
Total	18	100

7.5 By Correctional Eras

In terms of the methodology used for the correctional officer, the same can be done for the superintendents to determine if the people hired in any era differed from those hired in another era.

For the average age at appointment, the Punishment Era was higher than the other three eras.

Table 7.5.1 Average Age at Appointment

Avg. Age	Punishment(3)	Treatment(1)	Community(9)	Post-Social(5)
in years	57.6	45	43.7	46.4

The results for persons hired as superintendents in Tables 7.5.2 and 7.5.3 show that all but the Post-Social Era had a strong presence of either military and police experience.

Table 7.5.2 Military Service

	Punishment(3)	Treatment(1)	Community(9)	Post-Social(5)
Yes	33.3	0	88.9	0
No	66.7	100	11.1	100

Table 7.5.3 Police Service

	Punishment(3)	Treatment(1)	Community(9)	Post-Social(5)
Yes	33.3	100	11.1	0
No	66.7	0	88.9	100

Historically, corrections has tended to hire from within, valuing relevant work experience. In all the eras this was true except the Treatment Era which only hired one person. The results in the Punishment Era was split between government, police and business experience. In the other two periods people were selected from within government, in particular corrections.

Table 7.5.4 Pre-Service Careers

	Punishment(3)	Treatment(1)	Community(9)	Post-Social(5)
Government	33.3	0	100	80
Police	33.3	0	0	20
Business	33.3	100	0	0

In terms of their levels of education, all of the Punishment and Treatment Era superintendents had high school levels of education. However, bachelors degree and masters degree is a common response in the Community and Post-Social Eras.

	Punishment(3)	Treatment(1)	Community(9)	Post-Social(5)
H.S. or part	100	100	33.3	20
Bachelors	0	0	22.2	40
Masters	0	0	33.3	40
Unknown	0	0	11.1	0

7.6 Summary and Conclusions

While the inmate and correctional officers comparison illustrated that the inmate was much less stable than the correctional officer in terms of marital status, they were not vastly different in educational attainment. The superintendent achieved higher ranking in terms of educational level and percentage of those who were married than both of those groups. They were an older group overall when hired and some degree of personal stability is expected to be subsumed in this dimension.

It is also important that the superintendents were hired for different roles depending on the time and the correctional paradigm being used in Manitoba. Like the correctional officer, the job requirements for the superintendent have accumulated to the complex and divergent position that it presently is.

As the role becomes more complex and centralised, there is less likelihood of the superintendent being able to influence professionalisation directly through intimate involvement in either hiring, training or quality assessment, other than as the final

disciplinary arbitrator. While it is obvious that their levels of education contribute to some semblance of professionalisation, it is more difficult to see how that transmits to the officers in the complex modern institution that they lead.

Chapter Four had shown that there were institutional and systemic issues which intervened between any ideal or quality possessed by a superintendent towards the development of professionalisation in the correctional officer, and that idea being brought to fruition.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

8.0 Introduction

Very little has been written on corrections in Manitoba. We have not had the benefit of Skinner, *et al.*,³¹⁸ on Saskatchewan, Yates³¹⁹ on British Columbia, McMahon³²⁰ or Oliver³²¹ on Ontario, to do seminal or important work for us. That has made this thesis both easier and more difficult. However, underneath it all, this is about the people who go to work every day in correctional institutions all over the world. Those who try do the best that they can, given the theoretical framework they work in, the successes and failings of their correctional system, and their personal strengths and shortcomings. The interplay between all of the issues, concerns and criticisms detailed here are complex, to say the least. The challenge for everyone involved in correctional work is to make an effort to make the system work better and to improve it. Efforts to raise the standards of personnel hired have worked, and they imply that if the will is there, better things can be achieved in whatever form. The challenges to the correctional system and to the individual correctional worker are to keep lines of communication open, to work together, to value each other in areas of expertise and as human beings, and to assist in the development of better skilled employees, managers and offenders.

³¹⁸Skinner, *et al.*, *supra* note 5.

³¹⁹J. Michael Yates, *Line Screw* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1993).

³²⁰Maeve W. McMahon, *The Persistent Prison?* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

³²¹Peter Oliver, *'Terror to Evildoers'* (Toronto: The Osgoode Society, 1998).

It would be remiss not to address alternatives to professionalisation, the unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled and semi-professional labour categories, when evaluating the correctional officer. The two categories that best apply to the correctional officer are the skilled and semi-professional group. A skilled worker requires the use of training or skills on a consistent basis. A semi-professional worker has a higher level of education and experience in practice but would not fully meet the standards of admission into a profession.

Caplow³²² makes the distinction between a professional and craftsperson (skilled worker) as one of non-interchangeable *versus* interchangeable skills. A craftsperson on the other hand is also examined by their peers throughout the journey-person stages into master status. Once a person attains the “master” status they become interchangeable in their particular area of training. For them the performance appraisal in a unionised workplace is the formal mechanism of quality control. In correctional settings these are done by supervisors and managers who were once line correctional officers.

But Frank³²³ finds the work of the correctional officer ancillary to professional roles, thus supporting administrative and professional staffs. This is further supported by Ekstedt and Griffiths in their view of what makes up correctional professionalisation.³²⁴

Similarly the requirement of higher levels of education in the selection of correctional officers confuses the issue of professionalisation *versus* skilled worker status. However, it

³²²Supra note 46, pp. 110-13

³²³Supra note 48, p. 273.

³²⁴Supra note 56, p. 123.

seems that the correctional officer remains a skilled worker as long as four factors exist: (1) that pre-employment job specific training period is required, (2) where externally created standards are maintained, (3) where a peer based periodic performance evaluation takes place, and, (4) where there is no profession to enter. The best fit is the skilled labour or craftsperson approach, which can include the professionalism trimmings of: ethical principles, union representation, and public service ideals.

8.1 Conclusions

The literature review in Chapter Two on professionalisation theory and in Chapter Three on professionalisation issues in governmental reports on corrections have provided the theoretical foundation for our examination. However, the data examined illustrated that the most basic concept of professionalisation, specialised knowledge, taken to mean higher education, has not been met as a systematic recruitment goal, to the degree necessary to achieve correctional officer professionalisation. Neither have correctional administrators met the continued calls for the recruitment and training of staff.

In Chapter One and Chapter Three we suggested that this could be due to the inability of the government to identify what the treatment and correction of the offender was and how it could be accomplished. Changes hailed in the reports were politically directed and could not be maintained with sufficient veracity to affect the actual desired changes to staff. The analysis of the data on the correctional officer in Chapter Five has borne this out, while debunking other correctional officer myths. The result is that the claims of much research towards the professionalisation movement do not fit with this Canadian sample of correctional officers. What should be considered instead is that the

professionalism of the correctional officer has been affected by changes made in hiring, staff training and job function.

8.2 Limitations of the Present Work

Apart from the remarks about information availability, there are other limitations about this work. There may be little applicability of this work to other correctional regimes. This may be too small a sample to be statistically relevant or the interpretation of the sample may be subject to error.

We do not know, and may never know, the full extent of institutional material available in the Province of Manitoba's Attorney General records. The views of individual correctional officers are also unknown because they are not recorded, either in literal or oral media, and unified in a vocal association. They are also unknown because governments to date have been unwilling to allow an external survey of employees at Headingley Correctional Institution. Their survey could not be used for comparison as it did not present separate institutional responses or even separate data into institution-only responses.

Record-keeping, record-making, data incompatibility and cost of access, impede the empirical analysis. The views of the inmates, which 'corrections' should include, are also under-represented, and that is a whole separate area of investigation. What would be gained from further examination is to lay the myth of correctional officer professionalisation in Canada to rest and to get a true sense of what has gone on across the country.

8.3 Implications of Research for Professionalisation Efforts

The implications of the current efforts in professionalisation speak loudly and clearly to an attainable and realistic goal for the correctional manager and officer. There is a complex relationship between many dimensions: the correctional paradigm, the aims of the public correctional system, the status of the provincial economy, the political climate, proposals for privatisation, the volatility or peacefulness of the correctional system, and the willingness of the correctional officer to engage in those activities that bring professionalism to him- or herself, and thus into the system. What will the professionalisation of the correctional officer look like when it happens?

The following will be essential to the professionalisation of the correctional officer, perhaps not to the degree or in the way suggested, but in some form. All officers would be required to have a four year degree in the social sciences or at a minimum to be a graduate from a two year college course specifically designed for the correctional officer in a human service delivery framework. Correctional officers would have to belong to a national or at least a provincial professional body. This body would represent the aims and needs of the members, and set the standards of practice and the ethical code. Additionally, it would set the on-going training standards and create policy papers on timely issues affecting the profession. They could be involved in setting recruitment standards for admission to the profession along with the employer. Civil service unions would still be the labour relations advocates for pay, benefits and other rights. The ethical code on the other hand would govern peer, public, co-worker and inmate conduct. Practice and educational standards would allow transfer between a provincial and the

national correctional system. This should also allow the important reciprocity of civil service pension plans, thus enhancing professionalisation by national and provincial acceptance of those skills, training and education. Specific systemic and institutional indoctrination would still be needed, however at a lesser level than new recruit training.

As for their actual work in the institutions, correctional officers would have rehabilitation decision-making authority and autonomy within established practice guidelines and operational policies. They would be responsible for professional job aspects through a disciplinary process including members of the professional association. Other aspects of the work place would be regulated, as in any other case of civil service discipline. Employment would only involve full-time workers, either permanent employees or short-term contracted employees (six months or so), the use of “casual” or “as-if-and-when” types of employees should be discouraged.

8.4 Future Direction for Research

The future direction for research in this area is tied to the next shift in the correctional paradigm and any efforts currently in play. Lacking a crystal ball, one can only make an educated guess at what direction that might be. However, indications are good that privatisation and the decline of unionisation are highly likely. This, combined with post-social trends, may point to the future of corrections. The current decline in public institutions, along with the decline in unionised employees in corrections, may lead the way towards self-motivated professionalisation as a by-product of privatisation. What is meant by this is that the entry criteria into private corrections may become more demanding and may produce, without the aid of unions to protect unqualified or

uninterested staff members, a rise in the quality of individuals in parts of the system. However, research so far into private corrections has not intimated a rise in the quality of staffing, at least when cost-efficiency is the driving force above all.³²⁵ Alternatively, there may be a backlash effect of years of social service cutbacks and this may lead to a re-focusing of changes, again highlighting the "social" aspect of life, bringing with it new resources and a new perspective. Perhaps the correctional officer group has not yet realised that professionalism efforts would ultimately contribute to the defence of the public sector as higher quality service providers. This would in part justify any suggestion of higher cost used in the analysis of public *versus* private sector correctional institutions, and thereby support their continued employment.

More cooperation between governments and researchers is another call derived from this experience, to enhance the accountability of the decision makers to the public about the more intricate workings of the correctional system, rather than the "cone of silence" approach that usually accompanies these things.

Further research suggested by this work should occur in the following areas: a systemic historical overview of Manitoba corrections, institutional or topical histories, and qualitative studies of what it has meant to be a correctional officer during various periods. The role of the judiciary has not been discussed here but it requires further examination, because judges regularly have contributed to the call for penal reform at various periods.

³²⁵Ericson, *et al.*, *supra* note 31; David Shichor, Chapter 3: "Conceptual and Theoretical Issues", Chapter 9: "Empirical Evaluations of Private Correctional Facilities" in Punishment for Profit: Private Prisons/Public Concerns (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995), pp. 45-78, 210-32.

The areas of professionalisation that were not discussed here bear closer investigation, to illustrate whether work is being done by the correctional officer towards meeting these criteria. A deeper look into the call for professionalisation in the Canadian context, who made it, where it came from and what it meant to achieve, is necessary to help understand that call. Finally, the collection of data from other Manitoba provincial institutions, other provinces and the Correctional Service of Canada, would help to further test the relevance and applicability of correctional officer professionalisation as a North American correctional concept.

Appendix A: The Governments of Manitoba, Premiers and Minister of Department

Start Year	End Year	Premier	Political Party	Minister of Department
8 August 1922	8 January 1943	John Bracken	United Farmers	R.W. Craig to 29 April 1927 W.J. Major to 22 February 1929 R. A. Hoey to 18 May 1929 W.J. Major to 1 April 1941 J.O. McLenaghan to 8 January 1943
8 January 1943	7 November 1948	Stewart S. Garson	Liberal Progressive	J.O. McLenaghan to 7 November 1950
7 November 1948	16 June 1958	Douglas L. Campbell	Liberal Progressive	J.O. McLenaghan to 23 June 1950 C.R. Smith to 1 November 1952 L. Schultz to 22 January 1955 M.N. Hryhorczuk to 16 June 1958
16 June 1958	25 November 1967	Dufferin Roblin	Progressive Conservative	S.R. Lyon to 9 December 1963 S.E. McLean to 22 July 1966 S.R. Lyon to 25 Nov 1967

25 November 1967	15 July 1969	Walter Weir	Progressive Conservative	S.R. Lyon to 1968 C. Witney to 24 Sept 1968 G. Johnson to 15 July 1969
15 July 1969	24 November 1977	Edward Schreyer	New Democratic Party	S. Green to 17 Dec 1969 R. Toupin to 28 Jan 1974 S.A. Miller to 23 Dec 1974 L.L. Desjardins to 24 Nov 1977
24 November 1977	30 November 1981	Sterling R. Lyon	Progressive Conservative	L.R. Sherman to 15 Nov 1979 G. C. Minaker to 30 Nov 1981
30 November 1981	9 May 1988	Howard R. Pawley	New Democratic Party	L. S. Evans to 4 Nov 1983 M. Smith to 21 Sept 1987 M. L. Hemphill to 9 May 1988
9 May 1988	10 October 1999	Gary Filmon	Progressive Conservative	J. McCrae to 10 Sept 1993 R. Vodrey to 6 Jan 1997 V. Toews to 5 Oct 1999
10 October 1999	Present	Gary Doer	New Democratic Party	G. MacIntosh

³⁴⁸ Manitoba, Legislative Library. "Ministers of the Department of the Attorney-General" in Heads of Departments, internally created document dated, 11-29-1993, pp. 95-97.

Appendix B: Superintendents of Headingly Correctional Institution

Name	Start Date	End Date
Downie, John Crawford	1929	1938
Burritt, Colonel Royal	1938	1946
Weeks, Staff Sgt. Edward	1946	1955
Littlewood, Sgt. Sidney H. B.	1955	1968
Lawson, William Ellis	1968	1970
Cox, Reverend Eric G.	1970	1973
Lawrence, Douglas H.	1973	1975
Gillingham, John Michael	1975	1977
Carruthers, Alvin H.	1977	1980
Forester, Reginald A.	1980	1981
Stuart, Albert	1981	1983
Levielle, Paul	1983	1984
Forester, Reginald A.	1984	1988
Lemoine, Denis B.	1988	1992
Krocker, Lawrence	1992	1996
Lemoine, Denis B.	1996	1996
Forester, Reginald A.	1996	1997
Ross, James	1997	Present

APPENDIX C:

Survey of Superintendents

Name _____

Dates of Superintendency _____

Prior Military Service Yes ___ No ___

Educational Background Prior to becoming Superintendent

Age at Time of Appointment _____

Was that your first involvement with Adult Corrections? _____

Why do you think you were selected as the Superintendent of H.C.I. at that time?

Interviewee Signature

Date

Interviewer Signature

APPENDIX D:**Report, Chair, Member and Position Index**

Report	Author and Position	Author and Position	Author and Position
Archambault (F) 1938	Joseph Archambault - Judge	R.W. Craig - Former Attorney General Manitoba	Harry W. Anderson-Journalist
Fauteux (F) 1956	Gerald Fauteux, Chair, Justice	William B. Commerce	J. Alex Edminson, National Parole Board
	Joseph McCulley		
Ouimet (F) 1969	Roger Ouimet, Chair, Judge	G. Arthur Martin, Vice-Chair, Lawyer	J. R. Lemieux, Dep. Comm. RCMP (Ret)
	Dorothy McArton, Exec. Director, Family Bureau of Greater Winnipeg	W. T. McGrath, Exec. Sect. Cdn. Corrections Assoc.	Nil
MacGuigan (F) 1977	Mark MacGuigan, Chari	Yvon Pinard, Vice-Chair	Leonel Beaudoin
	Arthur Lee	Bruce Halliday	Stuart Leggatt
	Maurice Harquail	Erik Nielson	Simma Holt
	John Reynolds	Claude-Andre Lachance	W. Kenneth Robinson
	Jacques Lavoie		
Canadian Corrections Service (F) 1977	A. Wakabayashi	J. Brathwaite	H. Meredith
	L. Pisapio	Hugh Christie	
Role of Federal Corrections (F) 1977	Same as above		
Vantour (F) 1984	James Vantour, Ph.D. Strategic Planning Cmte., C.S.C.	Bruce Northorp, R.C.M.P. Supt. (Ret.)	Lise Turcotte, Psychologist, Archambault Inst.

	Hank Neufeld, Warden, Warkworth Inst.		
Correctional Philosophy (F) 1986	Alison McPhail, Chair	Daniel Weir, C.S.C.	Howard Babbington, Dept. of Justice
	Gordon Parry, National Parole Brd.	Robert Cormick, Solicitor General	Alan R. Needam Solicitor General
Burritt (P) 1946	Colonel R. Burritt - Governor Headingley	Nil	Nil
Kyle (P) 1954	D. C. M. Kyle, Sheriff	F.A.E. Hamilton, Judge	M. E. Newton, Chief of Winnipeg Police
Hunter (P) 1956	Mr. G. R. Hunter, Chair, Welfare Council	Mrs. John Abra	I. Nitikman, Law Society
	T.O. Peterson, Community Chest	Rabbi Milton Aron, Shaarey Zedek	Rev. F.R. Gartrell, Wpg. Council Churches
	Mrs. O. W. Struthers, Prov. Council Women	Very Rev. C. C. Ryan, representing Archbishop Pocock	Mr. A.W. Godfrey, Trades and Labour Congress
	Mr. Alex Robertson, Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce	Alderman Lillian Hallonquist	Nil
Community Welfare Planning Council (P) 1963	Mr. D. A. Thompson, Q.C. (Chair)	Mr. N. Elliot Rodger (Vice-Chair)	Most Rev. Howard Clark, Archbishop Rupert's Land, Anglican
	Rev. Grattan Feehan of Roman Catholic Diocese of St. Boniface	Samuel Goodman of Winnipeg and District Labour Council	Mrs. Leslie Hancock, Winnipeg Council of Women
	Late. Dr. Abram Kravetz, Chief Rabbi of Winnipeg and Western Canada	Rabbi Philip Shnairson, Council of Rabbis of Winnipeg	Mrs. S. P. McArton of M.A.S.W.

	W. Scott Neal of Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce	J.A. Scollin, Law Society of Manitoba	Mrs. O.W. Struthers of Manitoba Provincial Council of Women
	Alderman Edith Tennant, City of Winnipeg	Lloyd Lenton, Divisional Secretary, (Secretary)	
Barker (P) 1968	B. M. Barker, Professor	Nil	Nil
Rise of the Sparrow (P) 1974	Mr. Rene Toupin (Minister)	Mr. Eric Cox - Corrections Dept.	Nil
Garson (P) 1983	Graeme Garson Q.C.	Stephen Brickey, Professor	Ms Geri McRae
	Mr Nels Thibault	Nil	Nil
Redevelopment (P) 1988	Unknown	Nil	Nil

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I am required under the research agreement with the Manitoba Government to include the following:

The views, opinions and conclusions contained in the thesis are mine alone and have not been endorsed or approved by the Government of Manitoba.