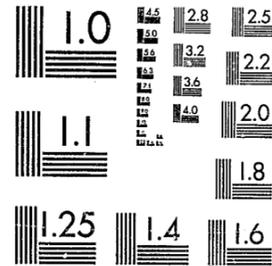


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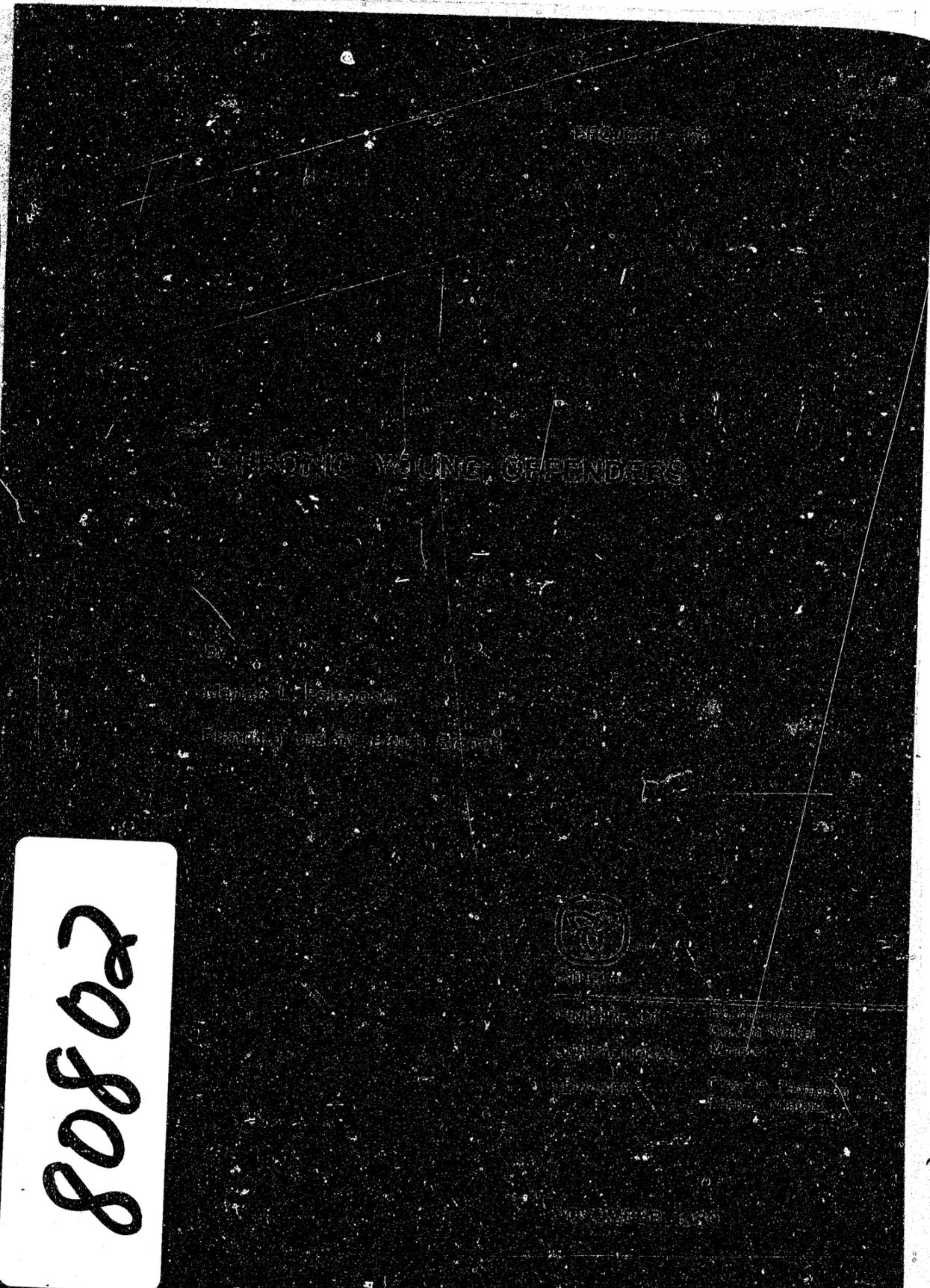
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80802



PROJECT - 174

CHRONIC YOUNG OFFENDERS

by

Marian L. Polonoski

Planning and Research Branch

U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice

80802

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NOVEMBER, 1980

MINISTRY OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO



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ADMINISTRATIVE ABSTRACT

This research was undertaken to demonstrate that, although some young offenders are entering this Province's correctional system for the first time between the ages of 16 and 18, they have extensive prior criminal histories, a commitment to a criminal lifestyle and a certain criminal sophistication. Young, 'first' offenders are normally diverted from custodial programmes in an attempt to guard them against exposure to the negative effects of this environment and to provide them with modern, alternate, community-based sources of treatment. However, previous research has indicated that many of these young offenders have already established an extensive criminal history in their youth, require the care and custody provided by an institutional setting and will very likely continue their criminal lifestyle after their release. As well, it has been suggested that career criminals tend to have developed certain deviant thinking patterns and a certain criminal sophistication which are not readily thwarted by the authorities.

A recidivism check of the general offender population in this Ministry's care revealed that offenders released from an institution had a very high rate of recontact with the Provincial system and that those with a prior Ministry record had a consistently greater rate of recontact with a correctional facility than those without. In addition, younger offenders without a prior Ministry record had a greater likelihood of recidivism after release, as well as a greater rate of recontact.

The focus of this study was, therefore, on 249 persistent, male recidivists, in their early 20's, who were incarcerated in Ontario Correctional Centres. Three sources of information were tapped in this investigation to determine the nature of this group of chronic offenders and their criminal careers. Most of this sample was interviewed, specifically examining three phases in their criminal careers: their juvenile phase (up to age 16 years), their young adult phase (16 to 18 years old) and their adult phase (over 18 years old). They were also probed about their involvement in crime through the years, their family and social background and their criminal planning activities. These self-reported data were supplemented by official criminal records, as documented by this Ministry (on all subjects) and by the Metropolitan Toronto Police (on selected subjects).

The findings of this research clearly attest to the commitment to a criminal way of life of these recidivists, in the past, the present and, very likely, the future as well. From about puberty, their involvement in crime steadily escalated to its peak at about 16 years old. A plateau was maintained from this point, such that by their early 20's, these recidivists were quite criminally and system experienced.

As juveniles, these young men were actively involved in both petty and serious crime, for which they were occasionally apprehended. Family disharmony, peer pressures, school problems, alcohol and/or drug use, boredom and the need for money underlay their negative behaviour and criminal tendencies.

Court appearances and probation became commonplace and training school, a very real threat. In fact, half were sent to a training school, where adjustment to that life was difficult. Still, a substantial proportion knew they would return to crime after their release. Their criminal sophistication, however, was still undeveloped; they committed their offences near to home, their planning was rudimentary, at best, and they were quickly apprehended.

Their sixteenth birthday, though, marked the beginning of a new criminal career phase, as well as their new adult status. Behaviour and attitudes which were developed during this phase were maintained through the ensuing years.

Life in adult correctional institutions was difficult for these offenders, although their adjustment problems tended to decrease with additional stays. While incarcerated, they were most commonly involved in work and drug/alcohol programmes. Still, the offenders expected to, and quickly had returned to their criminal ways upon release. They would not be deterred from that way of life, even by the threat of more severe judicial sanctions.

Their level of criminal sophistication almost doubled over that of their juvenile years, although this was often negated by their persistent use of alcohol and/or drugs. They began to commit their crimes further from home and to plan their escapes more carefully, but, on the average, by the time they were 22 years old, they had experienced about nine arrests by police and about five periods of incarceration.

The data were quite firm in determining that these recidivists, although considered first incarcerates as adults between 16 and 18 years old, were not 'first offenders'. This early adult incarceration was merely a signal of a long history of both petty and serious juvenile crime, of other social disorders and of continued recidivism. Incarceration in an adult institution would therefore likely have less of a negative effect than might be expected.

These recidivists were given numerous opportunities to remain in or be returned to the community, despite their extensive criminal pasts. Their numerous entrances and exits to the correctional system, through "the revolving door", places considerable pressure upon all facets of the criminal justice system and the community, as well. The judicial treatment received by this group of recidivists did not tend to reflect their persistent criminal involvement. At any given time, half of the charges against this group were ultimately dismissed or withdrawn and those resulting in a conviction did not tend to lead to longer sentences over time. Of prime concern is the fact that the major determinant of sentence seems to have been their conviction record rather than their criminal record. The inadequacy in using the conviction record lies in its inability to reflect the offender's true criminal involvement.

Dealing with career criminals in an appropriate manner depends entirely upon identifying them. The quick identification, bringing to court and sentencing of these offenders will help to immobilize or incapacitate those responsible for a substantial amount of crime. A progressive or graduated sentencing policy would help to ensure that the offenders so entrenched in a criminal lifestyle be held increasingly responsible for their behaviour. In addition, a determination of suitability for pre-sentence release or parole must take into account the offender's chronicity in crime.

The need for more stringent identification of and control over habitual offenders does not conflict with this Ministry's policy of utilizing community-based alternatives. On the contrary, it emphasizes the need for improved assessment and classification of our clientele to ensure that candidates appropriate for community options are provided with those services and that those individuals requiring the structure and control of an institutional setting are incarcerated.

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I INTRODUCTION

This research is the first phase in the investigation of a special group of offenders incarcerated in Ontario correctional institutions, that is, the young, persistent offenders. The purpose of this study was to demonstrate that, although some young offenders are entering our correctional system for the first time between the ages of 16 and 18 years old, they indeed have extensive prior criminal histories, a commitment to a criminal lifestyle and a certain criminal sophistication.

It has been said that:

Crime rates are high not because large numbers of people commit one or two crimes in a lifetime but because a relatively small number of people are habitual offenders.¹

The veracity of this statement has been the focus of research in corrections for many years. Recidivism, in general, has been a major concern of this Ministry and has given rise to its policy of conducting comprehensive evaluations of "treatment" and "rehabilitation" programmes. However, never before has this Ministry attempted to examine, specifically and in such depth, young offenders who repeatedly come into contact with Ontario corrections, with so little evidence of reform.

The study was designed to provide a new approach to this problem. Traditional methods have failed to explain why some offenders repeatedly come into conflict with the law, the extent of their contacts with the justice system or what kinds of correctional programmes might best curb this tendency. For this reason, this research tapped several sources of information, in an attempt to provide meaningful insight into this increasingly important issue.

This report provides an expansive view of the nature of chronic offenders in Ontario. It is anticipated that it will stimulate discussion in several areas of the criminal justice system and will provoke a critical assessment of the current attitudes, cognitive set and practices surrounding persistent offenders.

A. RECIDIVISM BY THE GENERAL OFFENDER POPULATION IN ONTARIO

Recidivism by this Ministry's general offender population has been investigated, using a sophisticated computer programme. This investigation focused on those offenders released or terminated during the 1978 calendar year. Of interest was whether they had had a recontact with this Ministry by December 31, 1979 and what form that recontact took. It became quite evident that recidivism was a far more serious issue than had been suspected up to that point.

¹ Boland (1980), p. 94

It was found that almost half of the individuals released from Jails, Detention Centres and Correctional Centres subsequently had a recontact with the Ministry before the end of 1979. In fact, they had about 230 recontacts per 100 persons (Table 1). On the average, the rate of recontact over this period, among those recidivating, was about once in 1978 and once in 1979 and their point of deepest penetration to the system was most often to a correctional facility (Table 2).

In addition, in about 84% of the cases, the recidivist had his first recontact with the system, with a Jail, Detention Centre or Correctional Centre, regardless of where he was released/terminated from (Table 3). Of notable interest is also the fact that 20% of those released from a Correctional Centre during 1978 were subsequently returned to one on their first Ministry (M.C.S.) recontact.

Rates of recontact were also examined in terms of whether or not recidivists had a prior M.C.S. record (Table 4). It was discovered that, in all instances, released offenders who had a prior M.C.S. record, also had a consistently greater rate of recontact with a correctional facility, regardless of where they had been released/terminated from. Recidivists without a prior M.C.S. record, on the other hand, had a greater rate of recontact with probation than those with a prior record.

Recidivism rates were broken down further by age at admission and prior record with the Ministry (Table 5). It was quite evident that the younger the person was at admission, among those with no prior contact with this Ministry, the greater the likelihood of his or her recidivating after release. Moreover, the rate of recontact would also be greater among those at a younger age. Sixty-four percent of the 17 year olds and younger offenders with no prior M.C.S. record recidivated a mean of 2.4 times after their release. In comparison, 29% of the over 20 year olds recidivated a mean of 1.6 times. Regardless of age at admission, offenders who had had a prior contact with this Ministry had a 50/50 chance of recidivating after their release.

B. YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS

The proportion of youthful offenders admitted to Ontario correctional facilities is ever increasing. According to the Annual Statistics² of this Ministry, over half of the men admitted during 1979/80 were under 25 years old and about 19% were under 18 (Table 6).

The Report of the Royal Commission on the Toronto Jails and Custodial Services, Vol. 1 liberally makes reference to the youthful offender and their preferred treatment of him. The pervasive attitude of the Royal Commission was that correctional institutions are "training schools for crime"³ and that exposing young inmates to the more hardened offenders can have serious detrimental effect upon them. They "should be kept out of jail whenever some other form of punishment would suffice"⁴ and that "all possible steps should be taken to keep

² Ontario (1980).

³ Shapiro (1978), p.44.

⁴ Ibid, p.156.

them separate from the remainder of the jail population"⁵. Inherent in this philosophy, however, are several contentious propositions.

Basically, this attitude rests entirely on the assumption that young or first offenders are typically inexperienced with the criminal justice system. On the contrary, many of these offenders are, in fact, already highly, criminally experienced, with extensive juvenile records.

The Commission, with good reason, stressed that incarceration is not always an effective deterrent and that alternative measures be sought to more adequately meet the goals of the criminal justice system. It felt that:

An effective way of dealing with many young or first offenders, and even with second offenders who commit non-violent crimes, is to use the alternatives to custody.⁶

Simultaneously, the Commission acknowledged the fact that there were young inmates in custody who were well seasoned in correctional institutional experience and who had emerged from those environments without having been "effectively corrected or rehabilitated"⁷. As a result, they expressed the urgent need for diversion programmes for them. There may be, however, a greater need to differentiate this special group of young recidivists from true first offenders and a lesser need to immediately divert all youthful or first offenders to the community's care.

Of course, it is quite rational to classify offenders by age, but should this factor be isolated from prior criminal history? To designate a young or first offender as a potential candidate for diversion, simply because he has no prior adult record is a highly questionable practice. A juvenile record is currently inadmissible to adult court prior to a conviction, but is still a significant factor in conscientious decision-making or sentencing. Is it justifiable to apply more lenient sanctions to an adolescent offender because he has not yet had time to accumulate an adult record?

Studies now show that while individual crime rates decrease with age, the severity of official sanctions rises. As a consequence, significant punishment does not occur for many offenders until they reach their middle twenties, when they are at or near the end of their criminal careers.⁸

This may be, of course, confounded by the fact that by the time these offenders have reached their mid-twenties, they may be sufficiently sophisticated to have avoided apprehension for a large majority of their offences. Serious consideration should perhaps be given to applying those sanctions to the young recidivist at the peak of his career, rather than when he has already entered his career decline.

⁵ Ibid, p. 156.

⁶ Ibid, p. 118.

⁷ Ibid, p. 46.

⁸ Boland (1980), p. 94.

In research conducted by this Ministry (Madden, 1977), it became quite evident that a sample of young, first incarcerates admitted to an Ontario correctional centre were significantly more seasoned than their older, first incarcerate cohort. The younger incarcerates had backgrounds fraught with "numerous legal contacts, family instability with low achievement in school and work"⁹. In addition, "many in the sixteen and seventeen year group, rather than really being first incarcerates, were continuing histories of institutionalization started in training school"¹⁰.

This 'young, first offender' population can pose a serious threat to the safety and security of the community. The Madden study determined that the reconviction rates of this young incarcerate sample, in a two year follow-up, increased as the age at first incarceration decreased (22% of 26+ year old offenders were reconvicted, compared to 70% of the 16 and 17 year olds). Furthermore, the higher reconviction rate of the younger offenders was directly related to their extensive prior criminal involvement.

In a study by Renner (1978), among a sample of Ontario probationers, whose mean age was 23.6 years old, 10.3% had reportedly had their first difficulty with the law at the age of 15 or younger. Probation officers reported that 61.4% of the young offender group did not complete their terms successfully. Furthermore, over a third (34.1%) of those who truly first met with difficulty with the law between the ages of 16 and 29 did not complete their probation terms successfully.

Similar to the Royal Commission investigation, the Madden study identified youthful offenders who were extensively involved in crime at a very young age. These individuals do constitute potential dangers to society, if not serious nuisances, and tend to show a degree of immunity to the influences of correctional programmes encountered by them. They entered the adult correctional stream early in life and will, in all probability continue their criminal careers for several more years.

With regard to rehabilitating programmes, the Royal Commission agreed that:

There are some inmates who can never be reformed... But such persons are in the minority and most of them by the efflux of time are eventually released from custody in the hope that they will be able to conform to the law.¹¹

In some cases, the mere passage of time will 'cure the unreformable', or, as expressed by Wolfgang, offenders will "age out of crime"¹². However, this Ministry must not lose sight of the ongoing need for the development of suitable correctional programmes and for the improvement of sentencing practices.

⁹ Madden (1977), p. 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 4.

¹¹ Shapiro (1978), p. 117.

¹² Wolfgang (1980), p. 83.

Selection for and release from correctional programmes are affected by age and prior criminal record of the potential candidates. In a very recent study into the decision-making process of the Ontario Parole Board, it was learned that several factors associated with prior record affected the parole decision, while no single factor determined their assessment of appropriateness.

In making their decision, [the Board members] generally assess the degree of severity of the crimes and the extent to which the criminal behaviour appears chronic.¹³

In addition, age at first legal problem was found to be more highly related to the parole decision than factors related to adult criminal record.

Previous research ... had shown this [younger inmate] group to be very high recidivism risks and the Board quite accurately judged them as poor parole candidates.¹⁴

It was felt to be most advantageous if research were able to delineate those indicators which would distinguish the more criminally inclined offenders from the 'unfortunate who just managed to get into trouble', and which would explain differences in their criminal behaviour. In a controversial two-volume study entitled *The Criminal Personality*, Yochelson and Samenow describe their encounter with 240 habitual criminals who had allegedly committed thousands of crimes. Exhaustive investigations into social factors in their lifetimes, in-depth family interviews and conventional psychiatric techniques did not adequately explain to the investigators why these criminals did what they did. What they were able to determine was that habitual offenders possess certain deviant thinking patterns which are present from a very early age, which distinguish them from non-criminals and which do not result from mental illness or their early social circumstances.

In a Californian study (1977), it was again apparent that the traditional approach to determining 'risk' indicators, by focusing on social-demographic factors, is fruitless. In this study of habitual offenders, the offenders' backgrounds were found to be widely varied and, when compared with the general criminal population, no striking contrasts were found between groups, with the possible exception of age at which the serious criminal behaviour began. The thrust of this study was, therefore, that factors in the habitual offender's social development and lifestyle, rather than the traditional demographic factors, would prove to be better keys to distinguishing the persistent and costly offenders. They emphasized the use of self-reported data, since it had the added advantage of providing new insights to the old problem of recidivism and to the circumstances surrounding the offender's return to crime.

Williams succinctly summarized the findings of several research studies and formulated a typical profile of a career criminal, in the United States:

¹³ Madden (1980), p. 16.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 16.

...a young person in his late teens or early twenties, arrested for robbery or burglary, or a series of property crimes, with a juvenile record and a long criminal history given only a few years on the street, who is unemployed and uses drugs.¹⁵

The generalizeability of this description to the young Ontario recidivist is of monumental concern. Once identified, the chronic young offender will no longer be secreted behind the artificial veil of adolescent innocence.

¹⁵ Williams (1980), p.93.

TABLE 1
INDIVIDUALS RELEASED/TERMINATED DURING 1978
AND
THEIR RECONTACT RATE UP TO DECEMBER 31, 1979.

AREA RELEASED FROM	NUMBER OF PERSONS RELEASED	NUMBER (%) OF PERSONS WITH RECONTACT	NUMBER OF RECONTACTS	NUMBER OF RECONTACTS PER 100 PERSONS WITH RECONTACT
Correctional Centre	7,026	3,452 (49%)	7,845	227
Jail/Detention Centre	34,591	16,869 (49%)	39,032	231
Probation/Parole	12,617	2,705 (21%)	5,171	191
TOTAL	54,234	23,026 (43%)	52,048	235

TABLE 2
TYPES OF RECONTACTS BY 23,026 PERSONS WITH RECONTACT
DURING 1978 AND 1979

TYPE OF RECONTACT*	RECONTACTS DURING 1978 (% of 25,127)	RECONTACTS DURING 1979 (% of 26,891)
Correctional Centre	12.8	11.9
Jail/Detention Centre (remand or sentence)	71.4	75.1
Penitentiary	2.0	2.1
Probation/Parole	13.9	10.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

* Point of deepest penetration per transaction.

TABLE 3

TYPE OF FIRST RECONTACT BY INDIVIDUALS
RELEASED/TERMINATED DURING 1978

TYPE OF FIRST RECONTACT	AREA RELEASED/TERMINATED FROM			
	C.C. % of 3,452	JAIL/DC % of 16,869	PROBATION % of 2,705	TOTAL % of 23,026
Correctional Centre	20.0	10.2	6.5	11.3
Jail/DC (remand or sentence)	66.2	70.5	78.8	70.8
Penitentiary	2.9	2.3	6.7	2.2
Probation/Parole	11.0	16.9	14.0	15.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4

RECONTACTS BY PERSONS WITH AND WITHOUT PRIOR M.C.S. RECORD

RECORD	NO PRIOR M.C.S. RECORD			PRIOR M.C.S. RECORD			
	C.C.	JAIL/DC	PROB./PAR.	C.C.	JAIL/DC	PROB./PAR.	
No. Persons Released	1,584	19,420	1,362	5,442	15,171	11,255	
No. Persons with Recontact	420	7,375	212	3,032	9,494	2,493	
No. Recontacts	666	12,645	376	7,179	25,387	4,795	
NO. RECONTACTS PER 100 PERSONS WITH RECONTACT TO:	C.C.	26	20	17	50	29	18
	Jail/D.C.	103	122	125	161	210	145
	Pen.	2	2	-	7	7	2
	Prob./Par.	27	40	38	19	21	28
	Any re-contacts	159	185	179	237	268	193

TABLE 5

RECIDIVISM RATES BY AGE GROUPS WITH
AND WITHOUT PRIOR M.C.S. RECORD

PRIOR M.C.S. RECORD		AGE (years) ¹			
		≤16 N	17 - 18 N	19 - 20 N	>20 N
Had no prior record	# persons released*	2,267	2,995	2,580	14,307
	# persons recidivating (%)**	1,442 (63.6%)	1,414 (47.2%)	931 (36.1%)	4,162 (29.1%)
	# returns (\bar{X})	3,414 (2.4)	2,632 (1.9)	1,614 (1.7)	6,741 (1.6)
Had prior record	# persons released	822	5,599	5,633	19,261
	# persons recidivating (%)	448 (54.5%)	2,652 (47.4%)	2,706 (48.0%)	9,147 (47.5%)
	# returns (\bar{X})	1,215 (2.7)	6,265 (2.4)	5,982 (2.2)	23,691 (2.6)

* Released during 1978.

** Recidivism up to December 31, 1979.

¹ Age as of January 1, 1978.

TABLE 6
AGES OF MALES ADMITTED TO CORRECTIONAL FACILITIES
DURING 1979/80

AGE OF MALES ADMITTED (Years)	JAIL/DETENTION CENTRE			CORRECTIONAL CENTRE		
	N	(%)	(CUMUL. %)	N	(%)	(CUMUL. %)
Under 16	56	(0.1)	(0.1)	-	(-)	(-)
16	2,422	(4.3)	(4.4)	279	(3.3)	(3.3)
17	4,024	(7.2)	(11.6)	667	(7.8)	(11.1)
18	4,378	(7.8)	(19.4)	751	(8.8)	(19.9)
19-24	19,319	(34.4)	(53.7)	3,379	(39.5)	(59.4)
25-35	13,883	(24.7)	(78.4)	2,151	(25.2)	(84.6)
36-50	8,318	(14.8)	(93.2)	974	(11.4)	(96.0)
51-70	3,670	(6.5)	(99.8)	337	(3.9)	(99.9)
71+	136	(0.2)	(100.0)	7	(0.1)	(100.0)
TOTAL	56,206	(100.0)		8,545	(100.0)	

II METHODOLOGY

A. FOCUS OF THE RESEARCH

The investigation focused on 249 inmates in Ontario correctional centres who were identified as persistent, young offenders, by means of certain study criteria. Several sources of information were tapped to describe, as completely as possible, the development of their criminal careers.

B. THE SAMPLE

The study sample was comprised of 249 recidivists incarcerated in Ontario correctional centres (Table 7). Subjects were selected from the general inmate population on the basis of certain criteria:

- 1) the offender was between 21 and 25 years old;
- 2) the offender was currently serving a sentence of 90 days or more;
- 3) the offender had had at least two prior incarcerations of 90 days or more;
- 4) the offender had had his first incarceration, as an adult, between 16 and 18 years old.

The selection process was limited by the occasional absence of a complete criminal history of a particular inmate at the institution. Whether an inmate was included as a subject was, therefore, often a decision based on partial data.

C. INSTRUMENTS

The three instruments used in this study were designed to measure the official and self-reported social histories and criminal involvement of persistent recidivists.

The first was a two part, 1/2 - 3/4 hour interview schedule developed from an extensive instrument used in the California study into habitual offenders¹⁶. The focus of that study was on three identifiable periods during the offender's criminal career: the juvenile period, the young adult period and the adult period. That instrument was adapted for use in this study and also focused on these career periods. In the first part of the interview, sets of questions were posed regarding each career period and, specifically, regarding the offender's first juvenile incarceration (occurring while under 16 years old), his first adult incarceration (occurring between 16 and 18 years old) and his current incarceration (occurring while over 18 years old). See Figure 1. Special interest was taken in his offences, arrest, conviction and period of institutionalization related to these principal incarcerations. Respondents were also probed regarding their unreported criminal involvement, criminal sophistication, drug/alcohol involvement, family relationships and violence. The second part of

¹⁶ Petersilia, et al (1977).

the interview was a self-administered questionnaire delving into the offender's planning of criminal activities.

The Social Demography and Criminal History Form was also a two-part, pre-coded instrument, documenting, first, the recidivist's basic demographic data and summary of institutional involvement and, second, data on individual incarcerations of 90 days or more.

The third instrument, the Police History Form, recorded information on the adult criminal histories of a sub-sample of offenders, as documented in official Metropolitan Toronto Police files. This was largely arrest and conviction data related to indictable and non-indictable offences for which the offender had been arrested, in the Metro Toronto area only.

D. OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS & PROCEDURE OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The recidivists were to have had at least two prior sentences of 90 days or more to qualify as a subject. After the examination of the Ministry records, it was determined that 34 interviewees in the sample (13.7%) had had no or only one prior sentence of 90 days or more. A comparison of these unqualified and qualified subjects, on the basis of selected interview variables, indicated very few differences between groups. For the purposes of this study, these 34 subjects have therefore been included in the discussion of the findings.

An operational definition applied in this research delimited the period of an incarceration. One period of incarceration was comprised of the total experience of one sentencing disposition. An incarcerate who had been sentenced, paroled and re-incarcerated (with or without new charges), by definition, would have had this total experience counted as one sentence. In the event of the offender's escape, any additional time given him would have been attached to the original aggregate sentence.

All the subjects selected for inclusion in the study had had their Social Demography and Criminal History compiled from Ministry files. Interviews were conducted with 209 of these recidivists between July, 1979 and March, 1980. Those not interviewed had either refused to participate or had been unavailable for their interview due to the scheduling of institutional programmes.

Recidivists selected for the Police History sub-sample had been "booked" by the Metro Toronto Police as adults and, therefore, had a file established with them. The resultant group was comprised of 64 persistent offenders who clearly had a criminal record with the local Police, which had been opened between 1970 and 1979.

E. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A special note of caution must be extended to the readers of this report, regarding the limitations of this research. This recidivist population under scrutiny was a very select group of offenders, yet they can be considered representative of a chronic offender population. The instruments used were of a highly specific nature, but tapped a wide variety of behaviours and experiences. In addition, the general design of the study was stringent, while attempting to embrace as many sources of reliable information as possible. Consequently, these findings are extremely conditional.

F. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Statistical analysis of these data largely entailed the use of Z-scores and chi-squares. Essentially, the Z-score indicates whether the difference between proportions (i.e. percentages) is statistically reliable. A chi-square is a measure of association between two variables in a contingency table. An analysis of variance was also conducted to determine the relationship of the variance between groups to the variance within the groups. In those cases where a statistical test is applied, p (probability) indicates the statistical reliability, or degree of confidence one can have in the results. A (p<.05) indicates that less than 5 times out of 100, such a statistic will achieve that value by chance and chance alone. Similarly, a (p<.01) indicates that the event will occur less than once in a hundred times by chance and chance alone. If the difference has a chance of occurring less than five times in a hundred, the observed difference is judged as being a real difference. The notation "n.s." is used to indicate non-significance.

In all sections of this report, where a relationship between variables is described, that relationship was found to be statistically significant at the (p<.05) level, in analysis.

FIGURE I

CAREER PERIODS AND PRINCIPAL INCARCERATIONS

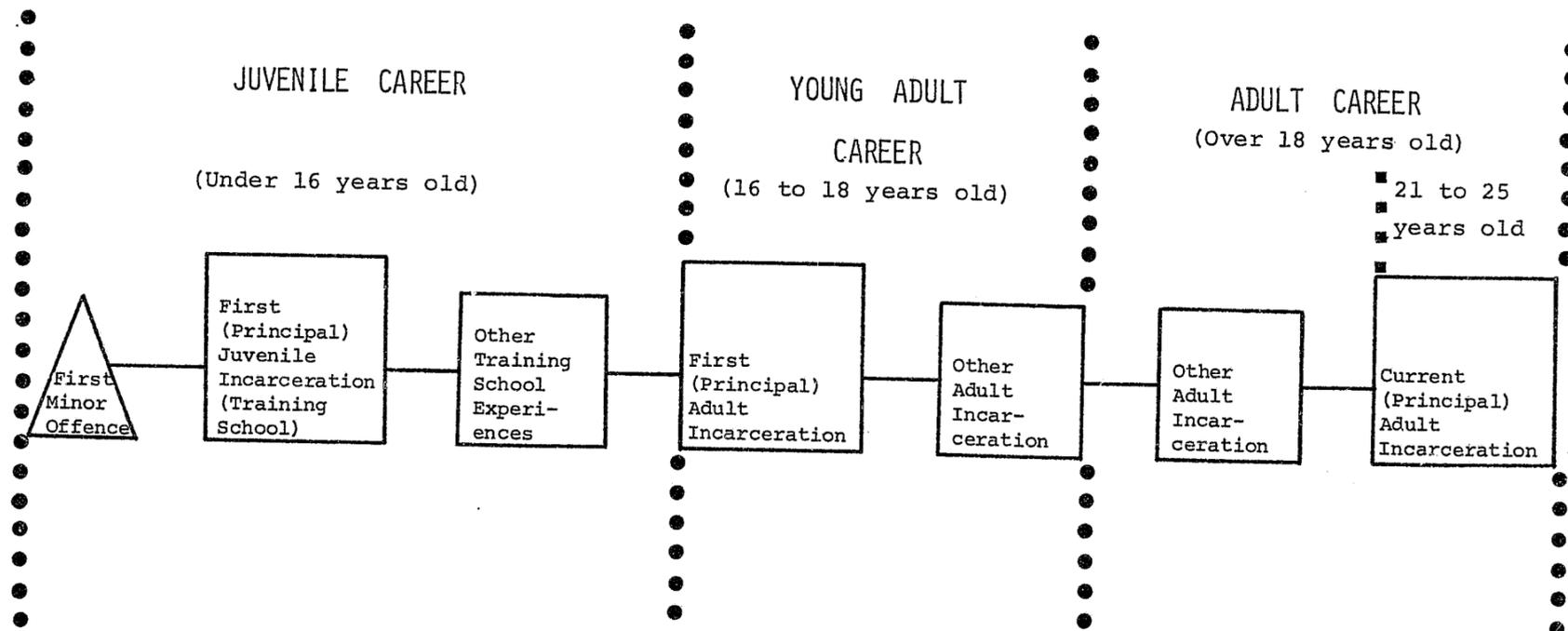


TABLE 7
THE SAMPLE

CORRECTIONAL CENTRE	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS N	NUMBER INTERVIEWED		NUMBER REFUSED, UNAVAILABLE		NUMBER WITH METRO POLICE HISTORY	
		N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
GUELPH	135	112	(83.0%)	23	(17.0%)	35	(25.9%)
MAPLEHURST	58	45	(77.6%)	13	(22.4%)	22	(37.9%)
BURTCH	23	22	(95.7%)	1	(4.3%)	-	(-)
MILLBROOK	22	19	(86.4%)	3	(13.6%)	6	(27.3%)
MONTEITH	4	4	(100.0%)	-	(-)	1	(25.0%)
THUNDER BAY	4	4	(100.0%)	-	(-)	-	(-)
RIDEAU	3	3	(100.0%)	-	(-)	-	(-)
TOTAL	249	209	(83.9%)	40	(16.1%)	64	(25.7%)

III RESULTS

The findings of this research are addressed in six sections, with each section including a summary of the major issues dealt with in that section and an in-depth description of the supporting data.

A. DESCRIPTION OF THE CHRONIC RECIDIVISTS

SECTION SUMMARY

The recidivists selected for this research were typically Caucasian, Canadian, 22 years old and single. Their educational achievement was fairly limited, with the majority having left school before their seventeenth birthday. While most were unemployed at the time of their most recent incarceration, the recidivists said they relied on their jobs as their usual source of income.

1. DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

The sample was predominantly Canadian-born and Caucasian: 198 (94.7%) were born within Canada and 11 (5.3%) were not¹⁷; 224 (90.0%) were Caucasian, 22 (8.8%) were Native Indian and the remainder (3, 1.2%) were of another racial group.

The study was designed to focus on young recidivists between the ages of 21 and 25 years old. Fourteen offenders who were 20 years old at the time of their incarceration were, in error, interviewed. As a result, the mean age of the study sample was 22.3 years old (Table A-1).

Almost two-thirds of those recidivists interviewed said they were single in status at the time of their interview.¹⁸

2. SCHOOL/WORK HISTORY

One third of the sample had only completed a primary school grade, while half had achieved either grade 9 or 10.¹⁹

¹⁷ In all instances, the missing cases have not been included in the determination of proportions and, in nearly all instances, cases with missing information have not been included.

¹⁸ This self-reported data on marital status was at variance with that on Ministry files, although the difference was minimal. There was some indication that most of those on whom there was missing information were single.

¹⁹ Again, this self-reported data on educational achievement was at variance with that recorded on Ministry files. Recidivists reported having achieved a lower educational level than that indicated on their Ministry records: 25.7% had completed primary grade school, 53.4% had achieved grade 9 or 10, 19.3% had achieved grade 11 or 12 and the remainder (1.6%) had gone higher.

Their attendance before they left school altogether ranged from "good" (55, 26.6%), through "occasionally absent" (69, 33.3%), to "habitually truant" (82, 39.6%). According to Ministry files, the mean age at which they had left school was 15.8 years, with almost two-thirds having left between 16 and 18 years old.

Subjects were asked to identify their usual sources of income and their responses were somewhat surprising. Over three-quarters named their job as their usual income-provider. Few inmates admitted to relying on either welfare or Unemployment Insurance benefits. Two in ten, however, expressed their reliance on illegal activities as a usual source of income.

Inmates indicated that their normal work pattern entailed a full-time job. Less than five percent admitted to simply not working. At the time of their most recent sentence, according to Ministry files, only one third (83, 33.7%) had been employed and two-thirds (163, 66.3%) had been unemployed. Their earnings when they are working, according to the recidivists, tended to be comparable to minimum wages. In addition, they reported a wide variety of jobs and work descriptions as their usual line of work. The two most commonly mentioned work descriptions were simply general or skilled labour. In the minority were those inmates who had ever held a job for longer than two years. Only 40 subjects (19.2%) reported holding a job this long.

TABLE A-1

DEMOGRAPHIC/SOCIAL HISTORY OF RECIDIVISTS

DEMOGRAPHIC/SOCIAL FACTOR		
AGE (years)	N	(% of 209)■
20	14	(6.7)
21	65	(31.1)
22	49	(23.4)
23	31	(14.8)
24	34	(16.3)
25	16	(7.7)
MEAN AGE	22.3 years	
MARITAL STATUS	N	(% of 209)
Single	135	(64.6)
Married, common-law	56	(26.8)
Divorced, separated, widowed	18	(8.6)
SCHOOL GRADE ACHIEVED	N	(% of 206)
1-8	71	(34.5)
9 or 10	100	(48.5)
11 or 12	33	(16.0)
Some college/university	2	(1.0)
AGE LEFT SCHOOL (years)	N	(% of 249)
8-12	7	(2.8)
13-15	77	(30.9)
16	112	(45.0)
17	38	(15.3)
18	5	(2.0)
19+	10	(4.0)
MEAN AGE	15.8 years	
USUAL SOURCES OF INCOME	N	(% of 209)
Job	164	(78.8)
Illegal activities	45	(21.6)
Welfare	23	(11.1)
Unemployment Insurance Claims	9	(4.3)
Family and/or friends	8	(3.8)
Pensions (e.g. disability)	1	(0.5)
Other	2	(1.0)
USUAL WORK PATTERN	N	(% of 208)
Full-time	126	(60.6)
Part-time, off & on, odd jobs	61	(29.3)
Seasonally	12	(4.8)
Do not work	9	(4.3)
APPROXIMATE EARNINGS PER WEEK WHEN WORKING	N	(% of 198)
\$ 51-100	9	(4.5)
\$101-200	110	(55.5)
\$201-300	55	(27.8)
Over \$300	24	(12.1)

■ Percentage of those on whom information was available.

B. THE CRIMINAL CAREER

SECTION SUMMARY

It was anticipated that, as a function of the study's design, this group of recidivists would have had a lengthy criminal career and would have been exposed to a diversity of correctional institutions, for a variety of reasons. This section focuses on their criminal careers, as recorded in official files, and on the progression of their involvement with the criminal justice system through their juvenile, young adult and current adult career periods, as reported by the subjects in interviews.

The study was designed to select sample subjects on the basis of their habitual criminal tendencies. The in-depth investigation of official records indicated that these recidivists had clearly been dealt with tolerantly by the criminal justice system. The volume of crime for which they had been held responsible was substantial, yet charges against them had been continually dismissed or withdrawn by the Courts. They had experienced many contacts with Police, had had many relatively short stays in Correctional Centres and had not been sentenced to longer terms over successive incarcerations. They were persistently either returned to or allowed to remain in the community under probation or parole supervision.

The interview data provided further insight into the offenders' criminal career development (Figure B-1). Typically, these recidivists were involved in illegal activities by the time they were 11 years old, in court at 13 and on probation at 14. The earlier the offender had been to court, the more likely he was to have been admitted to a training school. Almost half of the population had been sent to a training school by the time they were 13 and stayed for approximately 15 months. At sixteen, they had been sentenced as an adult to a correctional facility, for a term of about 12 months. At the time of this study, at a mean age of 22, the recidivists were serving approximately their fifth significant sentence in a correctional institution.

Each criminal career period tended to have characteristic offence type preferences. These recidivists seemingly progressed from spontaneous and high-risk offences in their juvenile period to offences offering potentially high pay-offs in the adult period. These findings are not, however, conclusive.

1. CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

a. Involvement with Police

The criminal records of the sub-sample of 64 offenders who had an adult file with the Metro Toronto Police were examined at the Headquarters. It became apparent that these offenders, on the whole, had frequent contacts with police and had established extensive police files. The offender's arrest history for indictable offences, committed in the Metro Toronto area, the charges brought against him by Police and the outcome of these charges, in terms of either conviction or dismissal/withdrawal, were gleaned from the records. Information on individual arrests was documented for the offender's first nine arrests, plus his last arrest prior to his current incarceration, where the offender had more than nine arrests.

These 64 offenders averaged 17.3 years old when first arrested for an indictable offence by the Metro Police (a range of 15 to 23 years old; Table B-1). The reader is cautioned, however, that only the offender's adult Police record, that is, record accumulated since he turned 16, were examined for the purposes of this study. Over half this group had established their Metro adult record by the time they were sixteen. The younger the offender was when first arrested in this area, the greater his total volume of arrests. Of course, this is most likely a function of his residential location. Overall, these offenders had been arrested 604 times in the Metro area, or a mean of 9.4 times per person on indictable offences (Table B-2).

Discounting those who only had one arrest as an adult on file, the time span between the first and last arrest ranged from four days to 9.2 years, or a mean of 4.7 years. The time between each of the first nine arrests was fairly stable, at about one arrest every five or six months (Table B-3). There was a strong indication that this tendency continued over the entire time span, with the average, over all the arrests, being about one adult arrest for an indictable offence, in Metro, every 5.4 months.

The total number of charges brought against this small group by the Metro Police was 1,679 charges, or 26.2 charges per person. Again, the younger the offender when first arrested as an adult, the more charges he had acquired over time, although this did not have a clear pattern. The outcome of these charges indicated that, for any given arrest in this area, half the charges against these offenders would ultimately be dismissed or withdrawn by the Court (Figure B-2). Overall, 52% of the charges (874) were subsequently dismissed/withdrawn, compared to 48% (805) which resulted in a conviction.

This situation typified the disposition following any of the offender's first nine arrests. An offender in this sub-sample had typically been charged with 2.6 indictable offences, convicted on 1.3 and had had 1.3 dismissed/withdrawn by the Court. While the rationale for this tendency in the courtroom situation is not known, it is quite possible that these dispositions were consistently affected by the plea-bargaining process. The average number of charges brought by

the Police at the point of arrest may be small, but over a period of 4.7 years and through 9.4 such arrests, charges do accumulate and require processing, at considerable cost to the Police, the Courts and corrections.

Table B-1 also reflects the mean number of times various age groups at first arrest were charged with selected indictable offence types. Because their records had become more extensive over time, there was greater variety in the types of offences for which those arrested early had been charged.

The number of times the sub-sample of offenders had been charged with selected offence types and ultimately convicted of them are provided in Figure B-3. It is clear that even serious charges were not immune from a 50/50 chance of resulting in a conviction. The offence for which there was the greatest proportion of convictions was break, enter and theft, which also had the greatest frequency (Table B-4). Of notable interest, however, is the high proportion of robberies and assaults which were dismissed or withdrawn in Court (44% and 46%, respectively).

In addition to the criminal record logging indictable offences, there was often a separate file documenting non-indictable convictions. The number of times the offender in this sub-sample was convicted of a non-indictable offence, in the Metro area, was also recorded and indicated that offenders had been convicted of an average of:

- 2.1 drug-related offences,
- 2.7 liquor-related offences,
- 3.4 traffic-related offences and
- 3.6 other, non-indictable offences (e.g. causing a disturbance, mischief, failures to comply or appear, obstructing police).

These numerous arrests, indictable and non-indictable charges and convictions all attest to these persistent offenders' entrenched criminal involvement. However, it must be remembered that these are partial arrest histories, limited to the adult period and to the Metro area, and that a criminal record established earlier or elsewhere had not been taken into consideration. As it will be shown later in this report, only 26% of the overall sample had restricted their convictions to one city.

b. Correctional Involvement

Ministry documents proved that the criminal involvement of the recidivists was, in fact, extensive. However, the sentences received by them from the Judiciary did not appear to reflect their persistent criminality.

Table B-5 provides the breakdown of the offenders' sentences, in terms of their numbers and lengths. The total number of times a recidivist had been incarcerated on a sentence in an adult facility ranged between two and sixteen times. The mean number of incarcerations for the entire sample was 5.7 times. Considering that the sample was an average of 22 years old when incarcerated, it is possible that some of these offenders had served a term per year in an institution, since achieving adult status.

The total number of incarcerations experienced by offenders was significantly related to their school/work histories (Table B-6). Offenders with a large number of incarcerations were likely to have left school at a younger age and to have achieved a lower educational level. The offender's work status at the time of his most recent incarceration, however, did not relate to total number of incarcerations in any consistent way. It is curious, though, that there were no statistically significant relationships between number of incarcerations and marital status, alcohol use, location of convictions/charges or use of an alias.

Including their current sentences, the average number of sentences of 90 days or more given this sample was 3.5, with a range of from one to eight sentences. While 43% of the sample had been sentenced to a total of three such terms, an almost equal proportion had been given four or more. It is these longer sentences to which this report will refer when discussing the offender's incarcerations in Correctional Centres.

In addition to these longer sentences, 198 recidivists (81.1%) had been sentenced for periods of under 90 days. These recidivists served an average of 2.7 shorter sentences.

Periods of probation were equally prevalent. Nine in ten offenders had been placed on probation at least once and, overall, a mean number of 2.2 times. In many cases, these terms were attached to periods of incarceration.

The types of offences of which the sample had been convicted and subsequently incarcerated in Correctional Centres were collected from Ministry records. Offenders had been incarcerated for a very wide variety of crimes. As seen in Table B-7, the offenders were typically involved in property-related offences. Of all the offences for which they had been sentenced for periods of 90 days or more, break, enter and thefts and thefts over or under \$200 were, by far, the most common. If the offender's parole had been revoked with additional convictions, his new offences were similarly represented.

An examination of the offences for each successive longer incarceration was made to determine whether there were shifts in offence activity over time. Table B-7 also reflects that, with each additional incarceration, the likelihood of an offender being convicted of break, enter and theft or breach of probation decreased. On the other hand, failures

to appear or comply and person offences took an upswing, with an increased likelihood of the offender being convicted of an assault. These changes, however, are simply trends, and cannot be considered definitive.

The mean number of counts for which the offenders had been sentenced to Correctional Centres remained fairly stable, regardless of number of incarcerations. The counts ranged from one to 34; the mean number for each successive incarceration was approximately 4.0 counts (Table B-8). The number of charges dismissed, withdrawn or acquitted at sentencing ranged from one to 20; the means were found to range narrowly between 2.4 and 2.9 charges, over all the longer incarcerations. In total, 1,039 charges had been dismissed or withdrawn by the Courts, at the point of sentencing to these longer periods of incarceration. Proportionately, this equates to one-quarter of the charges brought against the offender at that time.

The periods of incarceration for which these offenders were sentenced did not change appreciably over time (Table B-9). The offenders' first and second sentences were a mean of 12.8²⁰ and 12.0 months, respectively. Subsequent incarcerations of 90 days or more were a mean of approximately 14 months in length. This overall consistency suggests that these offenders were not receiving longer sentences, though they were clearly repeaters.

In many cases, additional conditions were attached to these sentences of 90 days or more. For example, in terms of fines and/or cash restitution, the recidivists had also been required to pay a total of \$25,198²¹. Probation terms following the incarceration were also ordered, ranging from three to 42 months. The average probation term attached to individual incarcerations ranged from a low of 14.3 months to two years.

The actual time served by offenders in Correctional Centres was also stable. Regardless of which term of incarceration in a Correctional Centre was being served, the offender's mean length of stay was seven months (the fluctuation in mean stay for the sixth and seventh incarcerations may be attributable to the small numbers). Once in the community, those offenders released on parole, lasted an average of one to four months before having their parole revoked, and being re-incarcerated. Those re-incarcerated on a parole revocation (with or without additional convictions) remained an additional two to eleven months. There appeared to be a slight trend for offenders to be required to stay a slightly shorter period when re-incarcerated on a parole revocation, over successive incarcerations.

Overall, the offenders stayed in the Correctional Centres, including their revocation terms, seven to nine months, in a given incarceration period. These recidivists were clearly not spending longer periods of time in the institution for subsequent sentences.

²⁰ Recidivists, in their self-reports, said they had been sentenced to a mean of 12.0 months in an adult institution, the first time sentenced as an adult.

²¹ Included in this total are fines given under the fine/time option.

Included in these periods, both sentenced to and spent in institutions, was additional time given for escape activity. When the escape behaviour of the sample during their incarcerations was examined, it was found that a fairly stable proportion of the incarcerated population had been involved in escape activities (Table B-10). Between ten and 18 percent of the recidivist sample normally involved themselves in this behaviour during any given incarceration.

There did not appear to be any trends in the conditions of release from successive incarcerations (Table B-10). Whether the offenders who had not yet been released from their current incarceration were included or discounted in determining proportions, there did not appear to be any true pattern to sentence expiries or paroles. There were small indications that fewer offenders had been seeing their sentences expire and more were being paroled. These trends are inconclusive, however. Neither was there a pattern to parole success or failure. There had been a small reduction in the proportions of offenders who completed their paroles from Correctional Centres without incident over successive incarcerations.

2. THE JUVENILE CAREER PERIOD

In accordance with the format of the interview schedule, the juvenile career period began with the offender's first involvement in illegal activities and extended through his training school admissions, to his first incarceration as an adult.

Recidivists were probed for information regarding the onset of their criminal involvement. They were asked at which age they committed their first minor and serious offences for which they could have been charged if caught. Examples of minor and serious offences were provided by the interviewers. Minor offences included petty theft, trespassing, minor property damage and drinking under age. Serious offences included car theft, robbery, assault, purse-snatching, arson and trafficking.

The ages at which these illegal activities were reportedly first committed, ranged to as low as three years old (Table B-11). As might be expected, minor illegal activities began at a much younger age than the more serious offences. Inmates said their involvement in minor illegal activities first began at an average age of 11.7 years, while their first serious activities began at an older mean of 15.1 years. Less than one percent of the recidivists said they had committed their first minor offence after age eighteen and only 7%, their first serious offence.

The kinds of offences inmates reported having been involved in, but not apprehended for, indicated a perception of 'seriousness' which might be at variance with that of a non-criminal cohort. Inmates listed as minor offences,

activities such as arson, robbery, firearm possession, indecent assault, theft over \$200 and trafficking in drugs. On the other hand, those offences which they mentioned as being serious could be considered to be just that; they mentioned offences such as robbery, theft over \$200 and trafficking in narcotics. A complete list of the inmates' illegal activities are provided in Appendix A, but the reader is cautioned in the use of these data. Their offence descriptions notwithstanding, the recidivists most often reported committing a form of theft under \$200 as their first minor offence and a theft over \$200 as their first serious offence.

Excluding police contacts, the interviewees reported first becoming involved with the legal process in their early teens (Table B-12). They said they had been in court for the first time at a mean age of 13.7 years and one-quarter said they had already been in court by the time they were 12 years old. This factor was significantly inter-related with other indicators of early social problems (Table B-13). Offenders who had been to court while 12 years old or younger, also tended to have had family members with correctional institution experience, to have left home at an early age, to have started drinking around the same time as their court appearance, to have already been involved in minor offences without apprehension and to have ultimately been admitted to training school more than once. Problems with school had reportedly influenced their involvement in illegal activities while they were between 16 and 18 years old and drugs and/or alcohol, while they were adults.

Almost everyone (199, 95.2%) said they had been on probation at some time or other (Table B-9). They were first placed on probation at a mean age of 14.8 years old and half before their sixteenth birthday. In fact, 51.0% (104) had reportedly been placed on probation a mean of 1.9 times while juveniles, that is, while under 16 years old.

Almost half of those interviewed (91, 43.5%) said they had been admitted to a training school. Moreover, the earlier the offender had first appeared in court, the more likely he was to have been admitted to a training school (Table B-14). As offenders became older and jail became more of an alternative, the likelihood of a training school admission decreased.

Half of those who were ever admitted to a training school (42, 47.2%) were sent there more than once, with some as many as eight times. The overall mean admission rate was 2.0 times:

- 47 (52.8%) were admitted once;
- 18 (20.2%) were admitted twice;
- 24 (27.0%) were admitted three to eight times.

The mean length of stay the first time in training school was 15.2 months (range of one to 96 months), the second, 8.7 months (range of three to 20 months) and the third, 8.5 months (range of one to 24 months).

a. Principal Juvenile Incarceration

The principal juvenile incarceration was defined as the recidivist's first stay in a juvenile correctional facility. The ages of these recidivists, when they were first admitted to a training school, ranged from six to 18 years, with an average age of 12.9 years (Table B-12). As mentioned above, the mean length of their initial stays in training school was 15.2 months.

The offences for which the recidivists said they had been admitted to training school are listed in Appendix A. Those most often mentioned were Section 8 offences (29%), thefts under \$200 (20%), thefts over \$200 (19%) and break and enters (17%).

Table B-15 reflects all the living situations of the inmates when they were sent to training school the first time. Three-quarters of the recidivists had been living with their mothers and over half, with their fathers. Precisely ten percent said they had been living in a foster home.

Eight in ten of the training school admittants (73, 83.0%) had been attending school at the time of their admission. The remainder had been either working (and in some cases, attending school as well) or doing neither (7, 8.0% and 8, 9.1% respectively).

3. YOUNG ADULT CAREER PERIOD

The young adult career period encompassed those activities which occurred between the recidivist's sixteenth and eighteenth birthday. In addition to the various institutional contacts which occurred during this period, 78.5% (161) of the recidivists had also been placed on probation an average of 2.0 times.

a. Principal Young Adult Incarceration

The principal young adult incarceration was defined as the recidivist's first sentence to an adult institution. While the study design intended to delimit the sample to individuals first incarcerated as an adult between 16 and 18 years old, nine recidivists said they had first been incarcerated outside of this range. As seen in Table B-16, well over half of those interviewed said they were first incarcerated in an adult facility while 16 years old. In fact, the mean age at first adult incarceration was 16.5 years.

The offences for which these young men were first sentenced to an adult institution are listed in Appendix A. Approximately a third of the recidivists said they had been incarcerated for at least one charge of theft over \$200 (35%) and a third for at least one break and enter (31%). Nineteen percent said they had had a break, enter and theft conviction.

The average length of first stay in an adult institution was 12 months²², with a range of one to 72 months. Only 14 recidivists (7%) said they had been sentenced for under three months (Table B-16). A third of the sample, though, said they had been sentenced to seven months or more on their first adult incarceration.

Their first experience in an adult facility was reported to have been predominantly in a Correctional Centre (133, 63.9%); 22.6% (47) had been housed in jails or detention centres, while 2.4% (5) had been placed in other facilities, such as a federal institution or camp. Only 11 percent (23) had been incarcerated in an adult training centre.

When first sentenced to an adult institution, the recidivists largely said they had been living with their mother and/or father or alone (Table B-16). Work and school involvement at the time of the first incarceration was limited to half of the recidivists: 19 (13.9%) were attending school, 72 (34.6%) were working (in some cases, as well as attending school) and 107 (51.4%) were doing nothing at all.

4. ADULT CAREER PERIOD

Since the first adult incarceration was, by definition, to have occurred between the recidivist's sixteenth and eighteenth birthday, this adult career period was expected to cover all the offender's subsequent adult incarcerations, that is, since he turned 18 years old. During this time, at least two other sentences of 90 days or more were to have been served. The offender's most recent or current Correctional Centre sentence was, again by definition, to have occurred while the offender was between 21 and 25 years old.

Recidivists reported that they had been sentenced to an adult institution an average of 4.9 times²³; the number of sentences reported by them ranged from two to 36. The longest sentence served by them was a mean of 21.2 months and the sentences ranged from four to 66 months (Table B-17). In addition, 43.5% of the sample (90) said they had been placed on probation an average of 1.6 times, after turning 18 years old.

a. Principal Adult (Current) Incarceration

The principal adult incarceration was the recidivist's most recent sentence, being served at time of his interview. At the time of the recidivists' last arrest (leading to the current incarceration), they most often reported living either with their spouse or girlfriend or alone (Table B-17). They were largely working for their livelihood (and attending school as well, in a few cases): 107 (51.2%) were working and 10 (4.8%) were attending school. A very large proportion (92, 44.0%) however, were unemployed at the time.

²² This mean is similar to the 12.8 months determined from official records as the mean sentence of the first adult incarceration of 90 days or more.

²³ This mean is a slight under-representation of their actual correctional involvement. The mean number of incarcerations on official records was 5.7.

The offences for which they had most recently been arrested and incarcerated had a very wide range, as listed in Appendix A. The most frequently mentioned offences were break and enter (25%), theft over \$200 (16%) and break, enter and theft (14%).

5. PREFERENCES FOR OFFENCE TYPES

During the interview, the recidivists were asked to respond to a list of eight criminal offences. They were asked to provide the number of times they had committed the offences, the number of times they had been convicted of them and during which career period they had committed them most often. The offences were selected on the basis of their typically high frequency among general inmate populations, variety, in terms of severity of offence, and relative countability. While the findings were limited by the parameters of the interview format, there was a progression in preference for specific offences over the career periods.

The number of counts reported ranged from one to well over 30. Because of likely inaccuracies and uncertainties in their recalled number of counts, these data were simplified into an 'ever/never committed' dichotomy. Also, in several cases, recidivists were unable to identify the single career period during which certain offences occurred most often. In those cases where mixed career periods were reported, each of the career periods were weighted accordingly.

The offences were ranked in order of pervasiveness, that is, on the basis of the proportion of the population who had ever committed the offences. The resultant ordering is shown in Table B-18, with break, enter and theft, theft over \$200 and auto theft high in pervasiveness, shop-lifting, forgery/fraud, drug sales and robbery in the middle range and purse-snatching least common among this population. Any preferences for offence types is very likely dependent on such factors as risk or potential pay-off, and are not discussed in this research.

The recidivists indicated that the offences they had committed more often while under 16 years old were shop-lifting and purse-snatching. Each of these offences tend to be relatively high in terms of spontaneity and risk. Two-thirds of the study sample said they had shop-lifted at some time and one-third said they had done it more often while a juvenile. A purse-snatching had been committed by only eight percent of the entire population, but six percent said this behaviour had occurred more often in their juvenile career period.

Offences reported to have occurred more frequently during the recidivist's young adult career were generally common among the entire population. Between 80 and 90 percent of the population had committed break, enter and thefts, thefts over \$200 and/or auto thefts. Between 45 and 60 percent said these behaviours had occurred more often while they were between 16 and 18 years old.

Offences more often involved in as an adult ranged in seriousness and pervasiveness, but had the potential to be high in pay-off. Robbery, drug sales, thefts over \$200 and forgeries/frauds had been committed by between 44 and 50 percent of the entire sample and largely since they turned 18 years old.

FIGURE B - 1

THE CRIMINAL CAREER

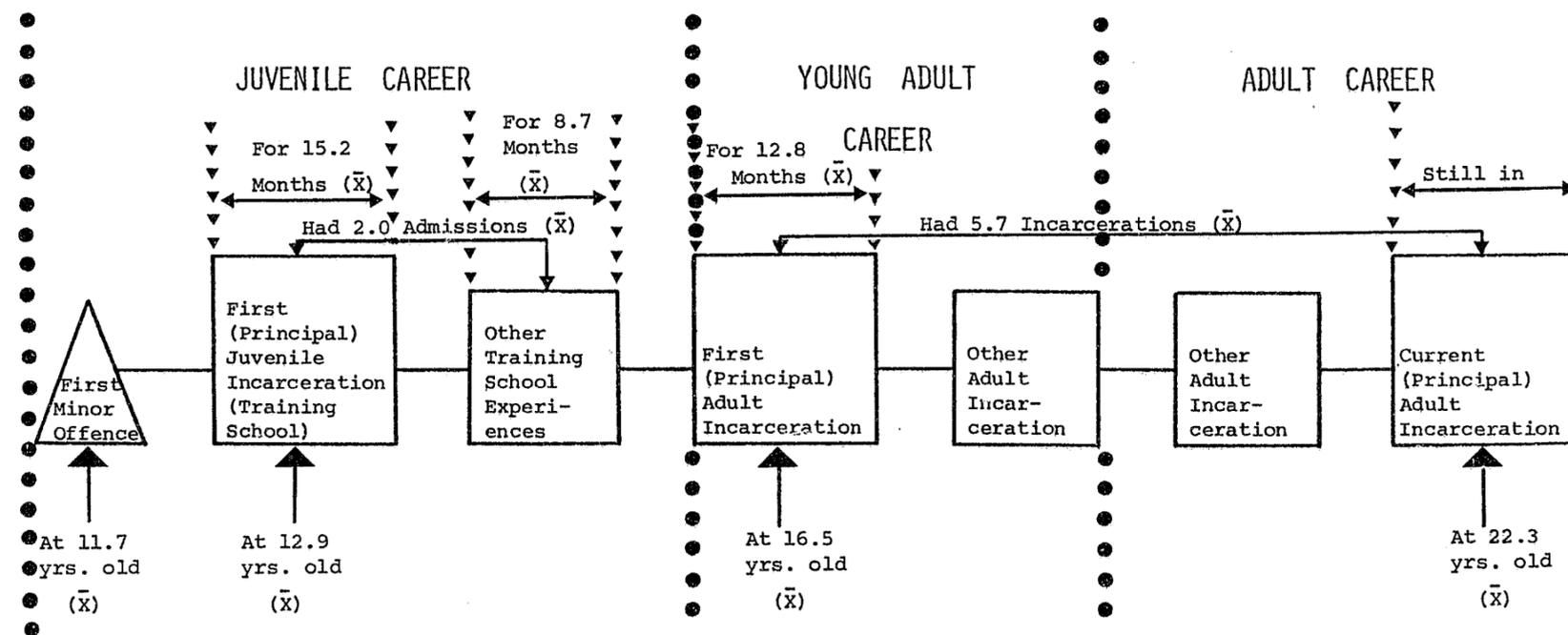


FIGURE B - 2

PROPORTION OF CHARGES RESULTING IN CONVICTION OR
DISMISSAL/WITHDRAWAL AT EACH ARREST AND OVERALL

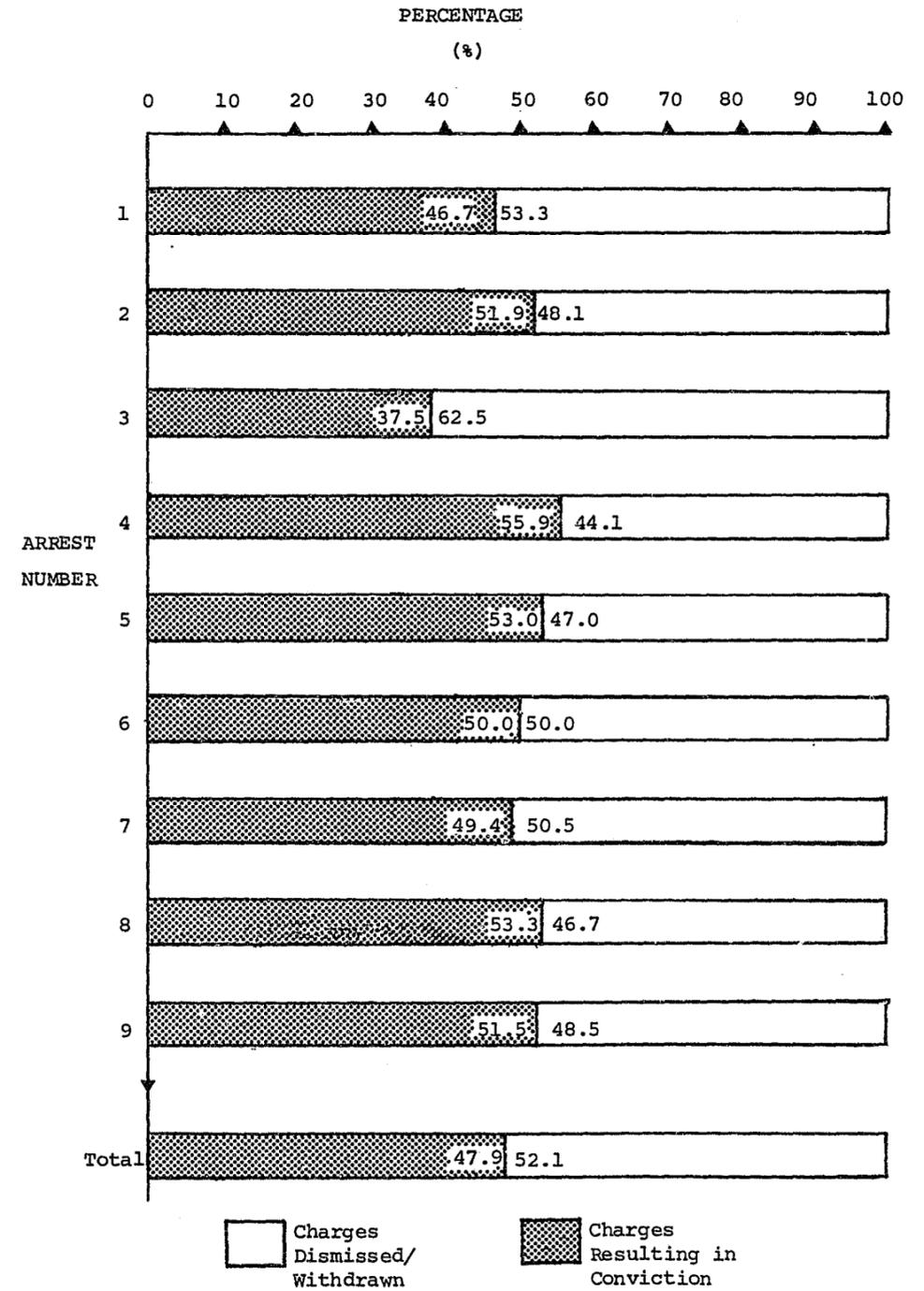
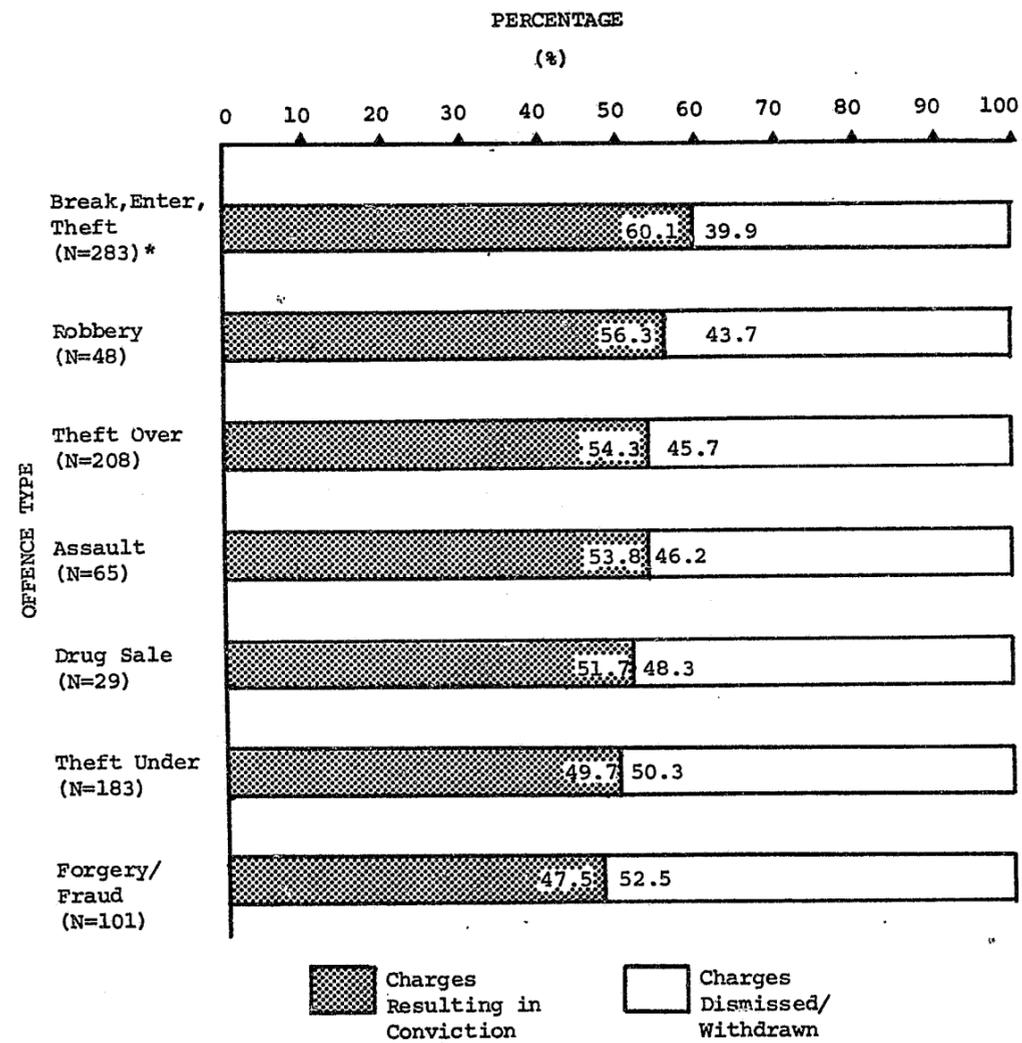


FIGURE B - 3

PROPORTION OF CHARGES RESULTING IN CONVICTION
OR DISMISSAL/WITHDRAWAL IN SELECTED OFFENCE TYPES



* Indicates the Total Number of Charges.

TABLE B-1

AGE AT FIRST ARREST IN METRO TORONTO AND ARREST AND OFFENCE HISTORY

AGE AT FIRST ARREST (years)	N (%)	MEAN NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN METRO	MEAN NUMBER OF CHARGES:							
			OVERALL IN METRO	OF BREAK, ENTER, THEFT	OF THEFT OVER \$200	OF THEFT UNDER \$200	OF FORGERY/FRAUD	OF DRUG SALES	OF ROBBERY	OF ASSAULT
15	2 (3.1)	17.5	37.5	8.5	8.0	2.0	-	7.0	1.0	-
16	32 (50.0)	13.1	37.7	5.9	5.9	5.3	4.2	2.0	2.5	3.7
17	9 (14.1)	8.1	20.9	9.0	1.9	3.7	4.0	-	2.0	1.5
18	7 (10.9)	6.1	14.3	2.6	2.3	3.5	3.3	-	1.5	1.0
19	4 (6.3)	3.8	9.3	6.5	1.5	1.0	2.0	-	-	2.0
20	4 (6.3)	2.0	9.3	7.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	-	1.0	-
21	3 (4.7)	1.3	2.7	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	2.0
22	1 (1.6)	1.0	15.0	5.0	-	-	4.0	-	-	-
23	2 (3.1)	2.0	7.0	-	-	-	5.0	-	-	-
TOTAL	64 (100.0)	9.4	26.2	6.0	4.6	4.4	3.9	2.4	2.2	3.1

TABLE B-2

NUMBER OF TIMES ARRESTED BY
METRO TORONTO POLICE

<u>NUMBER OF ARRESTS</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
1 - 5	23	35.9
6 - 10	12	18.8
11 - 15	18	28.1
16 - 20	5	7.8
21 - 25	6	9.4
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>100.0</u>
<u>MEAN</u>	<u>9.4 arrests</u>	

TABLE B-3

MEAN NUMBER OF MONTHS BETWEEN ARRESTS

<u>ARREST NUMBER</u>	<u>MEAN NUMBER OF MONTHS BETWEEN</u>
1st & 2nd	7.6 mos. (N=56)
2nd & 3rd	7.5 mos. (N=48)
3rd & 4th	5.7 mos. (N=45)
4th & 5th	6.7 mos. (N=42)
5th & 6th	5.8 mos. (N=41)
6th & 7th	4.7 mos. (N=38)
7th & 8th	7.0 mos. (N=37)
8th & 9th	5.4 mos. (N=35)
<u>Overall Mean</u>	<u>5.4 mos. (N=56)</u>

TABLE B-4

MEAN NUMBER OF CHARGES AND CONVICTIONS IN SELECTED
OFFENCE TYPES IN METRO TORONTO

<u>OFFENCE TYPE</u> <u>(N=no. of offenders)</u>	<u>MEAN NUMBER:</u>	
	<u>CHARGES</u>	<u>CONVICTIONS</u>
Break, enter & theft (N=48)	5.9	3.5
Robbery (N=22)	2.2	1.2
Theft over \$200 (N=45)	4.6	2.5
Assault (N=21)	3.1	1.7
Drug Sales (N=12)	2.4	1.3
Theft under \$200 (N=42)	4.4	2.2
Forgery/fraud (N=26)	3.9	1.8

TABLE B-5
TOTAL NUMBER OF PRIOR PROBATIONS
AND INCARCERATIONS

TOTAL NUMBER	PRIOR PROBATION TERMS		INCARCERATIONS <90 days		INCARCERATIONS ≥90 days		TOTAL INCARCERATIONS	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
None	23	(9.5)	46	(18.9)	-	(-)	-	(-)
One	73	(30.0)	63	(25.8)	2	(0.8)	-	(-)
Two	71	(29.2)	54	(22.1)	32	(13.1)	5	(2.0)
Three	49	(20.2)	36	(14.8)	106	(43.4)	26	(10.7)
Four	13	(5.3)	16	(6.6)	64	(26.2)	50	(20.5)
Five or more	14	(5.8)	29	(11.9)	40	(16.4)	163	(66.8)
Not reported	6		5		5		5	
TOTAL REPORTED	243	(100.0)	244	(100.0)	244	(100.0)	244	(100.0)
MEAN	2.2		2.7		3.5		5.7	

TABLE B-6
TOTAL NUMBER OF INCARCERATIONS AND
SCHOOL/WORK HISTORY

	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCARCERATIONS								χ^2 , df, p
	2 or 3		4 or 5		6 or 7		8 to 16		
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	
AGE LEFT SCHOOL									
Under 16	11	(35.5)	31	(28.4)	21	(33.3)	19	(46.3)	$\chi^2=24.981$ df=8 p<.01
16	9	(29.0)	56	(51.4)	33	(52.4)	12	(29.3)	
Over 16	11	(35.5)	22	(20.2)	9	(14.3)	10	(24.4)	
TOTAL	31	(100.0)	109	(100.0)	63	(100.0)	41	(100.0)	
HIGHEST SCHOOL GRADE ACHIEVED									
1 - 8	3	(9.7)	26	(23.9)	20	(31.7)	11	(27.5)	$\chi^2=17.407$ df=8 p<.05
9 or 10	20	(64.5)	59	(54.1)	31	(49.2)	22	(55.0)	
11 or higher	8	(25.8)	24	(22.0)	12	(19.0)	7	(17.5)	
TOTAL	31	(100.0)	109	(100.0)	63	(100.0)	40	(100.0)	
WORK STATUS AT MOST RECENT INCARCERATION									
Employed	12	(40.0)	31	(29.0)	26	(41.3)	11	(26.8)	$\chi^2=11.857$ df=4 p<.02
Unemployed	18	(60.0)	76	(71.0)	37	(58.7)	30	(73.2)	
TOTAL	30	(100.0)	107	(100.0)	63	(100.0)	41	(100.0)	

TABLE B-7

OFFENCE TYPES OVER SUCCESSIVE
INCARCERATIONS

OFFENCE TYPE: (convicted of at least one count)	INCARCERATION (≥ 90 DAYS)							
	1st % (N=244)	2nd % (N=242)	3rd % (N=210)	4th % (N=104)	5th % (N=39)	6th % (N=10)	7th % (N=1)	8th % (N=1)
OFFENCE AGAINST PROPERTY:								
▷arson	1.6	1.2	-	-	-	10.0	-	-
▷break & enter, attempted B&E	18.0	16.5	14.8	23.1■	10.3	20.0	-	-
▷unlawful dwellinghouse	0.4	0.8	1.0	-	-	-	-	-
●▷break, enter & theft	41.0■	37.2■	31.4■	19.2	17.9	20.0	-	-
▷attempt indictable offence	2.0	2.5	2.4	-	-	-	-	-
▷possess burglary tools	0.4	1.7	0.5	-	2.6	-	-	-
▷conversion over	-	-	-	-	2.6	-	-	-
▷possess stolen property over \$200	20.1	17.4	22.9	20.2	33.3■	10.0	-	-
▷possess stolen property under \$200	6.1	13.6	4.8	6.7	7.7	30.0	-	-
▷robbery	7.8	3.3	10.0	9.6	5.1	10.0	-	-
▷take vehicle without consent	7.0	3.7	1.9	2.9	2.6	-	-	-
▷theft of mail	-	-	-	1.9	2.6	-	-	-
▷theft over \$200	34.0	23.1	19.5	13.5	25.6	10.0	-	100.0■
▷theft under \$200	32.8	24.4	17.6	17.3	20.5	50.0■	100.0■	-
▷fraud & attempted fraud (simple, accommodation, concealment, transport)	2.9	3.7	6.7	4.8	2.6	-	-	-
counterfeit	-	-	-	1.0	-	-	-	-
▷false pretence, false statement	2.9	3.3	3.8	1.0	5.1	-	-	-
▷forgery	0.4	1.2	1.9	2.9	5.1	-	-	-
▷uttering & attempted uttering	4.9	2.9	3.8	3.8	5.1	-	-	-
▷wilful damage	3.7	4.1	2.4	2.9	10.3	-	-	-

● Indicates a shift in offence activity.
■ Most commonly mentioned offence.

Table B-7 continued

OFFENCE TYPE: (convicted of at least one count)	INCARCERATION (≥ 90 DAYS)							
	1st % (N=244)	2nd % (N=242)	3rd % (N=210)	4th % (N=104)	5th % (N=39)	6th % (N=10)	7th % (N=1)	8th % (N=1)
OFFENCE AGAINST PERSON:								
▶assault (common, with intent to cause bodily harm, resis- ting arrest, bodily)	11.1	7.4	9.5	10.6	23.1	30.0	-	-
▶assault police	1.2	3.3	3.8	4.8	10.3	-	100.0■	-
▶attempt murder/manslaughter	-	0.4	0.5	-	-	-	-	-
▶forceable confinement	0.4	-	-	1.0	2.6	-	-	-
▶wounding	0.4	-	-	1.0	-	-	100.0■	-
OFFENCE AGAINST PUBLIC ORDER AND PEACE:								
▶breach of recognizance, fail court order, fail to appear, fail to comply	17.2	19.8	19.0	23.1■	23.1	30.0	-	-
▶breach of contract/breach of trust	0.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
▶breach of probation	10.2	5.8	6.7	3.8	-	-	-	-
▶cause disturbance	2.0	2.5	2.4	3.8	5.1	-	-	-
▶weapons/firearms	1.6	4.5	7.6	5.8	2.6	-	-	-
▶conspiracy	-	0.8	1.0	1.0	-	-	-	-
▶criminal negligence causing death	-	-	-	1.0	-	-	-	-
▶escape	11.5	7.4	7.6	7.7	5.1	10.0	-	100.0■
▶assist escape	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
▶false firealarm	-	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
▶mischief (dangerous, causing damage, public)	7.4	6.6	10.0	10.6	15.4	10.0	-	-
▶obstruct justice/police	1.2	1.7	3.8	3.8	5.1	-	100.0■	-
▶personating (police, with intent)	0.8	0.4	0.5	-	-	-	-	-
▶prowl by night, trespass	0.4	0.8	0.5	1.0	2.6	-	-	-
▶Juvenile Delinquents Act	-	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table B-7 continued

OFFENCE TYPE: (convicted of at least one count)	INCARCERATION (\geq 90 DAYS)							
	1st % (N=244)	2nd % (N=242)	3rd % (N=210)	4th % (N=104)	5th % (N=39)	6th % (N=10)	7th % (N=1)	8th % (N=1)
OFFENCE AGAINST PUBLIC MORALS AND DECENCY:								
▷indecent act/indecent assault	0.4	0.4	1.9	-	-	-	-	-
TRAFFIC OFFENCE:								
▷criminal negligence - motor vehicle	0.8	1.2	1.0	-	2.6	10.0	-	-
▷dangerous driving	4.9	2.9	4.3	1.9	5.1	10.0	-	-
▷drive while license suspended	2.9	3.7	8.1	6.7	2.6	10.0	-	-
▷fail to remain	0.4	1.7	1.4	4.8	-	-	-	-
▷Highway Traffic Act and Motor Vehicle	2.5	4.5	5.7	5.8	-	-	-	-
LIQUOR OFFENCE:								
▷impaired, over 80	2.0	3.3	5.7	5.8	2.6	-	-	-
▷Liquor Control Act	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.8	5.1	-	-	-
DRUG OFFENCE:								
▷possession of drug (amphetamine, narcotic, restricted)	5.3	4.5	8.1	4.8	5.1	-	-	-
▷trafficking drug (controlled, narcotic, restricted)	3.3	1.7	1.4	4.8	7.7	-	-	-
OTHER OFFENCE:								
▷other Federal Statutes	0.4	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
▷other Provincial Statutes	0.4	-	-	3.8	-	-	-	-
▷Municipal by-laws	-	-	1.0	1.9	-	-	-	-
▷unknown	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE B - 8

TOTAL NUMBER OF OFFENCES AND CHARGES DISMISSED/WITHDRAWN/
ACQUITTED AT SUCCESSIVE INCARCERATIONS

TOTAL NUMBER OFFENCES	INCARCERATION (>90 days)							
	1st %	2nd %	3rd %	4th %	5th %	6th %	7th %	8th %
One	19.3	24.5	22.3	26.0	21.1	20.0	-	-
Two	14.8	24.5	19.9	21.2	13.2	20.0	-	100.0
Three	12.8	16.2	15.5	18.3	15.8	40.0	-	-
Four or Five	23.9	14.9	18.4	12.5	21.1	-	100.0	-
Six to Ten	21.8	21.6	19.4	12.5	23.7	20.0	-	-
11 to 20	7.4	3.3	3.4	9.6	5.3	-	-	-
21 to 34	-	1.7	1.0	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL CASES	243	241	206	104	38	10	1	1
TOTAL COUNTS	1132	951	846	410	157	31	4	2
MEAN NO.	4.7	4.0	4.1	3.9	4.1	3.1	4.0	2.0
CHARGES DISMISSED/ WITHDRAWN/ACQUITTED	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
One	46.4	38.9	38.3	36.2	38.1	60.0	-	-
Two	20.0	29.6	22.3	29.8	19.0	-	-	-
Three	9.1	10.2	20.2	14.9	4.8	-	-	-
Four or Five	12.7	12.0	8.5	10.6	28.6	40.0	-	-
Six to Twenty	11.8	9.3	10.6	8.5	9.5	-	-	-
TOTAL CASES	110	108	94	47	21	5	-	-
TOTAL CHARGES	313	278	251	128	57	12	-	-
MEAN NO.	2.9	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.4	-	-

TABLE B-9
MEAN NUMBER OF MONTHS SENTENCED TO INSTITUTION, TO PROBATION,
AND SPENT IN THE COMMUNITY DURING SUCCESSIVE COMPLETED INCARCERATIONS

INCARCERATION (>90 days)

MEAN NUMBER OF MONTHS...		1st	* 2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th
Sentenced to institution	(N) \bar{X}	(244) 12.8	(242) 12.0	(210) 14.5	(103) 14.4	(39) 14.9	(10) 13.9	(1) 7.0	(1) 16.0
Sentenced to probation period	(N) \bar{X}	(68) 19.1	(55) 18.4	(47) 19.5	(18) 21.2	(4) 14.3	(1) 24.0	(-) -	(-) -
In institution, from admission to release	(N) \bar{X}	(244) 7.6	(219) 7.5	(126) 7.7	(48) 7.3	(14) 7.9	(2) 9.0	(1) 4.0	(1) N/A still in
In community, from parole to parole revokation and re-incarceration	(N) \bar{X}	(45) 4.4	(22) 4.5	(34) 3.6	(10) 4.9	(6) 1.4	(1) 1.0	(-) -	(-) -
In institution, from re-incarceration to re-release	(N) \bar{X}	(45) 11.5	(13) 9.0	(12) 6.8	(1) 2.0	(2) 7.0	(-) -	(-) -	(-) -
In total in institution, excluding current institutionalization period	(N) \bar{X}	(244) 9.8	(219) 8.0	(126) 8.4	(48) 7.3	(14) 8.9	(2) 9.0	(1) 4.0	(-) -

* One offender was paroled, had his parole revoked, was paroled again and had his parole revoked again, after 21 days.

TABLE B - 10

ESCAPE ACTIVITY, CONDITIONS OF RELEASE
FROM AND OUTCOME OF PAROLE AT SUCCESSIVE INCARCERATIONS

FACTOR	INCARCERATION (>90 days)							
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th
EVER INVOLVED IN ESCAPE ACTIVITY	N (% of 245)	N (% of 242)	N (% of 210)	N (% of 104)	N (% of 39)	N (% of 10)	N (% of 1)	N (% of 1)
Yes	42 (17.1)	43 (17.8)	29 (13.8)	17 (16.3)	4 (10.3)	1 (10.0)	- (-)	1 (100.0)
No	203 (82.9)	199 (82.2)	181 (86.2)	87 (83.7)	35 (89.7)	9 (90.0)	1 (100.0)	- (-)
CONDITIONS OF RELEASE	N (% of 244)	N (% of 220)	N (% of 126)	N (% of 48)	N (% of 14)	N (% of 2)	N (% of 1)	N (%)
Not released, still in	-	22	84	56	25	8	-	1
Sentence expired	187 (76.6)	188 (85.5)	87 (69.0)	37 (77.1)	8 (57.1)	1 (50.0)	1 (100.0)	- (-)
Paroled	57 (23.4)	32 (14.5)	39 (31.0)	11 (22.9)	6 (42.9)	1 (50.0)	- (-)	- (-)
OUTCOME OF PAROLE	N (% of 57)	N (% of 32)	N (% of 39)	N (% of 11)	N (% of 6)	N (% of 1)	N (% of -)	N (% of -)
Parole completed	12 (21.1)	9 (28.1)	5 (12.8)	1 (9.1)	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)
Parole incomplete; re-incarcerated	45 (78.9)	23 (71.9)	34 (87.2)	10 (90.9)	6 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	- (-)	- (-)

TABLE B-11

AGE AT WHICH RECIDIVIST COMMITTED
FIRST MINOR AND SERIOUS OFFENCES

AGE (years)	MINOR OFFENCE		SERIOUS OFFENCE	
	N	(%)	N	(%)
3-10	68	(36.8)	11	(6.9)
11-12	37	(20.0)	14	(8.8)
13-15	56	(30.3)	52	(32.7)
16-18	23	(12.4)	71	(44.7)
19+	1	(0.5)	11	(6.9)
Not reported	64		90	
TOTAL REPORTED	185	(100.0)	159	(100.0)
MEAN	11.7 years		15.1 years	

TABLE B-12

AGE WHEN FIRST IN COURT, FIRST ON PROBATION
AND FIRST ADMITTED TO TRAINING SCHOOL

AGE (years)	WHEN FIRST IN COURT		WHEN FIRST ON PROBATION		WHEN FIRST ADMITTED TO T.S.	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
5-10	28	(13.5)	16	(7.7)	13	(6.3)
11-12	23	(11.1)	10	(4.8)	19	(9.1)
13-15	84	(40.6)	74	(35.4)	57	(27.4)
16-18	72	(34.8)	92	(44.0)	2	(1.0)
19+	-	(-)	7	(3.3)	-	(-)
Never	-	(-)	10	(4.8)	118	(56.7)
Not reported	42		40		41	
TOTAL REPORTED	207	(100.0)	209	(100.0)	208	(100.0)
MEAN	13.7 years		14.8 years		12.9 years	

TABLE B-13

SELECTED FACTORS BY AGE WHEN
FIRST IN COURT

SELECTED FACTORS	AGE WHEN FIRST IN COURT (Years)				z, p; χ^2 , df, p
	5 - 12		13 - 18		
	N	(%)	N	(%)	
FAMILY HAVE DONE TIME	36/45	(80.0)	69/128	(53.9)	z=3.083, p<.01
AGE WHEN LEFT HOME (years)	(N=43)		(N=134)		$\chi^2=12.069$, df=3, p<.01
1-12	13	(30.2)	17	(12.7)	
13-15	18	(41.9)	50	(37.3)	
16-18	6	(14.0)	51	(38.1)	
19+	6	(14.0)	16	(11.9)	
AGE WHEN STARTED DRINKING (years)	(N=45)		(N=139)		$\chi^2=6.552$, df=2, p<.05
6-12	20	(44.4)	34	(24.5)	
13-15	16	(35.6)	68	(48.9)	
16+	9	(20.0)	37	(26.6)	
AGE AT FIRST MINOR OFFENCE (years)	(N=46)		(N=138)		$\chi^2=9.709$ df=2, p<.01
3-12	35	(76.1)	69	(50.0)	
13-15	7	(15.2)	49	(35.5)	
16+	4	(8.7)	20	(14.5)	
IN T.S. MORE THAN ONCE	24/38	(63.2)	18/51	(35.3)	z=2.605, p<.01
REASONS FOR ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES:					
Young adult: problems at school	19/51	(37.3)	30/156	(19.2)	z=2.629 p<.01
Adult: under influence of drugs/alcohol	38/51	(74.5)	85/156	(54.5)	z=2.528, p<.02

TABLE B-14
ADMISSION TO TRAINING SCHOOL BY
AGE WHEN FIRST IN COURT

ADMITTED TO TRAINING SCHOOL	AGE WHEN FIRST IN COURT (years)			
	5 - 10 N (%)	11 - 12 N (%)	13 - 15 N (%)	16 - 18 N (%)
Yes	23 (82.1)	16 (69.6)	40 (47.6)	12 (16.7)
No	5 (17.9)	7 (30.4)	44 (52.4)	60 (83.3)
TOTAL	28 (100.0)	23 (100.0)	84 (100.0)	72 (100.0)

$\chi^2=44.919$, $df=3$, $p<.001$

TABLE B-15
WHO LIVED WITH WHEN FIRST ADMITTED TO
TRAINING SCHOOL

INDIVIDUALS/SETTINGS	N	% of 90
Mother	70	77.8
Father	52	57.8
Brothers/Sisters	17	18.9
Foster home	9	10.0
Other relatives	4	4.4
Friends	1	1.1
Other	7	7.8

TABLE B-16
FACTORS SURROUNDING PRINCIPAL YOUNG
ADULT INCARCERATION

FACTOR	N	(% of 208)
AGE WHEN FIRST INCARCERATED (years)		
15	5	(2.4)
16	123	(59.1)
17	58	(27.9)
18	18	(8.7)
19-20	4	(1.9)
Not reported	41	
MEAN AGE	16.5 years	
LENGTH OF INCARCERATION	N	(% of 209)
Under 3 months	14	(6.7)
3 to 6 months	65	(31.1)
7 to 12 months	58	(27.8)
13 to 17 months	16	(7.7)
18 to 24 months	46	(22.0)
Over 24 months	10	(4.8)
Not reported	40	
MEAN LENGTH	12.0 months	
WHO LIVED WITH WHEN FIRST INCARCERATED AS YOUNG ADULT	N	(% of 209)
Mother	91	(43.5)
Father	72	(34.4)
Brothers/sisters	33	(15.8)
Other relatives	4	(1.9)
Foster home	2	(1.0)
Friends	20	(9.6)
Alone	63	(30.1)
Spouse/girlfriend	16	(7.7)
Other (e.g. Training school)	5	(2.4)

TABLE B-17

FACTORS SURROUNDING ADULT INCARCERATIONS

<u>FACTOR</u>		
LONGEST SENTENCE SERVED IN ADULT INSTITUTION	N	(% of 209)
1 to 6 months	6	(2.9)
7 to 12 months	32	(15.3)
13 to 17 months	36	(17.2)
18 to 24 months	89	(42.6)
Over 25 months	46	(22.0)
Not reported	40	
MEAN LENGTH	21.2 months	
<hr/>		
WHO LIVED WITH WHEN SENTENCED TO PRINCIPAL ADULT (CURRENT) INCARCERATION	N	(% of 209)
Mother	36	(17.2)
Father	34	(16.3)
Brothers/sisters	29	(13.9)
Other relatives	7	(3.3)
Friends	19	(9.1)
Spouse/girlfriend	73	(34.9)
Alone	48	(23.0)
Other	7	(3.3)

TABLE B-18
CAREER PERIODS AND SELECTED OFFENCE TYPES

CAREER PERIOD MORE OFTEN OCCURRED IN	OFFENCE TYPE							
	BREAK, ENTER and THEFT (% of N 209)	THEFT OVER \$200 (not auto) (% of N 209)	AUTO THEFT (% of N 209)	SHOP-LIFTING (% of N 209)	FORGERY/FRAUD (% of N 208)	DRUG SALES (% of N 209)	ROBBERY (% of N 208)	PURSE-SNATCHING (% of N 209)
Juvenile (under 16 years)	55 (26.3)	44 (21.1)	55 (26.3)	75 (35.9)	16 (7.7)	27 (12.9)	13 (6.3)	13 (6.2)
Young Adult (16-18 yrs)	122 (58.4)	101 (48.3)	95 (45.5)	57 (27.3)	47 (22.6)	63 (30.1)	28 (13.5)	5 (2.4)
Adult (over 18 years)	103 (49.3)	94 (45.0)	59 (28.2)	46 (22.0)	67 (32.2)	84 (40.2)	61 (29.3)	1 (0.5)
Never Committed	20 (9.6)	31 (14.8)	42 (20.1)	80 (38.3)	104 (50.0)	106 (50.7)	121 (58.2)	190 (90.9)

C. IMPACT OF THE INSTITUTION

SECTION SUMMARY

The offenders' institutional experiences were couched in terms of their adjustment to and programme involvement during their principal career incarcerations. The impact of these incarcerations was reflected in their community adjustment after their releases.

Numerous exposures to an institutional setting did little more than provide the offenders with broad institutional experience, which helped to ease their adjustment to subsequent incarcerations. The recidivists were increasingly motivated, however, to engage in work, both during incarceration and after release. Regarding criminal re-involvement, though, sixty percent of the interviewees said they felt they had been deflected from further criminal involvement after their release. Almost half, however, said they had been subsequently re-involved within two months of release. In addition, between 23 and 29 percent said they had been re-arrested almost immediately upon their criminal re-involvement. In contrast, there was a small core of fourteen percent who said they managed to avoid re-arrest until over six months afterwards.

1. CORRECTIONAL TREATMENT

The recidivists clearly had had numerous experiences in correctional facilities. In order to determine trends in their responses to institutionalization during career periods, they were questioned about their adjustment to their principal career incarcerations and their involvement in institutional programmes.

a. Institutional Adjustment

The recidivists were asked how much difficulty they had had in adjusting to the correctional institution for each of their principal career incarcerations. Among those who had been admitted to a training school, just over half said they had had 'some' or 'a lot' of difficulty adjusting that first time (Table C-1). In addition, they were asked why they found it difficult to adjust and were probed specifically in the areas of their own behaviour/attitude, guards/staff, other inmates and programmes²⁴. The juveniles, while experiencing institutional life for the first time, found their own behaviour or attitudes to pose the most serious hindrance to their institutional adjustment.

Evidently, the first adult incarceration was less difficult to adjust to than the first training school experience. In Table C-1, it is shown that fewer of these recidivists, when young adults, had 'a lot' of institutional adjustment difficulties than when juveniles. In comparison to the juveniles, the reasons for their difficulties as young

²⁴ The 'programmes' category is not discussed, since it became confounded by the 'other' category which often dealt with general institutional life (i.e. rules).

adults were more often related to the institutional staff or other inmates. The young adult recidivists had institutional adjustment problems far less often because of their own behaviour or attitudes, but more often because of their relations with guards/staff and with other inmates.

After their broad institutional experience, it was expected that the recidivists, as adults, would have fewer adjustment problems. This hypothesis was borne out (Table C-1). The recidivists, in their adult career, reported having significantly less difficulty in adjusting to institutional life than they had faced either during their juvenile or their young adult career periods. The 65 recidivists who reported 'some' or 'a lot' of difficulty as adults gave their reasons for it. They had difficulties less often because of their own behaviour or attitudes, compared to earlier careers, but significantly so compared to their juvenile career. They had greater problems with the guards or staff and, again, significantly more than reported during their juvenile career. The same proportion of adult recidivists had problems with other inmates as during their young adult career, but significantly more than during their juvenile career.

b. Institutional Programmes

Recidivists were asked which programmes they were involved in during their stays in correctional institutions. The first four programmes noted in a list of eight possibilities were coded. The training school admittants took part in a broad variety of programmes while in the institutions. Only 5 recidivists (5%) said they did not take part in any programmes while institutionalized (Figure C-1). During the training school stays, however, the emphasis appeared to be on educational, recreational and vocational training. While these programmes were also considered to be the most useful among those taken, no programmes at all were found to be useful by 28% of the training school graduates (Figure C-2). The lack of appreciation for institutional programmes may have been a function of their reasons for taking them. Over half the training school graduates took part in programmes because it was required of them (Table C-1). Only one third, however, partook in programmes with a sincere desire to benefit.

The recidivists took part in a wider variety of programmes while institutionalized as young adults than while juveniles. There were significant differences in their selections, as well. While in their young adult periods, the recidivists had been less involved in educational programmes and recreational programmes. They were more likely, however, to have been involved in work programmes and drug/alcohol programmes. The two programmes which were mentioned as being useful significantly more often in the young adult career period than juvenile one were, again, the work programmes and the drug/alcohol programmes.

The reasons for taking part in the institutional programmes while young adults compared to while juveniles were significantly different. The recidivists, as young adults, took part in programmes far less because it was required of them and far more because they sincerely hoped to gain from the experience or to simply pass their sentence.

There was a shift in interest in institutional programmes as the recidivists became older. In comparison to programmes of their juvenile career, adults in their current incarceration were significantly less involved in educational programmes, vocational programmes and individual counselling and more involved in work programmes and drug/alcohol programmes. In comparison to their young adult career period, adult recidivists were less involved in vocational programmes, in individual counselling, in group counselling, in drug/alcohol programmes and in educational programmes and more involved in recreational programmes. Significantly more adult recidivists also said they had been involved in no programmes at all, compared to during their juvenile career period.

The programmes involved in during the current adult incarceration which the recidivists found useful were fairly similar to those named in the juvenile and young adult careers. There were a few exceptions: the work programme was said to be useful significantly more often in the adult period than in either the juvenile or young adult periods. The drug/alcohol programme was described more often as being useful during the adult career than the juvenile career. Found to be significantly less useful was the vocational programme, with fewer adults mentioning it than in either the juvenile or young adult careers.

The recidivists' reasons for taking part in programmes during their most recent adult incarceration were very similar to those during their earlier adult incarcerations. They largely became involved in programmes in hopes of benefiting from them. The proportions in the various response categories were in some cases, however, significantly different from those in the juvenile career. Adults took part in programmes far more often to gain from them or to simply pass the time and far less often because it was required.

2. POST-RELEASE ADJUSTMENT

The adjustment of the recidivists after their release from their principal career incarcerations were examined. Specifically reviewed were their post-release community supervision, plans, expectations and activities.

a. Probation/Parole/Police Surveillance

According to the recidivists, their supervision in the community after release from training school, was limited. As seen in Table C-2, only 36% said they had been supervised by a Probation/Aftercare Officer 'very' or 'somewhat closely'. This supervision, however, had not deterred the recidivists from committing further crimes as juveniles: eight (14.8%) said the supervision had deterred them and 46 (85.2%) said it had not. Recidivists were also asked whether they thought they

were being watched by the police after their release from a juvenile institution because of their record. Almost four in ten responded in the affirmative (34, 38.2% said "yes"; 53, 59.6% said "no"; 2, 2.2% "didn't know").

Supervision of the recidivists as young adults in the community was much the same as experienced by them as juveniles. One third of the recidivists said they had been watched by a Probation/Parole Officer 'somewhat' or 'very closely' after the release from their first adult incarceration. Fewer of the recidivists (15, 11.9%) said their criminal involvement was deterred by the PPO's watch when they were young adults than juveniles, although it was not significant (111, 88.1% said they were not deterred or were unsure). There was, however, a significant increase in the proportion of recidivists who said they had been watched by the police during their young adult career, compared to their juvenile career: Over half (118, 56.5%) of the recidivists said the police had been watching them after their first release.

b. Post-Release Plans

After their release from training school, almost two-thirds of the inmates said they had returned to school (Table C-2). The remainder said they had found work or had done nothing at all. After their release from their first incarceration as an adult, however, the majority of the recidivists said they had located employment. Post-release expectations of the recidivists after their current incarceration may have been positive in anticipation of their pending release. Only four percent said they had no plans for either school or work after their release. Over three-quarters, however, said they intended to find a job, while 17% meant to return to school.

c. Post-Release Crime Expectations

The post-release expectations of the recidivists regarding further criminal involvement over the three career periods were examined (Table C-3). Over a third of the recidivists, as juveniles (33, 37.5%), had expected to become involved in criminal activities again after their release (51, 58.0% did not and 4 or 4.5% were unsure). They were also certain it would be imminent, since 60 percent said they had expected to return to crime either 'fairly soon' or 'immediately'. Their reasons for returning to crime tended to be self-originating. Two-thirds said they simply had expected to, could not cope in society, had not changed, had found crime exciting and considered it to be a way of life. The 51 training school admittants who had expected to stay out of further trouble, gave reasons for feeling that way and, by far, the majority (91%) simply wanted to 'go straight' and felt they had learned a lesson.

As young adults, after having experienced their first adult incarceration, four in ten (79 37.8%) said they had expected to return to crime after their release (123, 58.9% did not and 7, 3.3% were unsure). Similar to the training school graduates, their re-involvement would also be imminent.

Fifty-two recidivists who said they knew they would return to crime also knew it would be 'fairly soon' or 'immediately' (67%). Their reasons for returning to crime involvement were also similar to those reasons for getting back into trouble as juveniles. They had enjoyed the excitement of that way of life and expressed having had difficulty coping in society. The reasons for those not expecting to return to crime to feel that way were, again, very much like those given as juveniles. Most of the young adults had wanted to 'go straight' and to not have to go back to an institution.

The responses of the recidivists regarding their expectations for further criminal involvement after their current sentence may have been influenced by their pending release. For whatever personal reasons, the interviewees indicated that they would not return to a life of crime: 166, 81.0% said they would not, 17 or 8.3% said they would and 22 or 10.7% were unsure. Of those who said they would return to a criminal lifestyle, six said it would be 'fairly soon' or 'immediately'. Only two felt it would happen, but not for a long time. Of particular interest were their reasons for returning to crime. Though it was not significant, fewer adults would return to crime for the thrills or excitement and far more because it had become a way of life.

The majority of the 166 recidivists who claimed they would not return to crime said they did not want to go back to an institution and to go straight. The proportion was considerably less than that during either the juvenile and young adult career periods. There was also a substantial increase over the young adult career period in the proportion who felt they were not a criminal, and had learned their lesson.

d. Post-Release Criminal Activities

In any event, the recidivists, of course, were back into trouble and the speed with which they pursued their re-involvement is shown in Table C-4. Concerning the recidivists as juveniles, the length of time between their release from training school and their return to criminal activities was minimal. Up to half of the training school graduates (49%) had returned to crime within two months of their release. Moreover, 14.0% were back into trouble that same day. Similar to the juveniles, half of the sample (52%) as young adults, returned to crime fairly soon, that is, within two months of their release.

The length of time between their release and first arrest was somewhat greater. Only one of the juveniles was arrested on the same day. Twenty-three percent of the juveniles were arrested within two months, compared to 29% of the young adults.

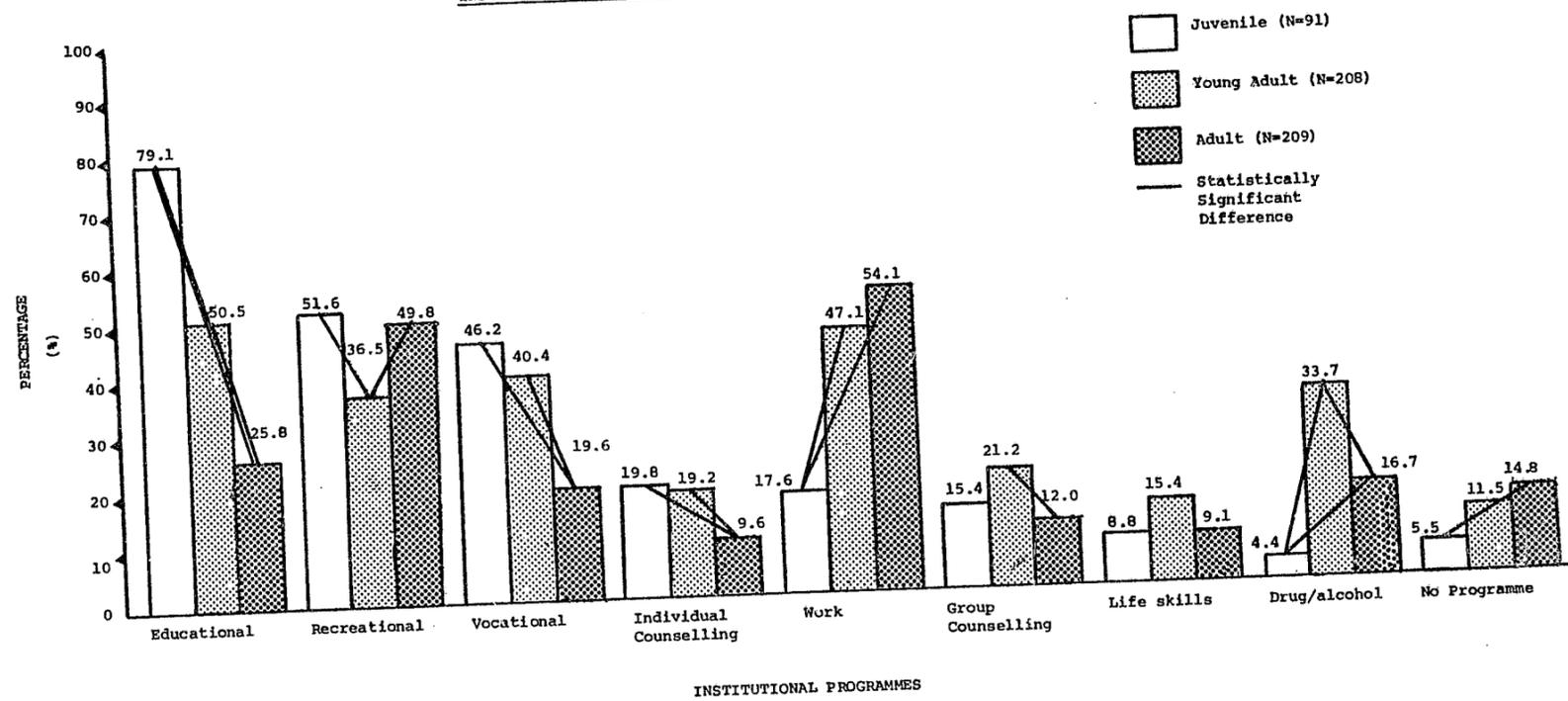
The lag between return to criminal involvement and first arrest separates a few skilled offenders from the group.

Almost half of the training school graduates were unable to avoid immediate detection for their offences (Table C-4). While another third had avoided apprehension after their training school release for between three weeks and six months, 14% said they had been involved in crime for seven months or more before being arrested.

Also similar to the juvenile cohort, four in ten recidivists as young adults were apprehended almost immediately upon their re-involvement in crime. There were still, though, 14% who were not apprehended until well over six months after becoming involved in crime again.

FIGURE C - 1

INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAMMES INVOLVED IN DURING PRINCIPAL INCARCERATIONS



CONTINUED

1 OF 2

FIGURE C - 2

INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAMMES FOUND USEFUL
DURING PRINCIPAL INCARCERATIONS

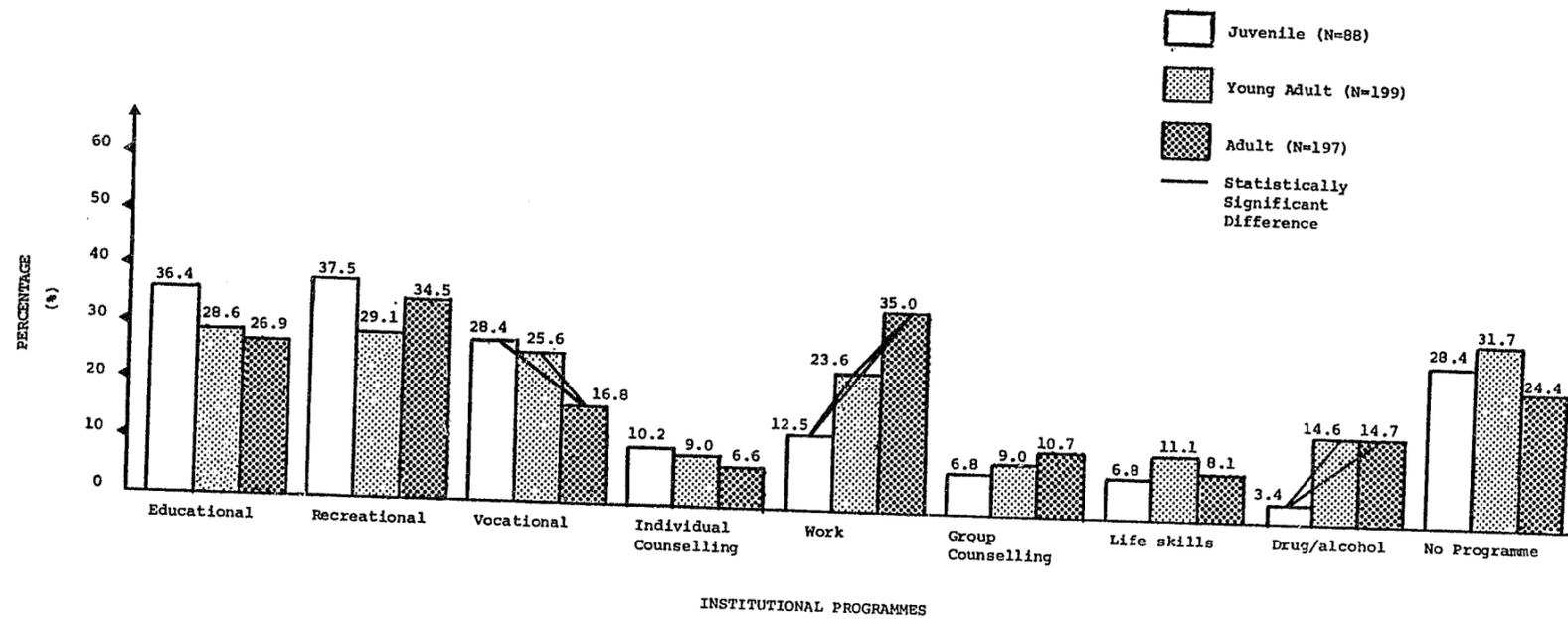


TABLE C - 1

ADJUSTMENT TO PRINCIPAL INCARCERATIONS

ADJUSTMENT FACTORS	CAREER PERIOD					
	PRINCIPAL JUVENILE INCARCERATION		PRINCIPAL YOUNG ADULT INCARCERATION		PRINCIPAL ADULT (CURRENT) INCARCERATION	
DIFFICULTY IN ADJUSTING TO INSTITUTION	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
A lot	37	(41.1)	61	(29.2)	41	(19.7)
Some	15	(16.7)	37	(17.7)	24	(11.5)
None	38	(42.2)	111	(53.1)	143	(68.8)
Not reported	1		40		41	
TOTAL REPORTED	90	(100.0)	209	(100.0)	208	(100.0)
REASONS FOR ADJUSTMENT DIFFICULTY	N	(% of 52)	N	(% of 98)	N	(% of 65)
Behaviour/attitude	34	(65.4)	36	(36.7)	19	(29.2)
Guards/staff	9	(17.3)	33	(33.7)	27	(41.5)
Other inmates	7	(13.5)	37	(37.8)	23	(35.4)
REASONS FOR TAKING PART IN INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAMMES	N	(% of 88)	N	(% of 185)	N	(% of 178)
It was required	49	(55.7)	47	(25.4)	33	(18.5)
Sincerely hoped to benefit	32	(36.4)	109	(58.9)	119	(66.9)
Fake participation, go along with it, pass the time	15	(17.0)	63	(34.1)	63	(35.4)
It would help release	5	(5.7)	22	(11.9)	23	(12.9)
For money	5	(5.7)	16	(8.6)	20	(11.2)

TABLE C-2

COMMUNITY SUPERVISION AND SCHOOL/WORK PLANS AFTER RELEASE FROM PRINCIPAL INCARCERATIONS

FACTOR	AFTER RELEASE FROM:					
	PRINCIPAL JUVENILE INCARCERATION		PRINCIPAL YOUNG ADULT INCARCERATION		PRINCIPAL ADULT (CURRENT) INCARCERATION	
SUPERVISED BY PPO/PACO AFTER RELEASE	N	(% of 89)	N	(% of 209)	N	(%)
Very closely	16	(18.0)	40	(19.1)		N/A
Somewhat closely	16	(18.0)	35	(16.7)		N/A
Not at all/ rarely saw	39	(43.8)	70	(33.5)		N/A
Didn't have one	18	(20.2)	64	(30.6)		N/A
Not reported	2		40			N/A
SCHOOL/WORK INVOLVEMENT OR EXPECTED INVOLVEMENT AFTER RELEASE	N	(% of 88)	N	(% of 209)	N	(% of 171)
Return(ed) to school	55	(62.5)	19	(9.1)	29	(16.9)
Find/found work (& school)	19	(21.6)	120	(57.4)	136	(79.1)
Do/did nothing	14	(15.9)	70	(33.5)	7	(4.1)
Not reported	3		40		78	

TABLE C - 3

CRIME EXPECTATIONS AFTER
RELEASE FROM PRINCIPAL INCARCERATIONS

CRIME EXPECTATION FACTORS	AFTER RELEASE FROM:					
	PRINCIPAL JUVENILE INCARCERATION		PRINCIPAL YOUNG ADULT INCARCERATION		PRINCIPAL ADULT (CURRENT) INCARCERATION	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
HOW SOON EXPECT(ED) TO RETURN TO CRIME						
Not for long time	1	(3.1)	3	(3.9)	2	(11.8)
Fairly soon	8	(25.0)	24	(31.2)	2	(11.8)
Immediately	11	(34.4)	28	(36.4)	4	(23.5)
Not sure, just expected to	12	(37.5)	22	(28.6)	9	(52.9)
Not reported	1		2			
TOTAL REPORTED	32	(100.0)	77	(100.0)	17	(100.0)
REASON EXPECT(ED) TO RETURN TO CRIME						
Expect to, cannot cope	8	(25.8)	18	(23.4)	5	(29.4)
Excitement, wanted to, did not change	8	(25.8)	22	(28.6)	2	(11.8)
Needed money	6	(19.4)	14	(18.2)	3	(17.6)
Way of life, on the run	5	(16.1)	15	(19.5)	6	(35.3)
Influence of friends/peers	4	(12.9)	8	(10.4)	1	(5.9)
Not reported	2		2		-	
TOTAL REPORTED	31	(100.0)	77	(100.0)	17	(100.0)
REASON EXPECT(ED) TO NOT RETURN TO CRIME						
Wanted to go straight, to not go back	37	(80.4)	94	(79.0)	104	(62.7)
Was not a criminal, had learned lesson, was in long enough	5	(10.9)	6	(5.0)	28	(16.9)
Made positive changes (work, school, lifestyle)	4	(8.7)	19	(16.0)	34	(20.5)
Not reported	5		4		-	
TOTAL REPORTED	46	(100.0)	119	(100.0)	166	(100.0)

TABLE C-4

RE-INVOLVEMENT IN CRIME AFTER
RELEASE FROM PRINCIPAL INCARCERATIONS

RE-INVOLVEMENT IN CRIME FACTORS	AFTER RELEASE FROM:			
	PRINCIPAL JUVENILE INCARCERATION		PRINCIPAL YOUNG ADULT INCARCERATION	
	N	(% of 86)	N	(% of 207)
TIME FROM RELEASE TO RETURN TO CRIME				
Same day	12	(14.0)	34	(16.4)
Within 2 weeks	14	(16.3)	29	(14.0)
In 3 weeks to 2 months	16	(18.6)	45	(21.7)
In 3 months to 6 months	22	(25.6)	45	(21.7)
Over 6 months	22	(25.6)	54	(26.1)
Not reported	5		42	
TIME FROM RELEASE TO FIRST ARREST				
Same day	1	(1.2)	3	(1.4)
Within 2 weeks	6	(7.0)	13	(6.3)
In 3 weeks to 2 months	13	(15.1)	44	(21.3)
In 3 months to 6 months	24	(27.9)	60	(29.0)
Over 6 months	42	(48.8)	87	(42.0)
Not reported	5		42	
TIME FROM CRIME TO FIRST ARREST				
No time difference	39	(46.4)	86	(41.5)
Within 2 weeks	5	(6.0)	15	(7.2)
In 3 weeks to 2 months	11	(13.1)	41	(19.8)
In 3 months to 6 months	17	(20.2)	35	(16.9)
Over 6 months	12	(14.3)	30	(14.5)
Not reported	7		42	

D. CRIMINAL SOPHISTICATION

SECTION SUMMARY

The offender's criminal sophistication was determined by his ability to plan his criminal activities and to execute them. The hypothesis is that offenders who more carefully plan and execute their criminal activities, will be better able to avoid later detection and apprehension. In contrast, offenders who respond to a given situation impulsively and commit a crime without due consideration to planning and execution, will be more readily apprehended and prosecuted for that indiscretion. Planning and execution skills, however, are enmeshed in such factors as formation of partnerships, range of criminal activity, preferences for offence types and, ultimately, avoidance of arrest.

The data indicated that these subjects had not achieved very sophisticated planning or execution skills. The level of planning sophistication achieved by them had escalated from none or a low level as juveniles to a medium plateau as young adults and currently as adults. A comparison of the more impulsive offenders and the planners revealed that the planners tended to have begun their involvement in illegal activities much earlier in life, to have been motivated by a desire for money, to be gradually becoming more successfully involved in a criminal way of life and to have demonstrated a more violent nature.

Preferred planning strategies of the offenders altered over the three criminal career periods, away from an emphasis on general information-gathering to escape strategies. Overall, medium/high level planners tended to commit potentially high profit-making offences and to engage in criminal behaviour in areas further removed from their home area, as they became older.

A major discrepancy between self-reported and official data became evident over the issue of aliases. Twenty-three percent more of the interviewees said they had an alias than actually had one documented on official files.

While undetected crime was extensive, offenders' general unsophistication in planning and execution was clear. Most recidivists openly reported being involved in illegal activities for which they had never been apprehended. Half the cases, though, attributed their non-detection to sheer luck and between 45 and 60 percent said that, when apprehended for their principal incarceration offences, it had occurred within a day of committing them. Increasingly, respondents said they had been apprehended at, or leaving the scene of the crime, or through apprehension for some other matter.

1. PLANNING SKILL

Exactly 60.3% of the interviewees (120) reported that they had ever planned their crimes before committing them. The remaining 39.7% (79) said they had never planned their criminal activities.

a. Planning Procedures

Interviewees were confronted with nineteen methods by which they might prepare themselves for the committal of a criminal offence and, ultimately, avoid apprehension. They were asked to indicate whether they had ever actually used the plan or simply thought about using it, and during which career periods this had occurred. The planning procedure list was adapted from the RAND study²⁵, but was expanded to include six additional steps. The steps were ranked in order of the most to least practiced procedure. Each of the steps was weighted somewhat arbitrarily, according to its relative complexity: items a,b,c,d,g,h,j,k,l,m,o,p and s were weighted "1"; items e,f,i,n,q and r were weighted "2". Levels of planning sophistication and sophistication in thinking were determined for each individual, overall and during each of his career periods.

The planning and thinking sophistication levels of the sample had a score which ranged from zero to 24 and zero to 25, respectively. Scores of one to eight were interpreted as indicating a low level of sophistication, nine to 17, a medium level and 18 to 25, a high level. A zero score indicated that the individual had not used any of the planning measures listed. The resultant mean planning and thinking sophistication scores for this sample overall, as well as the breakdown in sophistication levels, during each of the criminal careers are shown in Table D-1. An analysis of variance was performed on the sophistication scores at both the planning and thinking stages. In both cases, it was determined that there was significant change among scores in the three career periods. It is apparent from the means, also, that there was an increasing tendency for the recidivists to plan and think about planning their crime and to even acquire some moderate level of sophistication in their planning skills as they matured.

Overall, the sample had a mean level of sophistication of 13.0 among those who had actually planned their crimes. The most commonly practiced planning procedures involved basic groundwork or information-gathering; for example, most had found a good hiding place for objects (Table D-2). The least commonly practiced plan was related to the offender's ultimate escape; very few offenders ever rehearsed their crimes before committing them. The thinking patterns were somewhat different, however, from their actual planning. The most commonly considered plan involved the selection of a potential location to rob. Similar to their actual behaviour, though, the recidivists rarely ever thought about rehearsing their crimes.

²⁵ Petersilia, *et al* (1977).

As juveniles, the recidivists did not, as a rule, plan their criminal activities. The mean level of planning sophistication was a very low score of 5.0. The strategy most commonly explored by the juveniles was simple in talking about committing offences with other people. The juveniles, by far, were least interested in rehearsing their crimes beforehand.

There was, however, almost a doubling in the mean level of planning sophistication score from the juvenile to the young adult career period. It would seem that any sophistication in planning crimes, occurred at this onset of adulthood. The mean score of the young adult period was a modest 9.6 among those who actually planned as young adults. During this career period, the population reported talking about committing offences with others, but most often thought about reading up on the subject.

There was little change in sophistication from the young adult to the adult period. The mean level achieved by those who planned as adults had increased slightly to a medium level of 11.0. The sample had acquired some sophistication by this time, since they were far more involved in preparing escape procedures, than in general information-gathering. Almost ninety percent of those who had ever rehearsed their crimes, did so in their adult career. Over eighty percent of those who ever thought about committing a different type of crime, thought about it while an adult.

There was a remarkable discrepancy between the offenders' claims regarding the use of an alias and official records²⁶. Overall, 62.9% of the sample said they had made up an alias or another name. Compare this to the 39.6% (98) who had an alias documented in their Ministry file. This discrepancy, however, may be accounted for in the difference between preparing an alias and actually using one. Still, there is the possibility that some of these alternate identities have not yet been determined by officials.

b. The Impulsives And The Planners

When the offenders were divided into two groups, on the basis of their overall level of criminal sophistication, and compared on their self-reported histories, several significant distinctions were discovered (Table D-3). The reader must note, however, that this sample division was based on a simple criminal sophistication index.

The smaller of the two resultant groups was comprised of the recidivists with no or low planning skills, who can be described as impulsive, non-planners (68, 32.5%). In comparison, were the somewhat more sophisticated planners, with medium or high planning skills (141, 67.5%).

²⁶ It may be worthy of note here that this Ministry records an alias only if the offender is admitted to this system under more than one name. Police records are far more efficient in documenting alternate identities of offenders.

Two factors in the family background of the sample separated the planners from the impulsives. Far more of the planners had moved from their parental home while under 16 years of age. In addition, among those with a spouse at the time of the interview, over twice as many of the planners had spouses who had had a criminal conviction. Indicators of the offenders' early criminal development suggested that the planners had begun their criminal career earlier than the non-planners. They had more often been admitted to training school at a young age and had more often been on probation while under sixteen.

Money was apparently the major incentive to crime among the planners. Regardless of career period, twice as many planners as impulsives said they had been involved in illegal activities for money for alcohol and/or drugs. Planners were also more often involved in crimes, as juveniles and as young adults, in anger or for revenge and, as young adults, for money for rent or food.

Post-institutional expectations of the two groups regarding return to crime were most revealing: planners were seemingly becoming more involved in a criminal way of life. Three times as many planners said they had expected to return to crime after release from their principal young adult incarceration and six times as many after their current adult release. The time between institutional release and the committal of a crime and between release and first arrest was only significantly different between the two groups after the principal young adult incarceration. The planners had re-involved themselves in crime more quickly after release and had also been more quickly arrested for an offence. The planners had, however, improved their planning skills somewhat by the time of their current adult incarceration. They reported a significantly longer period of time between the committal of their most recent incarcerating offence and their arrest for it, than was reported by the impulsive group.

Overall, far more of the planners reported that they had been involved in serious illegal activities for which they could have been convicted if caught, but were never caught.

The planners were more prone to violent behaviour than their impulsive cohort. This situation is in direct conflict with Erez's (1980) theory of crime planning, where the unplanned offenders were more often violent. Clearly, however, more of these planners had used weapons in their fights, had used them in their crimes, had themselves been injured in fights and had injured other parties.

c. Planning Skill And Offence Preferences

An attempt was made to establish whether recidivists with different planning abilities preferred different offence types and whether they had offence preferences during different career periods. The proportions of the two planning sophistication groups involved in various common offence types are given in Table D-4. As seen, significantly more of the planners, overall, had committed thefts over \$200,

had robbed, had shop-lifted, had committed forgery/fraud or had sold drugs. Involvement in specific offence types during a career period and the offender's overall planning ability were related in only a few instances. Significantly more planners:

- committed break, enter and thefts as young adults (66.0% vs. 42.6%);
- sold drugs during each of the criminal career periods (17.7% vs. 2.9% as juveniles; 36.9% vs. 16.2% as young adults; 49.6% vs. 20.6% as adults);
- committed thefts over \$200 and forgeries/frauds while adults (50.4% vs. 33.8% and 39.7% vs. 16.2%).

2. EXECUTION SKILL

a. Formation Of Partnerships

Half of the recidivists were lone offenders as juveniles, that is, had committed the offence which admitted them to training school, by themselves (Table D-5). The remainder committed the offence with at least one partner or friend. There was a greater tendency for the recidivists to have committed the offence resulting in their first adult incarceration with at least one partner or friend. As during their juvenile career, adults had, in half the cases, committed their incarcerating offence alone. This was, however, a significant change over their tendency of taking in at least one partner or friend during their young adult career, to working alone again as an adult.

Over half of the recidivists who said they had ever planned their activities (73, 57.5%), usually planned them with at least one other person (54, 42.5% were lone planners). In addition, 84.7% (61) of those who planned with others, also committed the offence with those people. Eleven recidivists (15.3%) chose new partners to commit the offence. Contrary to expectation, the recidivist's planning sophistication level was not found to be significantly related to his formation of criminal partnerships.

b. Circumstances Surrounding Arrests

The recidivists were asked how soon after committing their principal career offences they had been arrested for them and how they had been apprehended (Table D-5). It would be expected that as the recidivists became more experienced in their criminal careers, the length of time to apprehension would become longer and the method by which they had been arrested would become more sophisticated. These suppositions were not borne out by these data.

The recidivists had been arrested for their principal juvenile offences almost immediately. Half of the training school group had been arrested for offences within a day of committing them. The way in which they had been caught for their offence was described and the most frequently mentioned explanation was that they had been informed on (eg., by parents, friends).

Similar to the training school graduates, the recidivists, as young adults, had been arrested for their principal offences soon after committing them. Forty-five percent had been apprehended within a day of the offence and sixty percent, within a week. In comparison to the juveniles, there was increased likelihood that the young adult offenders had had a partner, but a decreased chance that they had been informed on. While almost half of the recidivists said they had been informed on as juveniles, only 29.5% had been, as young adults. There was, however, a marginal increase in the proportion apprehended through an arrest or stop for some other reason.

The dispatch with which the recidivists had been arrested for their most recent adult incarceration increased significantly over the young adult career period. Far more recidivists had been arrested within a day of committing the offence, during their adult career than during their young adult career (61% vs. 45%, respectively). The manner of their apprehension for their current incarceration offences was significantly different from that during their juvenile career. Far more of the adult recidivists had been arrested at or leaving the scene of the crime or because they had been apprehended or stopped for some other incident.

The recidivists' explanations regarding how they had been caught for their principal career offences was not related to whether they were impulsive or planners with any statistical significance.

c. Avoidance Of Arrest

The recidivists were probed for information regarding their ability to avoid detection by the law for their illegal activities. Specifically, they were asked if they had ever been involved in any very minor and any serious illegal activities for which they could have been charged if caught, but were never caught. The amount of undetected crime was phenomenal. Nine in ten inmates (186, 89.9%) said they had avoided detection for minor illegal activities and eight in ten (160, 78.4%) for serious illegal activities. The extent of these activities, however, are not known.

Inmates were asked why they thought they had never been arrested for these illegal activities (Table D-6). Overall, their responses indicated that their non-detection could best be attributed to sheer luck. Approximately a third indicated that their non-detection was in some way attributable to their skill, knowledge or modus operandi. These explanations, however, were not found to be related to offenders' planning sophistication levels.

Recidivists' criminal activities were examined in terms of their ever having committed certain offences and of ever having been convicted of them. In Figure D-1, the proportions of the sample in these respective categories are shown. The proportion of offenders convicted of certain criminal offences was significantly less than the proportion who had committed them.

Several offence types had relatively high non-conviction rates, that is, had numerous individuals reporting committals but not convictions. However, this is most likely a function of offenders' degree of criminal activity; increased exposure to a type of offence will increase the likelihood of apprehension for that offence (for example, compare break, enter and theft and robbery).

d. Geographical Range Of Criminal Activity

The recidivists' juvenile offences were reported to be limited to within the Province, and especially within their own neighborhoods (Table D-7). Only one quarter of the recidivists said their juvenile criminality had ranged to nearby cities and beyond.

While they were between the ages of 16 and 18 years old, the recidivists committed their offences in a broader area, than as juveniles. Significantly fewer young adults had committed most of their crimes in their own neighbourhoods and more, in locations other than their own home city.

Adults had not committed their offences any more broadly than they had while young adults. They had, however, committed them significantly less often in their own neighbourhood than they had while juveniles.

A scan of the offenders' R.C.M.P. criminal record revealed that recidivists had, in fact, accumulated most of their charges and convictions within Ontario and many, in one city only:

- 64 (26.2%) had their charges or convictions limited to one city only;
- 152 (62.3%) had them in more than one city, but in the Province;
- 28 (11.5%) had them outside of Ontario as well;
- 5 cases had no R.C.M.P. report available.

It was determined, also, that the offender's planning sophistication was related to the range of their criminal activity, during their career periods. There was an increasing tendency for those with greater planning sophistication, the planners, to have broadened their criminal involvement to areas more removed from their home area, as they became older (Table D-8). This pattern, however, seemed to have been established during their young adult criminal career.

FIGURE D - 1

CRIMINAL ACTIVITY IN SELECTED OFFENCE TYPES

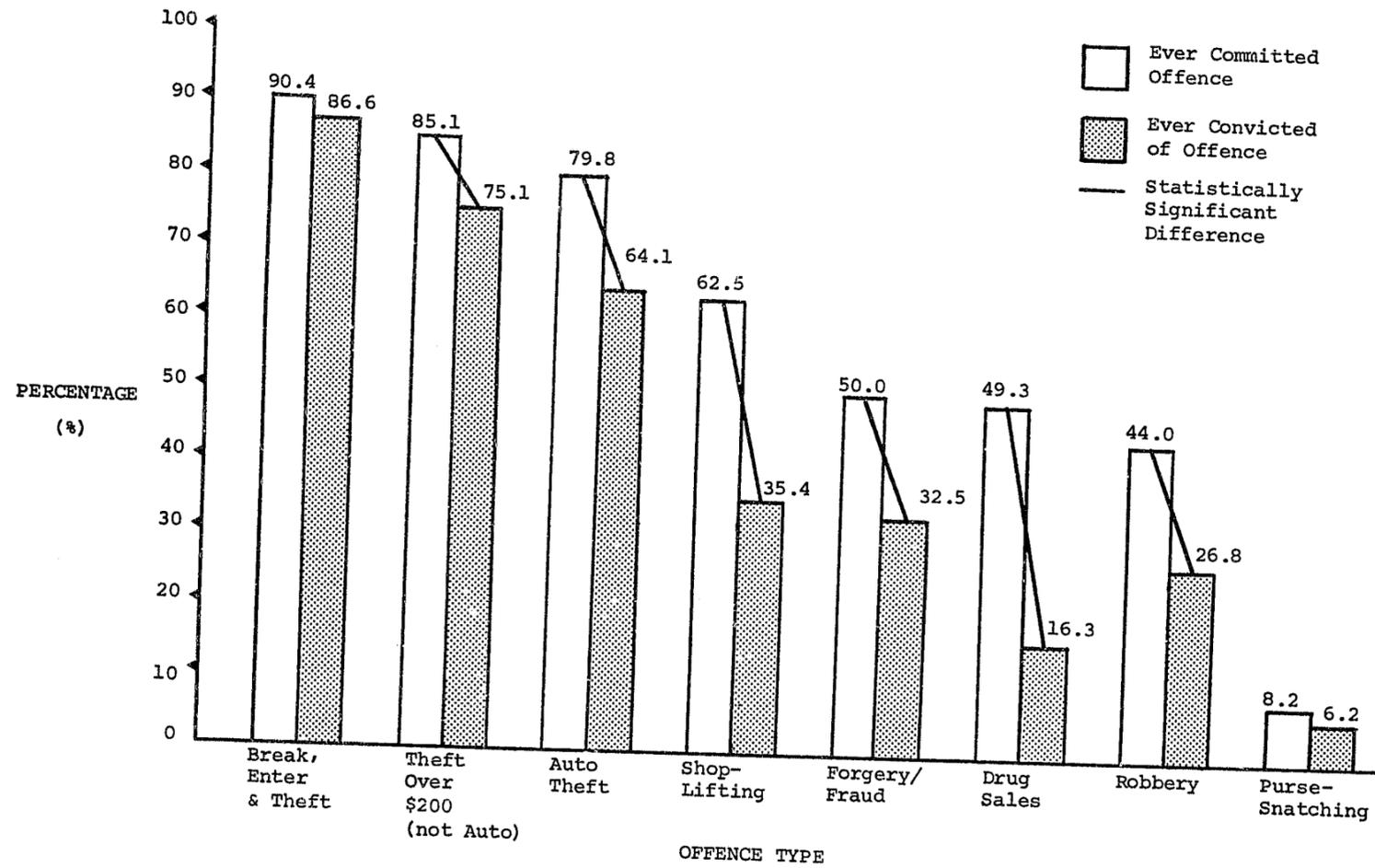


TABLE D-1

LEVEL OF PLANNING SOPHISTICATION AND SOPHISTICATION IN THINKING
OVER CAREER PERIODS

LEVEL OF SOPHISTICATION IN: PLANNING* (score range)	CAREER PERIOD			
	OVERALL N (% of 209)	JUVENILE N (% of 209)	YOUNG ADULT N (% of 209)	ADULT N (% of 209)
None (0)	15 (7.2)	90 (43.1)	46 (22.0)	33 (15.8)
Low (1- 8)	53 (25.4)	95 (45.4)	78 (37.3)	67 (32.1)
Medium (9-17)	85 (40.7)	18 (8.6)	66 (31.6)	75 (35.9)
High (18-24)	56 (26.8)	6 (2.9)	19 (9.1)	34 (16.3)
MEAN	13.0	5.4	9.6	11.0
THINKING** (score range)				
None (0)	21 (10.0)	107 (51.2)	58 (27.8)	49 (23.4)
Low (1- 8)	60 (28.7)	82 (39.2)	88 (42.1)	72 (34.4)
Medium (9-17)	72 (34.4)	15 (7.2)	44 (21.1)	56 (26.8)
High (18-25)	56 (26.8)	5 (2.4)	19 (9.1)	32 (15.3)
MEAN	12.7	5.0	8.2	10.4

* F=93.1, p<.01.

** F=80.5, p<.01.

TABLE D - 2

PLANNING STRATEGIES PLANNED AND CONSIDERED OVER CAREER PERIODS

	CAREER PERIOD															
	OVERALL				JUVENILE				YOUNG ADULT				ADULT			
	ACTUALLY PLANNED Rank %*	CONSIDERED Rank %	ACTUALLY PLANNED Rank %	CONSIDERED Rank %												
a. Find good place to hide objects in advance. (1)**	1 70.7	3 54.6	3 30.3	5 25.0	5 66.9	13 50.9	4 81.4	4 75.9								
b. Find out where things are kept at a location. (1)	2 64.9	7 52.5	11 23.3	9 21.7	6 66.9	5 58.5	8 78.2	6 74.5								
c. Plan what you would say/do if you got caught. (1)	3 64.4	6 52.7	2 34.8	4 25.9	2 72.0	2 60.2	9 78.0	9 71.3								
d. Talk about committing crimes with other people. (1)	4 63.9	13 46.8	1 44.3	1 34.4	1 73.3	3 59.4	12 76.3	8 72.9								
e. Find out about police patrols in the area. (2)	5 63.4	8 52.2	12 22.3	7 22.4	4 67.7	4 58.9	6 79.2	13 68.2								
f. Make up an alias or another name. (2)	6 62.9	5 52.9	10 24.8	8 22.2	16 53.5	19 41.7	15 71.3	12 69.4								
g. Plan an escape route. (1)	7 57.8	11 50.0	9 25.4	12 18.6	11 60.2	10 52.0	10 78.0	7 73.5								
h. Pick out possible location to rob. (1)	8 57.6	1 60.8	6 27.1	3 26.6	12 58.5	15 46.8	18 66.9	19 54.0								
i. Arrange an alibi or cover-story in advance. (2)	9 57.6	2 57.8	7 26.3	6 24.6	7 66.1	11 51.7	3 82.2	3 76.3								
j. Set up contacts such as fences or dealers before crime. (1)	10 56.1	14 46.6	8 26.1	16 16.8	10 60.9	9 52.6	2 82.6	10 70.5								

TABLE D - 2 CONTINUED

k. Find out about burglar alarm or camera. (1)	11	55.6	10	50.2	15	19.3	10	19.4	8	64.0	6	57.3	7	78.9	11	69.9
l. Visit location many times first. (1)	12	51.2	9	50.2	13	20.0	17	16.7	15	54.3	12	51.0	14	75.2	17	61.8
m. Stake out location. (1)	13	49.8	4	54.1	14	19.6	18	16.2	18	43.1	17	45.0	13	75.5	18	59.4
n. Switch license plates on a car. (2)	14	49.0	16	43.6	4	30.0	11	19.1	9	62.0	8	52.8	17	67.0	16	64.0
o. Find out how much money is in the place at different times. (1)	15	47.5	12	49.0	17	15.5	15	18.0	14	55.7	14	50.0	5	81.4	2	77.0
p. Read books about how different crimes are committed. (1)	16	38.0	18	30.4	5	28.2	2	29.0	3	69.2	1	64.5	11	76.9	15	64.5
q. Get a mask or disguise. (2)	17	28.3	17	37.1	16	17.2	14	18.4	17	48.3	16	46.1	16	67.2	14	65.8
r. Rehearse a crime before committing it. (2)	18	16.2	19	20.0	18	15.2	19	9.8	13	57.6	18	43.9	1	87.9	5	75.6
s. Think about committing a different type of crime. (1)	N/A	N/A	15	44.9	N/A	N/A	13	18.5	N/A	N/A	7	55.4	N/A	N/A	1	83.7

* Percentage of those who responded.

** Indicates the weight, either "1" or "2", of the planning procedure.

TABLE D - 3

SELECTED VARIABLES BY PLANNING SOPHISTICATION GROUPS

SELECTED VARIABLES	GROUPS				
	IMPULSIVES		PLANNERS		z, p; x ² ,df,p
	N	(%)	N	(%)	
AGE LEFT PARENTAL HOME (yrs.)	(N=55)		(N=122)		
Under 16	24	(43.6)	74	(60.7)	x ² =6.092
16 - 18	20	(36.4)	37	(30.3)	df=2
Over 18	11	(20.0)	11	(9.0)	p<.05
SPOUSE HAD CONVICTIONS	7/45	(15.6)	35/84	(41.7)	z=3.016 p<.01
AGE WHEN FIRST ADMITTED TO T.S. (yrs.)	(N=27)		(N=64)		
6 - 12	10	(37.0)	22	(34.4)	x ² =6.589
13 - 14	6	(22.2)	30	(46.9)	df=2
15+	11	(40.7)	12	(18.8)	p=.037
WAS ON PROBATION WHILE UNDER 16 YEARS OLD	26/66	(39.4)	78/138	(56.5)	z=2.289 p<.05
REASONS FOR CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES AS JUVENILE					
In anger/for revenge	11/68	(16.2)	43/141	(30.5)	z=2.216 p<.05
For money for alcohol/drugs	14/68	(20.6)	58/141	(41.1)	z=2.929 p<.01
REASONS FOR CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES AS YOUNG ADULT					
In anger/for revenge	7/68	(10.3)	43/141	(30.5)	z=3.207 p<.01
For money for alcohol/drugs	18/68	(26.5)	73/141	(51.8)	z=3.457 p<.01
For money for rent/food	11/68	(16.2)	54/141	(38.3)	z=3.237 p<.01
REASONS FOR CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES AS ADULT					
For money for alcohol/drugs	13/68	(19.1)	55/141	(39.0)	z=2.875 p<.01
EXPECTED CRIME AFTER RELEASE FROM PRINCIPAL YOUNG ADULT INCARCERATION	9/65	(13.8)	70/137	(51.1)	z=5.068 p<.01

TABLE D - 3 CONTINUED

SELECTED VARIABLES BY PLANNING SOPHISTICATION GROUPS

EXPECT CRIME AFTER RELEASE FROM CURRENT ADULT INCARCERATION	1/63 (1.6)	15/119 (12.6)	z=2.497 p<.02
TIME FROM RELEASE FROM PRINCIPAL YOUNG ADULT INCARCERATION TO CRIME	(N=66)	(N=141)	x ² =8.860 df=2
2 wks. or less	13 (19.7)	50 (35.5)	
3 wks. to 6 mos.	28 (42.4)	62 (44.0)	
Over 6 mos.	25 (37.9)	29 (20.6)	p<.02
TIME FROM RELEASE FROM PRINCIPAL YOUNG ADULT INCARCERATION TO ARREST	(N=66)	(N=141)	x ² =6.059 df=2
2 wks. or less	7 (10.6)	9 (6.4)	
3 wks. to 6 mos.	25 (37.9)	79 (56.0)	
Over 6 mos.	34 (51.5)	53 (37.6)	p<.05
HOW SOON ARRESTED FOR OFFENCE LEADING TO PRINCIPAL ADULT INCARCERATION	(N=67)	(N=138)	x ² =7.332 df=2
Within 1 day	50 (74.6)	76 (55.1)	
In 1 wk. to 1 mo.	8 (11.9)	27 (19.6)	
Over 1 mo.	9 (13.4)	35 (25.4)	p<.05
INVOLVED IN SERIOUS ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES	42/67 (62.7)	118/137 (86.1)	z=3.824 p<.01
USED WEAPON IN FIGHTS	(N=58)	(N=121)	x ² =10.314 df=1
Always/occasionally	17 (29.3)	68 (56.2)	
Never	41 (70.7)	53 (43.8)	p<.01
INMATE INJURED IN FIGHTS	23/58 (39.7)	81/121 (66.9)	z=3.463 p<.01
OTHER PARTY INJURED IN FIGHTS	33/57 (57.9)	101/121 (83.5)	z=3.691 p<.01
USED WEAPON IN CRIMES	14/68 (20.6)	68/141 (48.2)	z=3.834 p<.01

TABLE D-4

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELECTED OFFENCES
AND
PLANNING SOPHISTICATION GROUPS

OVERALL LEVEL OF PLANNING SOPHISTICATION GROUPS

TYPE OF OFFENCE COMMITTED	IMPULSIVES		PLANNERS		χ ² , p.
	N	(% of 68)	N (% of 141)		
Ever commit AUTO THEFT	51	(75.0)	116	(82.3)	n.s.
Never	17	(25.0)	25	(17.7)	
Ever commit PURSE-SNATCH	4	(5.9)	15	(10.6)	n.s.
Never	64	(94.1)	126	(89.4)	
Ever commit THEFT OVER \$200	49	(72.1)	129	(91.5)	χ ² =12.216
Never	19	(27.9)	12	(8.5)	p<.01
Ever commit BREAK, ENTER, THEFT	58	(85.3)	131	(92.9)	n.s.
Never	10	(14.7)	10	(7.1)	
Ever commit ROBBERY	19	(27.9)	69	(48.9)	χ ² =23.934
Never	49	(72.1)	72	(51.1)	p<.01
Ever commit SHOP-LIFTING	35	(51.5)	94	(66.7)	χ ² =3.864
Never	33	(48.5)	47	(33.3)	p<.05
Ever commit FORGERY/FRAUD	26	(38.2)	79	(56.0)	χ ² =5.120
Never	42	(61.8)	62	(44.0)	p<.05
Ever SELL DRUGS	20	(29.4)	83	(58.9)	χ ² =14.766
Never	48	(70.6)	58	(41.1)	p<.01

TABLE D-5

CRIMINAL PARTNERSHIPS AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF
ARREST AT PRINCIPAL INCARCERATIONS

FACTOR	CAREER INCARCERATION					
	PRINCIPAL JUVENILE INCARCERATION		PRINCIPAL YOUNG ADULT INCARCERATION		PRINCIPAL ADULT (CURRENT) INCARCERATION	
<u>WITH WHOM COMMITTED OFFENCE</u>	N	(% of 74)	N	(% of 208)	N	(% of 202)
Alone	37	(50.0)	75	(36.1)	98	(48.5)
With one partner/ friend	13	(17.6)	65	(31.3)	61	(30.2)
With more than one partner/friend	24	(32.4)	68	(32.7)	43	(21.3)
Not reported	17		41		47	
<u>TIME BETWEEN COMMITTING OFFENCE AND ARREST</u>	N	(% of 67)	N	(% of 206)	N	(% of 205)
On the scene	23	(34.3)	64	(31.1)	102	(49.8)
Within one day	13	(19.4)	29	(14.1)	24	(11.7)
Within one week	10	(14.9)	30	(14.6)	17	(8.3)
In two weeks to one mo.	11	(16.4)	43	(20.9)	18	(8.8)
In one mo. to one year	10	(14.9)	40	(19.4)	44	(21.5)
Not reported	24		43		44	
<u>HOW OFFENDER WAS CAUGHT</u>	N	(% of 74)	N	(% of 207)	N	(% of 208)
At/leaving scene of crime	16	(21.6)	59	(28.5)	85	(40.9)
Arrest/stop for other reason	4	(5.4)	28	(13.5)	34	(16.3)
Informant	34	(45.9)	61	(29.5)	46	(22.1)
Tracked down & arrested by police	20	(27.0)	54	(26.1)	38	(18.3)
Surrendered	-	(-)	5	(2.4)	5	(2.4)
Not reported	17		42		41	

TABLE D-6

REASONS WHY NEVER ARRESTED FOR
ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES

REASONS WHY NEVER ARRESTED	N	%
Lucky	95	54.6
Worked alone, not seen	9	5.2
Skill, planning, sobriety	42	24.1
Just never got caught	17	9.8
No proof, knows the law	11	6.3
Not reported	75	
<u>TOTAL REPORTED</u>	174	100.0

TABLE D-7

GEOGRAPHICAL RANGE OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY
DURING CAREER PERIODS

WHERE CRIMES MOSTLY COMMITTED	CAREER PERIOD					
	JUVENILE		YOUNG ADULT		ADULT	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
In own neighbourhood	96	(48.2)	62	(30.8)	60	(29.1)
In other neighbourhoods	54	(27.1)	69	(34.3)	73	(35.4)
In nearby cities	26	(13.1)	38	(18.9)	38	(18.4)
Within Province and without	23	(11.6)	32	(15.9)	35	(17.0)
Not reported	50		48		43	
<u>TOTAL REPORTED</u>	199	(100.0)	201	(100.0)	206	(100.0)

TABLE D-8
GEOGRAPHICAL RANGE OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY
DURING CAREER PERIODS BY PLANNING SOPHISTICATION GROUPS

WHERE CRIMES MOSTLY COMMITTED	PLANNING SOPHISTICATION GROUPS				χ^2 , df, p.
	IMPULSIVES		PLANNERS		
JUVENILE	N	(% of 63)	N	(% of 136)	
home city	53	(84.1)	97	(71.3)	$\chi^2=3.144$, df=1, p=n.s.
other area	10	(15.9)	39	(28.7)	
YOUNG ADULT	N	(% of 63)	N	(% of 138)	
home city	49	(77.8)	82	(59.4)	$\chi^2=5.639$ df=1, p<.02
other area	14	(22.2)	56	(40.6)	
ADULT	N	(% of 66)	N	(% of 140)	
home city	51	(77.3)	82	(58.6)	$\chi^2=6.064$ df=1, p<.02
other area	15	(22.7)	58	(41.4)	

E. SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS AND MOTIVATION

SECTION SUMMARY

Innumerable factors may have had an influence on the offender's involvement in illegal activities. Specifically, the interview delved into the recidivist's background and family life, motivations for resorting to crime, drug or alcohol use and possible deterrents to criminal involvement.

This sample of offenders had been exposed to fairly negative family conditions in their early years. Half had left their parental home before they had turned 16 and, for most of these, it was a result of their family's disintegration or their own negative behaviour. While three-quarters of the sample said their parents got along fairly or very well, there was a 50/50 chance that they were still together in a marital situation, at the time of the offender's interview. In addition, between 61 and 67 percent of the recidivists reported that they had at least one family member who had had a criminal conviction or who had served a sentence on a conviction in a correctional institution.

The most commonly reported factor contributing to recidivists' involvement in crime was their having been under the influence of alcohol or drugs at the time. Between 60 and 73 percent of the interviewees gave evidence of having been influenced by a substance while involved in illegal activities, during any given career period.

The recidivists would apparently not be easily deterred from their criminality. They felt more threatened by possibly having to hurt someone or by simply getting caught, than by being physically injured themselves, incapacitated or possibly having to serve a 'hard' sentence.

1. FAMILY BACKGROUND

Several interview items focused on the offenders' family situations. At the time of the interview, the reports from the offenders on the marital status of their parents were almost halved between 'united' and 'separated' situations (Table E-1).

They described the relationship between their parents as favourable. Almost half said their parents 'got along' very well (85, 45.0%), 28.6% (54) said their relationship was fair, and 26.5% (50) said their parents did not 'get along' at all. Their own relationships with their families were described similarly: 43.8% (91) said they had a good or close relationship, 28.4% (59) said it was sometimes good/sometimes poor and 14.4% (30) said it was poor or not close. Over a tenth said they had no interest in or contact with their family (28, 13.5%).

When asked if they had ever lived with anyone besides their mother or father, the sample was evenly split. Half said they had lived elsewhere and half reported they had not (105, 50.2% and 104, 49.8% respectively).

The age at which the offender had stopped living at his parents' home ranged from one to 25 years old (Table E-2), with an average age of 14.8 years. In fact, of the 177 who had clearly left the parental home, over half (55%) had left before they turned 16.

The importance of this early upheaval is enhanced when one examines their reasons for leaving the parental home (Table E-3). Inmates who left home while under 16 years old did so because of family disintegration, an admission to training school or jail, trouble with drugs or the law or because they had been removed. On the other hand, those who left while 16 or older, sought independence, freedom from parental and family conflict, work, an education or new living arrangements.

Criminality among family members was considerable. As many as 66.5% (139) of the recidivists reported that a member of their family had been convicted of an offence (other than traffic) and 60.7% (105/173) said that a family member had served a sentence in a correctional institution.

2. MOTIVATION FOR CRIME

In an attempt to understand the motivation behind their criminal activities, the recidivists were asked to indicate which of ten potential situations had generally been a reason for their involvement, during each criminal career period. Their responses are itemized in Figure E-1.

The recidivists, as juveniles, tended towards criminal activities largely for the excitement and thrills they evoked and because they were under the influence of liquor and/or drugs at the time.

There were basic differences in the reasons for illegal behaviour in the young adult period as compared to those of the juvenile career period. The young adult recidivists were significantly less likely to be involved in crime merely for thrills or excitement, because of pressures from their friends, because of problems in the family setting and because of problems with school. Although it was not significant, the young adults, compared to the juveniles, were slightly more likely to be involved in crime to acquire money for drugs or alcohol, or for rent or food, or because they were under the influence of drugs or alcohol at the time.

No one major reason for taking part in illegal activities as adults emerged, although, as during the other career periods, the offenders were often under the influence of drugs or alcohol at the time. There were substantial decreases over the earlier two career periods in the proportion of recidivists as adults citing particular reasons. Significantly fewer adults were involved in crime for thrills or excitement or because of family problems. Compared to juveniles, fewer adult recidivists were under pressure from

friends or had problems at school. In comparison to young adults, fewer adults were involved in crime for money for drugs or alcohol or because they lost a job. There was, however, a significant increase over both earlier periods in adult recidivists involved in crime because of the pressure of heavy debts.

Recidivists were also asked for what reasons they had returned to crime after their release from principal career incarcerations. Their reasons were quite varied, as seen in Table E-4. While no one reason truly predominated among training school graduates, they did mention such influences as their friends/peers, liquor or drugs and the need for money. Reasons for returning to crime after completing their first adult incarceration approximated their reasons as juveniles, with two significant exceptions. The recidivists, as young adults, returned to a criminal life more often out of a need for money and less often because they were influenced by their friends or peers.

3. SUBSTANCE ABUSE

Alcohol use was commonplace among this sample, and tended to have begun at an early age. Only 8.8% (22) of the sample did not drink, according to Ministry records. Most (177, 71.1%) were described as moderate users and 20.1% (50) were intemperate or abusers. The recidivists who did use alcohol said they had begun at an average of 13.9 years old, and 69% of the sample said they had started before they had turned 16 (Table E-5).

Selected variables related to alcohol and/or drug use²⁷ were combined to indicate the extent to which this use influenced the criminal behaviour of recidivists during their career periods. On this basis, it was determined that substance abuse was extensive during all three criminal career periods:

- 59.8% (125) of the recidivists had been influenced by their alcohol/drug use as juveniles;
- 73.2% (153) of the recidivists had been influenced during their young adult career period;
- 67.5% (141) of the adults had been influenced by their alcohol/drug use.

4. DETERRENCE

Recidivists were asked which, among a series of factors, might have deterred them from committing an offence during each of their career periods (Table E-6). Two factors emerged as the major deterrents. Faced with the certainty of being caught or of having to injure someone during the course

²⁷ The abuse indicator was created through a combination of two variables: alcohol/drug-related reasons for getting back into trouble after release from a correctional institution (over all career periods) and alcohol/drug-related reasons for generally becoming involved in illegal activities (over all career periods).

of committing the offence, about 56% of the recidivists said they would have been deterred when they were juveniles, about 58% when young adults and about 63% now, as adults. About 45% said they would have been deterred from committing an offence during each of the three career periods, had they known that the chance of being personally injured was very high. When faced with the certainty of receiving a longer sentence if caught, of possibly receiving harsher treatment in an institution or of being supervised more closely after release, approximately 24% said they would have been deterred as juveniles, approximately one-quarter said it would have deterred them as young adults and about one-third, now, as adults.

FIGURE E - 1

REASONS FOR TAKING PART IN ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES DURING CAREER PERIODS

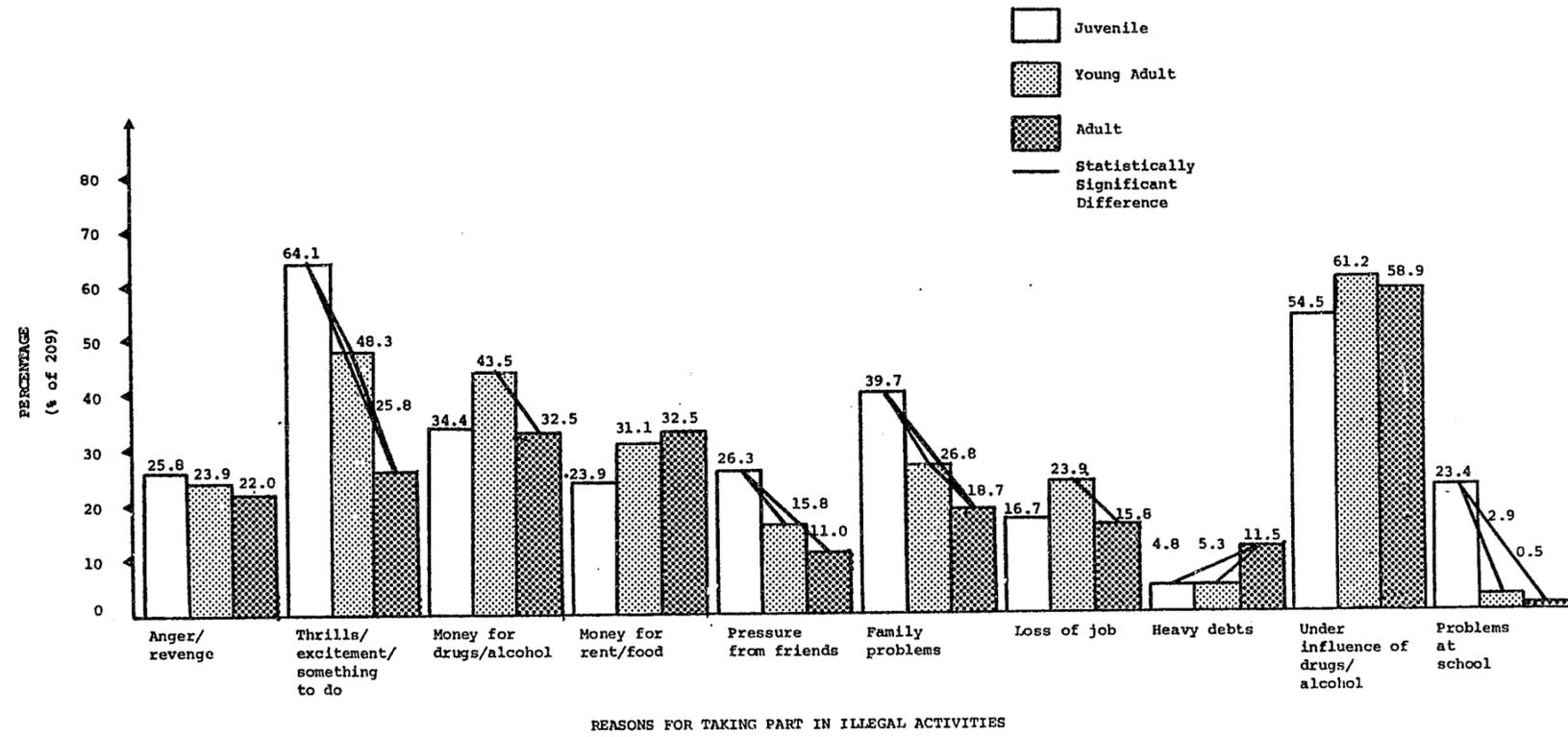


TABLE E-1

MARITAL STATUS OF RECIDIVISTS' PARENTS

MARITAL STATUS OF PARENTS	N	%
Married/common-law	100	47.8
Divorced, separated, widow(er)ed	97	46.4
Both deceased	12	5.7
Not reported	40	
TOTAL REPORTED	209	100.0

TABLE E-2

AGE RECIDIVIST LEFT PARENTAL HOME

AGE LEFT PARENTAL HOME	N	%
1 - 12 years	30	14.4
13 - 15 years	68	32.5
16 - 18 years	57	27.3
19 - 24 years	22	10.5
Still lives there occasionally or permanently	32	15.3
Not reported	40	
TOTAL REPORTED	209	100.0
MEAN AGE		14.8 years

TABLE E-3

AGE LEFT PARENTAL HOME BY REASON FOR LEAVING HOME

REASON FOR LEAVING HOME	AGE LEFT PARENTAL HOME	
	Under 16 N (%)	16 or Over N (%)
Independence, something to do, conflict between parents	28 (29.2)	25 (32.9)
To work, to find work, to go to school, moved	5 (5.2)	15 (19.7)
Conflict with parents, thrown out	20 (20.8)	27 (35.5)
Family break-up (death, separation, illness)	10 (10.4)	3 (4.0)
To training school/jail, trouble with law/drugs	19 (19.8)	6 (7.9)
Removed by CAS, sent to foster home	14 (14.6)	- (-)
TOTAL	96 (100.0)	76 (100.0)

$\chi^2=28.805, df=5, p<.01$

TABLE E-4

REASONS FOR RETURN TO CRIME AFTER RELEASE
FROM PRINCIPAL INCARCERATION

REASONS FOR RETURN TO CRIME	AFTER RELEASE FROM:			
	PRINCIPAL JUVENILE INCARCERATION		PRINCIPAL YOUNG ADULT INCARCERATION	
	N	(%)	N	(%)
Influence of friends/peers	24	(27.3)	26	(12.6)
Needed money, unemployed	16	(18.2)	61	(29.5)
Stupidity, just back into trouble	12	(13.6)	23	(11.1)
Liquor	12	(13.6)	42	(20.3)
Drugs	10	(11.4)	35	(16.9)
Family/personal problems	8	(9.1)	10	(4.8)
Excitement, not supervised	6	(6.8)	10	(4.8)
Not reported	3		42	
TOTAL REPORTED	88	(100.0)	207	(100.0)

TABLE E-5

AGE RECIDIVIST STARTED DRINKING

AGE STARTED DRINKING	N	%
6 - 12 years	54	26.7
13 - 15 years	85	42.1
16 - 18 years	40	19.8
19 - 21 years	7	3.5
Do not drink	16	7.9
Not reported	47	
TOTAL REPORTED	202	100.0
MEAN AGE	13.9 years	

TABLE E-6

FACTORS WHICH WOULD DETER RECIDIVISTS' CRIME
DURING CAREER PERIODS

CRIME DETERRENT FACTORS

CAREER PERIOD	INJURY TO VICTIM N (% of 200)	CERTAINTY OF BEING CAUGHT N (% of 202)	INJURY TO SELF N (% of 201)	CERTAINTY OF LONGER SENTENCE N (% of 199)	HARSHER TREATMENT IN INSTITUTION N (% of 194)	STRICT PACO/PPO SUPERVISION N (% of 192)
Juvenile	113 (56.5)	111 (55.0)	91 (45.3)	43 (21.6)	45 (23.2)	50 (26.0)
Young Adult	119 (59.5)	113 (55.9)	88 (43.8)	49 (24.6)	51 (26.3)	45 (23.4)
Adult	130 (65.0)	122 (60.4)	92 (45.8)	72 (36.2)	62 (32.0)	54 (28.1)
Not at all	70 (35.0)	80 (39.6)	109 (54.2)	127 (63.8)	132 (68.0)	138 (71.9)

F. VIOLENCE

SECTION SUMMARY

Violence among the recidivists was measured in terms of reported fighting behaviour, use of weapons, assault convictions and injury to offence victims. Assault data were corroborated by official records.

Fighting was reported to be a common behaviour, occurring somewhat impulsively over all three criminal career periods, mostly under anxiety-laden circumstances. Weapons were used both for fighting and in the committal of crimes and injuries resulting from fights were substantial. Although the majority said they had never injured a victim during the committal of a crime, half said they were prepared to do so, in self-defence or in order to complete the crime.

Assault convictions largely occurred during the period when fighting was most common. Violence among recidivists, however, appeared to be increasing, since, according to official data, the proportion of violent, person offence convictions had actually become more frequent with successive periods of incarceration.

1. FIGHTING BEHAVIOUR AND VIOLENCE IN CRIME

Fighting was common among this population. Only 13% of the recidivists said they never fought (Table F-1). Just over a third of the sample fought most often while they were juveniles, that is, under 16. There was no relationship between the age the recidivist started drinking and the career period during which he most often fought.

The degree of violence involved in the fighting behaviour was manifested in the use of weapons and the resultant injuries. Almost half of the fighters (85, 47.5%) reported using a weapon either always or occasionally while fighting. The remainder (94, 52.5%) said they never used a weapon. There was not a significant relationship between the use of weapons and the career period during which the recidivist most often fought. The opponents with whom recidivists usually fought were varied (Table F-1). Mentioned most frequently by the fighters, however, were 'total strangers', 'anyone' and friends. These opponents might indicate reactive or impulsive tendencies on the part of the many of the recidivists.

The reasons for fighting largely revolved around anxiety situations. Overall, forty-three percent (76) of the inmates said they fought in anger, revenge, as a result of rivalry or family problems. One quarter (46, 26.1%) said they fought while influenced by liquor or drugs. The remainder said they fought either in defence of themselves or others (25, 14.2%), for no other reason than for excitement (21, 11.9%) or because it was part of their criminal or gang involvement (8, 4.5%).

An examination of the inmates' fighting behaviour and their reasons for fighting was made (Table F-2). Inmates who fought most often as juveniles or young adults did so out of anger, for revenge or as a result of rivalry or family problems. Liquor and drugs seemed to be the predominant reason for getting into fights among those who fought most often as adults.

Injuries resulting from the fighting behaviour were not uncommon, although, according to the inmates, their opponents more often suffered. Over half of the sample (104, 58.1%) said they, themselves, had been injured in their encounters, while three-quarters said their opponents (134, 75.3%) had been injured.

Half the sample also said that they had been convicted of an assault charge and more while adults:

- 13 (6.2%) were convicted of an assault charge while juveniles,
- 44 (21.1%) as young adults,
- 60 (28.7%) as adults, and
- 102 (48.8%) were never convicted of an assault.

This tendency was corroborated by official records. A scan of Ministry files revealed that the proportion of convictions for violent, person offences increased slightly with the number of incarcerations in a Correctional Centre (Table F-3).

A comparison of reported assault convictions and fighting behaviour showed that those who said they had been convicted of an assault during a given career period, had usually fought most often during that period (Table F-4).

As many as four in ten recidivists reported that they had used weapons while committing an offence (82; 127, 60.8% had not). Once again, however, the reader is cautioned regarding these data, since the interpretation of the term "weapon" by offenders may be at variance with any legal definition. A significant relationship between the use of weapons for fighting and for committing crimes is illustrated in Table F-5. Sixty-five percent of the recidivists who used weapons while fighting also used them in their crimes.

During the committal of their crimes, a third of the sample said that they had had victims who had been injured (66, 32.2%). Sixty percent (124) had no victims who were injured and seven percent (15) had no victims at all. Among those who had injured victims, half said they had been injured seriously (35, 53.8%; 29, 44.6% had been injured slightly and 1, 1.5% somewhere in between). The recidivists who had not injured any victims were asked if they would have injured them under certain circumstances. Fifteen (12.1%) agreed that they would have injured someone in order to complete the crime and 59 (47.6%) said they would have in self-defence. Almost half (57, 46.0%) said they would not have injured any victims for any reason.

TABLE F-1

WHEN MOST OFTEN FOUGHT AND WITH WHOM

FOUGHT MOST OFTEN WHEN:	N	(% of 203)
A juvenile	70	(34.5)
A young adult	53	(26.1)
An adult	49	(24.1)
Always fought	5	(2.5)
Never fought	26	(12.8)
Not reported	46	

OPONENTS IN FIGHTS	N	(% of 179)
Strangers	82	(45.8)
No one in particular, anyone	62	(34.6)
Friends	30	(16.8)
Police/correctional staff	15	(8.4)
Family	9	(5.0)
Other inmates	9	(5.0)
Crime partners	6	(3.4)
Enemies	4	(2.2)

TABLE F - 2

REASONS FOR FIGHTING BY WHEN MOST OFTEN FOUGHT

FOUGHT MOST OFTEN WHEN:

REASONS FOR FIGHTING	A Juvenile		A Young Adult		An Adult	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Anger, revenge, rivalry family problems	39	(57.4)	18	(34.6)	16	(32.7)
Liquor/drugs	10	(14.7)	15	(28.8)	20	(40.8)
In defence of other/self	6	(8.8)	9	(17.3)	9	(18.4)
No reason, excitement	8	(11.8)	8	(15.4)	3	(6.1)
Criminal activity, gang	5	(7.4)	2	(3.8)	1	(2.0)
TOTAL	68	(100.0)	52	(100.0)	49	(100.0)

$\chi^2=18.845, df=8, p<.02$

TABLE F - 3

VIOLENT PERSON OFFENCES BY SUCCESSIVE INCARCERATIONS

INCARCERATION >90 DAYS

PROPORTION OF RECIDIVISTS CONVICTED OF AT LEAST ONE CHARGE OF:	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th
	(N= 244) %	(N= 242) %	(N= 210) %	(N= 104) %	(N= 39) %	(N= 10) %	(N= 1) %	(N= 1) %
Assault	11.1	7.4	9.5	10.6	23.1	30.0	-	-
Assault Police	1.2	3.3	3.8	4.8	10.3	-	100.0	-
Attempted murder/ manslaughter	-	0.4	0.5	-	-	-	-	-
Forceable confinement	0.4	-	-	1.0	2.6	-	-	-
Wounding	0.4	-	-	1.0	-	-	100.0	-

TABLE F-4
WHEN MOST OFTEN FOUGHT BY CONVICTION
OF AN ASSAULT
 CONVICTED OF ASSAULT AS:

FOUGHT MOST OFTEN AS:	A Juvenile		A Young Adult		An Adult		Never Convicted of Assault	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
A Juvenile	8	(61.5)	16	(37.2)	17	(29.8)	40	(40.0)
A Young Adult	3	(23.1)	16	(37.2)	18	(31.6)	22	(22.0)
An Adult	2	(15.4)	10	(23.3)	20	(35.1)	26	(26.0)
Never Fought	-	(-)	1	(2.3)	1	(1.8)	9	(9.0)
Always Fought	-	(-)	-	(-)	1	(1.8)	3	(3.0)
TOTAL	13	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	57	(100.0)	100	(100.0)

TABLE F-5
THE USE OF WEAPONS FOR FIGHTING
AND FOR CRIME

USED WEAPONS IN CRIMES

USED WEAPONS IN FIGHTS	Yes		No		Total	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Always/occasionally	55	(64.7)	30	(35.3)	78	(100.0)
Never	23	(24.5)	71	(75.5)	101	(100.0)

$\chi^2=27.78, df=1, p<.01$

IV DISCUSSION

While the author does not wish to deny the obvious limitations of this research endeavour, these findings can be used as a basis for an attitude change. This combination of official and self-reported data may help correctional personnel to be more aware of the overall impact that habitual offenders have on our individual correctional systems. This research attempted to reflect the involvement of chronic offenders in the criminal justice system and in crime, using three major sources. The findings based on data collected from the Metro Toronto Police, the Ministry of Correctional Services and the recidivists themselves have substantiated the nature of chronic offenders. The volume of crime for which these offenders were and were not held responsible was considerable.

This examination of the careers of these select offenders provided substantial insight into their criminal development. Briefly, from about puberty, the criminal involvement of these individuals steadily escalated, to a peak in the young adult phase, at about 16. Major developmental changes occurred around that time and were, in the majority, carried throughout the next few years. By their early 20's, these young men were criminally and system experienced. They did not, however, appear to be on the verge of any "cooling out"²⁸ or developmental decline.

Their juvenile years were fraught with both petty and serious crime, for which they were occasionally, but not usually, held accountable. Family disharmony, peer pressures, school problems, the discovery of alcohol and/or drugs, boredom and the need for money underlay their negative behaviour and criminal tendencies. Court scenes and probation periods became commonplace and training school, a very real threat.

Ultimately, half were sent to a training school and adjustment to that institutional life was difficult. Yet, a substantial proportion were not deterred, and clearly knew they would return to crime after their release.

Any sophistication as a criminal, however, was, as yet, in its infancy. The youngsters committed their offences near to home, their planning was rudimentary, if not non-existent, and they were quickly apprehended through the aid of informants.

With the advent of their sixteenth birthday, however, came a new criminal career phase. The young men were required to leave the shelter of their juvenile status and face Justice as adults. As mentioned already, it was the onset of this phase that set the pace for much of what was to follow.

²⁸ West (1978), p. 185.

Institutional adjustment to an adult facility was problematic, although this seemed to decrease with additional stays. While in the institutions, they focused on work and drug/alcohol programmes. After release, however, they expected to and quickly had returned to crime and old habits.

The young offenders, by this time, were generally quite fearless and not to be deterred from their way of life by either more severe judicial treatment or a longer sentence. Moreover, this attitude never lapsed throughout their entire criminal career.

It was during these teen years that their alcohol and drug use had its greatest influence on their criminal behaviour, as did their persistent need for money. Their planning and thinking skills almost doubled, developmentally, over that of their juvenile phase. The impact this had on their avoidance of arrest was questionable, however, since they subsequently experienced at least nine arrests and about five incarcerations as adults by the time they were 22 years old. On the whole, they had been apprehended more through an arrest or stop by police for some other reasons or at/leaving the scene of their crimes. In comparison to their younger years, they were less likely to commit crimes close to home and began to plan escape tactics more thoroughly.

By definition, this sample of recidivists had been first incarcerated in an adult institution between the ages of 16 and 18 years old. When they were compared to another research sample of first incarcerates²⁹, it became quite evident that this recidivist group had emerged from similar family backgrounds and early criminal involvements (Appendix B). The samples had achieved similar educational levels, had had similar job stability, living situation disruption and parent/parent harmony. Furthermore, they had first been to court at a similarly youthful age and had had comparable training school contact. This recidivist group can, therefore, in many ways, be likened to the young first incarcerates, as they might have been several years down the correctional road.

The young offender incarcerated for the first time in an adult correctional institution, a "school for crime", has theoretically committed a sufficiently serious offence to warrant this treatment. The authorities, however, must not be lulled into the belief that he was an innocent dupe of circumstances, who has been suddenly exposed to an immersion course in criminal training. The young, first incarcerate is not necessarily a first offender. As we have seen, an early adult incarceration may merely be the signal of a long history of both petty and serious juvenile crime, of other grave social disorders and of continued recidivism.

These habituals were repeatedly privy to options and "outs" and received services and privileges perhaps more appropriately extended to less troublesome others.

²⁹ This comparison group was comprised of offenders first incarcerated to the Guelph Correctional Centre in 1970-71, between the ages of 16 and 17 years old; see Madden (1977).

Whether it be a result of this Ministry's policy towards community-based options, or the non-serious nature of their ultimate conviction or the well-adjusted, "model inmate" stance typically assumed by these recidivists, these felons are repeatedly allowed to remain in, or be returned to, a community setting. The combination of such factors as pre-trial release, short sentences and probation and parole, therefore, often facilitate the ongoing and persistent criminal involvement of offenders. The community must endure the indiscretions of these nonchalant individuals who cope with day-to-day life by stealing from attended and unattended homes, assaulting innocents, drinking to the point of rashness and robbing children.

Chronic recidivists are costly, both in terms of financial and emotional drains. They, by their nature, are the basis of the "revolving door theory", as they clog our police, judicial and correctional systems. Persistent entrances to and exits from these systems create considerable stress on already burdensome workloads of correctional personnel. Simultaneously, the community is asked to be more tolerant of the criminal element, while the protection of their person and property suffers.

The activities of these chronic offenders can be sketched into a pattern of repeated allowances. Typically, if apprehended for a wrong-doing, the offender is arrested by police, logged into the system and very likely identified as a career criminal in that system. However, on the basis of his current non-serious offence and minimal history of failures to appear, the officials decide that a pre-trial release is appropriate. In the interim, pending the court appearance, the habitual is given the dangerous opportunity to commit further crimes, acquire new charges and receive additional remands. Ultimately, the resultant accumulation of charges are brought before the Court and, through the combination of the plea-bargaining process, the time-lapse and the need to clear official records, the charges are disposed of such that the bulk are dismissed or withdrawn to achieve a single or few minor convictions. The conviction record of a chronic offender, therefore, simply reflects a reduced criminal record.

There did not appear to be a strong association between the sentences received by these recidivists and their prior criminal history. Of course, this issue is a two-fold problem. Either the Judiciary is placing insufficient emphasis on the criminal histories of offenders at the point of disposition, or their source of information, the conviction record, is an inadequate measure of offenders' criminality. Most officials would agree that prior criminal history is a weighty sentence determinant and is one of the best predictors of recidivism. However, if a perusal of an offender's conviction record reveals a relatively superficial involvement in crime, where the true tendency is for habituation (in terms of criminal record), then the sentence determined may not be an adequate reflection of that reality. Moreover, that sentence will not constitute a consequential deterrence to further crime, nor will it incapacitate the persistent

offender for any significant period of time.

Each stint in an institution makes additional stays progressively easier to adjust to. Time is "easier" when the routine is familiar and release is in sight. These chronic offenders did not leave the institution rehabilitated. On the contrary, they left highly "system" experienced and quite prepared to return to established habits. New skills or contacts may have also been acquired through their incarceration and a quick return to the community gave the offenders the opportunity to put into practice this new-found knowledge.

While these offenders appeared to be developing greater sophistication in their criminal activities, to be more quickly returning to a life of crime and to be preferring offences with higher pay-offs, their skills were mediocre and they were not, apparently, more efficient in their chosen field. Witness their frequent arrests and incarcerations! While offenders cannot be held accountable for unproven crime in a court of law, the volume of self-reported crime, the numerous arrests, the quantity of charges brought against them and the street-time spent between incarcerations would indicate that official records only store "the tip of the iceberg" of criminal involvement.

There was little evidence to support the theory that these 22 year-olds were entering a "cooling out period or career decline. In fact, they were seemingly becoming better prepared to avoid detection for their crimes as they became older. Their criminal sophistication seemed to be increasing, their sentences were not becoming longer with each term of incarceration and, in some cases, they were being apprehended for their offence largely by accident. This career continuation is substantiated by the fact that 46% of the persons admitted to Ministry jails or detention centres in 1979/80 were over 24 years old.

It is suggested, in other research as well as this, that recidivists may have a different perception of "crime", "offences" and "weapons". As crime increasingly becomes a way of life, deterrent measures become decreasingly effective. These chronic offenders were angry, volatile and quick to exploit any opportunity for crime. Violence and fighting were commonplace behaviour, occurring with anyone, at any place and for any reason.

The major factor affecting these recidivists' level of success in crime appeared to be their substance abuse. The considerable influence of drugs and/or alcohol, especially on the execution of their crime, had likely impeded the avoidance of their arrest. Drugs and alcohol were, in fact, major contributors to their becoming involved in crime, as well as getting caught. Yet, while they had an increasingly great need for drug/alcohol treatment, they had a decreasing enthusiasm for entering programmes related to it in the institutions. This programme was sought by these recidivists more while they were younger offenders and they did not tend to continue it in their later years. Perhaps a more comprehensive, long-term treatment programme, initiated early in the chronic offender's career and maintained in subsequent incarcerations should be encouraged.

Such a programme must undoubtedly have an impact on the rate of recidivism of these chronic offenders.

This issue of continuity in offender programmes or services from sentence to sentence must be examined more closely. The indiscriminant selection of programmes by offenders or re-entrance to programmes without a long-range purpose, simply to pass away their sentence, does not create a climate conducive to their rehabilitation. Involving these recidivists in meaningful institutional programmes which can be continued from one term of incarceration to the next will likely prove to be more beneficial, from the point of view of both the individual offender and the Ministry as a whole.

While selective incapacitation is a philosophy unpalatable to some modern corrections officials, it is a consideration not without merit. In the frame of this study, it refers to the immobilization of offenders who have a propensity toward crime. It can assume a two-fold, pre-sentence and sentencing, form.

The quick identification, bringing to court and sentencing of the chronic offender will impact the entire justice system. At the crux of the issue of dealing with persistent offenders is the problem of identifying them. The prosecution and the Judiciary must focus on several important distinguishing features.

- Criminal Record - The offender's entire criminal record, that is, his juvenile record as well as his arrest history and conviction record, must be taken into consideration in determining appropriate pre-sentence treatment and sentence. Each factor, by itself, is only a single tile in the offender's criminal mosaic. A juvenile record, while inadmissible to adult court in this jurisdiction prior to a conviction, provides strong evidence of a commitment to crime, and should be retrieved for sentencing purposes.
- Types of Offences - Property-related crimes were the types most commonly committed by these chronic recidivists, during all phases of their careers.
- Substance Abuse - This research found the single most important reason for getting involved in criminal activities to be alcohol or drug use.
- Employment History - An unstable work history has been found to be related to recidivism. (Madden, 1977; Gendreau et al, 1977; Petersilia, 1977).
- Current Probation or Parole Status - Due consideration must be given to offenders who commit offences while on probation or parole. The offender has blatantly faulted while privileged with freedom; detention pending revocation of probation or parole must be seriously contemplated.

- Seriousness of Current Offence - Offence seriousness, while the most significant factor in determining pre-sentence release and in sentencing, must also be considered in the context of the offender's prior criminal history.
- Use of Violence and Weapons - Violence and the use of weapons are strong indicators of social maladjustment and, very likely, of a commitment to criminal activity, as well.

Incapacitation will have its greatest impact on our correctional system if those whose past history and current behaviour attest to their entrenchment in crime are clearly identified and effectively dealt with.

A crucial point in the treatment of the chronic offender, once identified, occurs at the assessment of his appropriateness for pre-sentence release. Taking into account these factors, it is uncertain whether release will be a seriously considered option. Incapacitation of the persistent recidivist, at this pre-sentence stage, will reduce:

- the opportunities for the committal of further crime while on the street;
- the probability of further arrests and police action;
- the possibility of failures to appear in court.

Bringing the persistent offender quickly to court will also ease the burdensome cost, to the public and justice system, of dealing with these individuals, will facilitate the sentencing process through strength of evidence and may help to reduce the remand population.

At the point of sentencing identifiable, chronic recidivists, the Judiciary is asked to consider the seriousness of their recent criminal activity, their commitment to crime as a way of life and their propensity for crime in the future. Such a system will have a deterrent or inhibiting effect on potential offenders. It may not be worth the risk to pursue a criminal career, knowing the consequences that await you if you are apprehended.

In the opinion of Antunes and Hunt, who investigated the impact of certainty and severity of punishment on crime,

... the appropriate criminal justice policy is one which attempts to reduce crime by increasing the probability of apprehension and prosecution. This would have the advantage of not only increasing the level of general deterrence, but might also result in an increased sense of the fairness of punishment and lower rates of recidivism.³⁰

³⁰ Antunes & Hunt (1973), p. 493.

Any sentence will have greater relevance to an individual if it is a reflection of his behaviour. What is undeniably required in the treatment of these offenders is a progressive or graduated sentencing philosophy, whereby chronicity, the number and seriousness of prior offences, is a major determinant in sentencing. This Ministry's Strategic Plan 1981-1982 to 1985-1986 iterates such a philosophy, as well.

Correctional programmes should apply that degree of control necessary to protect society, thus necessitating a continuum of programmes with progressively increasing supervisory and structural controls.³¹

The results, of course, would ultimately be the incapacitation of the persistent recidivist.

Incapacitation has several virtues, the most obvious of which are the debilitating of an habitual offender's future crime and the protection of the community from a costly and, possibly, dangerous career criminal. It will also reduce serious, as well as minor, crime. Robberies, assaults and break, enter and thefts occur frequently; withdrawing offenders responsible for a substantial proportion of these crimes from the environment in which they occur, must reduce the frequency of those offences.

The need for more stringent control over habitual offenders does not conflict with this Ministry's policy of utilizing community-based alternatives. On the contrary, it emphasizes the need for improved assessment of our clientele, to ensure that candidates appropriate for community-based options are provided with those services and that individuals requiring the structure and control of correctional institutions are incarcerated.

Inherent in the progressive sentencing theory is the issuance of longer sentences to chronic offenders, by the Judiciary. In real terms, this places institutional administrators and programme developers in the situation of housing and treating more sentenced offenders, for longer periods of time. This will permit administrators to:

- determine appropriate accommodation through an effective classification system;
- develop meaningful programmes for an inmate population housed for a protracted period of time, that is, programmes such as educational/vocational training, drug/alcohol treatment or social services;
- develop community-based or self-sufficiency work programmes with a relatively stable work force.

³¹ Ontario (1980), p. 5.

This situation would not necessarily alter the character of general inmate population (i.e. more serious offenders, more institutional disturbances), although the impact this would have on institutional counts is at this time not known.

The findings of this study are not bared to support a recommendation that the justice system inflict greater punishment upon our criminals. More importantly, these issues may help us to become more critical of our attitudes towards, and systems for dealing with, chronic recidivists. We must be alerted to the need for more stringent controls over identifiable habituals and for greater discretion in determining appropriate candidates for our community-based options.

With regards to the findings of this research, the following recommendations are respectfully made:

- that the criminal justice agencies be encouraged to cooperate in the identification and prosecution of career criminals;
- that a pre-trial release of chronic offenders be resisted where:
 - 1) the offender has a history of failure to appear, or
 - 2) the offender is on probation or parole at the time of his arrest;
- that the Judiciary and prosecution be encouraged to facilitate the disposal of career criminals by quickly bringing to court and sentencing them;
- that the Judiciary be encouraged to develop guidelines for the sentencing process, whereby a sentence is determined through a progressive or graduated system;
- that the Judiciary be encouraged to place greater emphasis on prior criminal record than on prior conviction record, in the determination of sentence;
- that evidence of a juvenile criminal record be a serious consideration in the determination of sentence and that it be retrieved for this purpose;
- that a plea of guilty or a trial conviction be sought on the offender's most serious charge;
- that the prosecution be encouraged to assess the plea-bargaining process to minimize negotiated case settlements;
- that parole decision-makers take into consideration prior criminal record and career criminal identification when determining eligibility for parole;
- that the Ministry attempt to provide continuity in programmes and services provided offenders in correctional institutions;
- that a research investigation be conducted to:
 - 1) identify "chronic" recidivists in the correctional stream;
 - 2) determine the cost-benefit of a selective incapacitation policy on this Ministry.

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

FIRST MINOR AND SERIOUS OFFENCES AND OFFENCES FOR WHICH INCARCERATED
AT PRINCIPAL INCARCERATIONS

OFFENCES (committed at least one):	FIRST MINOR OFFENCES N (% of 185)*	FIRST SERIOUS OFFENCE N (% of 157)	CAREER PERIOD		
			PRINCIPAL JUVENILE INCARCERATION N (% of 88)	PRINCIPAL YOUNG ADULT INCARCERATION N (% of 209)	PRINCIPAL ADULT (CURRENT) INCARCERATION N (% of 209)
AGAINST PERSON:					
● assault (common, bodily)	- (-)	6 (3.8)	3 (3.4)	19 (9.1)	21 (10.0)
● assault police	- (-)	- (-)	1 (1.1)	1 (0.5)	4 (1.9)
● attempt murder	1 (0.5)	1 (0.6)	- (-)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
● wounding	- (-)	1 (0.6)	1 (1.1)	1 (0.5)	2 (1.0)
● forceable confinement	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	2 (1.0)
● threat injure person	- (-)	- (-)	1 (1.1)	- (-)	- (-)
AGAINST PROPERTY:					
● theft under \$200 (incl. att.)	95 (51.4)*	6 (3.8)	18 (20.5)	24 (11.5)	15 (7.2)
● theft over \$200 (incl. auto theft)	11 (5.9)	50 (31.8)*	17 (19.3)	74 (35.4)*	33 (15.8)
● theft narcotics	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	1 (0.5)	- (-)
● theft mail	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	2 (1.0)
● take vehicle without consent	1 (0.5)	4 (2.5)	3 (3.4)	12 (5.7)	2 (1.0)
● break and enter (& att.)	19 (10.3)	27 (17.2)	15 (17.0)	65 (31.1)	52 (24.9)*
● break, enter and theft	8 (4.3)	22 (14.0)	6 (6.8)	40 (19.1)	29 (13.9)
● unlawfully in dwelling house	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	1 (0.5)
● arson	3 (1.6)	2 (1.3)	1 (1.1)	- (-)	2 (1.0)
● forgery	1 (0.5)	1 (0.6)	- (-)	4 (1.9)	3 (1.4)
● fraud	1 (0.5)	1 (0.6)	1 (1.1)	6 (2.9)	6 (2.9)
● false pretences	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	1 (0.5)	4 (1.9)
● uttering (& att.)	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	3 (1.4)	3 (1.4)

APPENDIX A CONTINUED

● mischief causing damage, wilful damage, public mischief	27 (14.6)	1 (0.6)	2 (2.3)	12 (5.7)	14 (6.7)
● possess stolen property under \$200	- (-)	- (-)	1 (1.1)	10 (4.8)	8 (3.8)
● possess stolen property over \$200	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	11 (5.3)	26 (12.4)
● possess burglary tools	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	1 (0.5)	- (-)
● robbery	1 (0.5)	27 (17.2)	2 (2.3)	15 (7.2)	21 (10.0)
<u>AGAINST PUBLIC MORALS & DECENCY:</u>					
● indecent act	- (-)	1 (0.6)	1 (1.1)	- (-)	1 (0.5)
● indecent assault	1 (0.5)	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	1 (0.5)
<u>AGAINST PUBLIC ORDER & PEACE:</u>					
● obstruct police	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	1 (0.5)	7 (3.3)
● Section 8	- (-)	- (-)	26 (29.5)*	- (-)	- (-)
● prowl by night, trespass	3 (1.6)	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)
● extortion	- (-)	1 (0.6)	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)
● fail to appear, breach of recognizance, breach of bail	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	6 (2.9)	17 (8.1)
● breach of probation	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	12 (5.7)	8 (3.8)
● cause disturbance	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
● weapons & firearms & explosives	1 (0.5)	2 (1.3)	- (-)	6 (2.9)	14 (6.7)
● criminal negligence causing harm/death	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	1 (0.5)	7 (3.3)
● violate parole	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	8 (3.8)
● escape	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	3 (1.4)	3 (1.4)
● conspiracy	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)	1 (0.5)	- (-)
<u>DRUG OFFENCE:</u>					
● simple possession (marijuana, restricted drug, narcotic)	5 (2.7)	4 (2.5)	- (-)	5 (2.4)	9 (4.3)
● trafficking	1 (0.5)	16 (10.2)	- (-)	4 (1.9)	5 (2.4)
● other drug-related offence	- (-)	1 (0.6)	1 (1.1)	- (-)	- (-)
<u>TRAFFIC OFFENCE:</u>					
● drive while licence suspended	2 (1.1)	- (-)	- (-)	2 (1.0)	11 (5.3)
● dangerous driving	- (-)	- (-)	1 (1.1)	1 (0.5)	7 (3.3)
<u>LIQUOR OFFENCE:</u>					
● impaired driving, over 80	12 (6.5)	- (-)	1 (1.1)	4 (1.9)	5 (2.4)
● Liquor Control Act	3 (1.6)	1 (0.6)	1 (1.1)	2 (1.0)	2 (1.0)

⊕ Proportions do not total 100%; more than one offence may have been mentioned by the offender.

* Indicates most commonly mentioned offence.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B
COMPARISON OF RECIDIVIST SAMPLE AND
YOUNG FIRST INCARCERATE SAMPLE ON SELECTED
SELF-REPORTED FACTORS

FACTOR	PROPORTION OF RECIDIVISTS	PROPORTION OF YOUNG FIRST INCARCERATES
<hr/>		
HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ACHIEVED		
Gr. 8 or less	34.5%	37.1%
Gr. 9 or 10	48.5%	59.0%
Gr. 11 or 12	16.0%	3.9%
Higher level	1.0%	-
<hr/>		
HAD FULL-TIME JOB FOR OVER 2 YEARS	19.2%	-
<hr/>		
LIVED IN OTHER THAN PARENTAL HOME	50.2%	48.7%
<hr/>		
HOW PARENTS GOT ALONG		
Very well	45.0%	47.3%
Fair (so-so)	28.6%	35.3%
Not at all	26.5%	17.4%
<hr/>		
HAD BEEN IN COURT AS JUVENILE (15 YRS. OLD OR YOUNGER)	65.2%	69.3%
<hr/>		
HAD BEEN IN TRAINING SCHOOL	43.5%	39.2%
<hr/>		

END