

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

CORRECTIONS IN NEWFOUNDLAND:
SOCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE FACTORS

A Research Report submitted to

The School of Social Work
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for

The Master's Degree in Social Work

by

Eleanor Jacqueline King

Montreal, August, 1976

Master of Social Work
McGill University
School of Social Work

ELEANOR JACQUELINE KING

CORRECTIONS IN NEWFOUNDLAND: SOCIAL
AND ADMINISTRATIVE FACTORS

This study was designed to investigate and discuss the problems peculiar to the field of corrections in Newfoundland and to offer some suggestions aimed at their alleviation. It contains an examination of sociological, geographical and administrative factors which are likely to influence any decisions to change and improve service delivery.

The compilation of this paper required a presentation of the unique situation encountered by correctional services in the province. Data were taken from Newfoundland sources and combined with material from corrections in general and Newfoundland correctional services in particular. In order to develop proposals it was necessary to consider the administrative, organizational and correctional fields, examine selected theories and interpret them in terms of the Newfoundland situation.

It was discovered in the course of the research that the rate of crime in Newfoundland has increased sharply in recent years, particularly in property offences and among juveniles. Alcohol-related offences are high, particularly among the natives of Labrador, of whom a disproportionate percentage is represented in the crime statistics. It appears that the high incidence of crime in recent years can be

attributed to the social and economic upheaval which has taken place in Newfoundland. The four major problem areas with regard to criminal activity are Labrador, the Stephenville area, the Gander-Grand Falls area, and the St. John's area. Most of the correctional services are presently concentrated in the St. John's area even though the majority of the population and the crime problems are dispersed throughout the province. Poor communications and transportation facilities have interfered with the delivery of correctional services to the areas of the province where the needs are sufficiently great to warrant increased attention. Correctional services are hampered further by the fact that services are fragmented by the involvement of several different and unrelated departments in their delivery.

Based on these findings, the following recommendations were made:

1. That adult and juvenile probation and parole services be consolidated.
2. That a firm policy base be established by a committee drawn from the consolidated services.
3. That the province be divided into four administrative districts.
4. That district offices be established and staffed by competent personnel to whom authority can safely be delegated from the central administrative authority.
5. That volunteer workers be enlisted to supplement services in outlying areas in each district.
6. That a public education program be implemented to enlist public support.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer expresses her thanks to Dr. F. J. McGilly, advisor for this study for his invaluable guidance and advice during its development. Appreciation is also extended to Dr. Patrick Deehy and my sister, Marilyn Harris, for their helpful suggestions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
 Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem	1
Purpose and Scope	2
Methodology	3
II. FACTORS INFLUENCING NEWFOUNDLAND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. .	4
Geographical Location and Physical	
Characteristics	4
Location	4
Physical Characteristics	5
Distribution of Population	7
Social Implications of Increasing Urbanization . .	11
Changes in Value System	11
Increase in Unemployment	12
Transportation and Communication	14
Politics in Newfoundland	15
Education.	17
Religion	18
III. CRIME IN NEWFOUNDLAND	20
Statistical Review of Criminal Activity	20
Relationship of Crime to Social Environment . . .	31
IV. CURRENT CORRECTIONAL SERVICES IN NEWFOUNDLAND	43
Juvenile Probation Service	43
Adult Probation	45
Parole Services	49
Penal Institutions	49
Training Schools	53
Court Facilities for Juveniles	60
The John Howard Society and the Salvation Army . .	61

CHAPTER	Page
V. CORRECTIONAL SERVICES IN AN ADMINISTRATIVE CONTEXT	63
Fragmentation	63
Unification	69
VI. REFLECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	74
Probation and Parole	77
Decentralization	82
Public Involvement	86
Implications for Social Work Practice	88
VII. SUMMARY	91
BIBLIOGRAPHY	94

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. NUMBER OF CRIMINAL CODE OFFENCES REPORTED IN NEWFOUNDLAND FOR THE YEARS 1962-1970	21
2. RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION AGE 7 AND OVER OF ACTUAL CRIMINAL CODE OFFENCES REPORTED IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND CANADA AS A WHOLE, 1970	24
3. ADMISSIONS TO R.C.M.P. DETACHMENTS 1973	27
4. NUMBER OF ADMISSIONS TO HER MAJESTY'S PENITENTIARY PER YEAR ACCORDING TO SELECTED DISTRICTS	28
5. ALL CRIME OF ANY TYPE REPORTED IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND PERSONS CHARGED ACCORDING TO SEX, ADULT OR JUVENILE, 1970	30
6. ADMISSIONS TO THE BOYS HOME AND TRAINING SCHOOL . . .	36
7. NUMBER OF OFFENCES REPORTED TO NEWFOUNDLAND CONSTABULARY, ST. JOHN'S, SELECTED OFFENCES FOR YEARS 1969-1971.	41
8. ADULT PROBATION FIGURES	46
9. COURT DISPOSITION FOR SELECTED SENTENCES 1973-74 . . .	48
10. FIGURES FOR PAROLE SUPERVISION	50
11. ADMISSIONS TO HER MAJESTY'S PENITENTIARY	51
12. AN ANALYSIS OF THE ADMISSIONS TO HER MAJESTY'S PENITENTIARY FOR THE YEAR 1973-74.	52
13. ADMISSIONS BY NATURE OF OFFENCE, HER MAJESTY'S PENITENTIARY 1973-74	54
14. ADMISSIONS TO THE BOYS HOME AND TRAINING SCHOOL . . .	56
15. JUVENILE ADMISSIONS TO HER MAJESTY'S PENITENTIARY. . .	56
16. ADMISSIONS TO THE GIRLS HOME AND TRAINING SCHOOL . . .	56
17. TYPE OF OFFENCE COMMITTED BY SUBJECTS	57

TABLE		PAGE
18.	PREVIOUS COURT APPEARANCE OF SUBJECTS	57
19.	PREVIOUS COURT DISPOSITIONS OF SUBJECTS	59

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
1. Population Distribution and Division by Districts. . . .	26
2. Proposed Division by Districts	84

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This section will present a summary of the problem, the purpose and scope of the paper and the methodology of study.

Statement of the Problem

The crime rate in Newfoundland, as in other parts of the world, has been increasing more rapidly than the existing correctional services can deal with it. The Newfoundland system was obviously not designed, at its inception, to handle such widespread and diversified offences.

The Newfoundland situation in corrections has not been a widely studied phenomenon. The operation of correction programs in general has been viewed by the public sector as not being of any great consequence. Popular public reaction in Newfoundland with regard to offenders could be expressed as "out of sight, out of mind". Resources for rehabilitation are limited, but there has been little expressed concern for a change in the situation.

The increasing crime rate in Canada and in Newfoundland has caused some concern in recent years. Although the problem in Newfoundland has not reached the same proportions as in the rest of Canada, the situation is being considered in terms of possible improvement. The corrections services have therefore come under scrutiny. Many citizens are aware of crime only as it is presented in the media,

and frequently, concern is expressed that offenders are not being dealt with in a manner which provides adequate protection for the public.

Parole, for example, has come under attack in recent months as a program which returns dangerous offenders to the community without sufficient concern for public safety.

Newfoundland crime statistics show a low level of violent crime, and are heavily weighted by property offenders, particularly juveniles. The offenders in the system are not the experienced career-criminals found in many federal institutions. Indeed the practice of sending Newfoundland offenders to mainland institutions has exposed previously "innocent" offenders to the sophisticated behaviour of offenders involved in more serious crimes.

The field of corrections has experienced a recent trend of movement toward community-based treatment programs, which will provide for retention of offenders in the community, possibly eliminating the necessity of imprisonment. Many of the Newfoundland offenders presently being dealt with in minimum-security settings could benefit from such programs.

Purpose and Scope

The purpose of this paper is to outline the Newfoundland situation in corrections, with consideration of sociological, geographical, and administrative factors which influence the functioning of services. It will discuss the problems adherent to the field of corrections, present some possible solutions and their implementation processes. The paper is limited by availability of data resources.

Much of the pertinent data used has been taken from reports compiled by the Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee and the McReynolds Research Design Consultants for the Government of Newfoundland. As already stated there is very little available data because the Newfoundland corrections field has not been intensively studied.

The scope of the study covers the entire spectrum of services available in the province with special emphasis given to the programs of probation and parole, primarily because Newfoundland offenders are of a type which should be most amenable to rehabilitation within the community setting. Probation and parole are standard community-based programs in corrections which have not been used to their optimal level in Newfoundland.

Methodology

The compilation of this paper required a presentation of the unique situation encountered by corrections services in Newfoundland. Data were taken from Newfoundland sources and combined with a knowledge of corrections in general and Newfoundland correctional services in particular. In order to make any proposals for change of service, it was necessary to examine the situation in terms of the administrative, organizational, and correctional fields; consider their theories; and interpret them in terms of the Newfoundland situation.

CHAPTER II

FACTORS INFLUENCING NEWFOUNDLAND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The development of Newfoundland's social structure has been influenced, in fact moulded, by the province's geographical location and physical characteristics. A complete understanding of the importance of geography in Newfoundland's development is essential to anyone who wishes to deal with any aspect of social, administrative or political policies in the province. Therefore, this chapter will be devoted to a brief discussion of the evolution of the unique Newfoundland society. Later chapters will consider the implications of the social structure as it relates to the field of corrections.

Geographical Location and Physical Characteristics

Location

Newfoundland's strategic location in the Gulf of St. Lawrence has not always worked to Newfoundland's advantage. Because of the island's proximity to one of the world's richest fishing grounds, Britain, the mother-country, utilized the island as merely a base for its fishing operations and considered that, for mercenary and military purposes, it would be best if the island were not settled by permanent settlers. Consequently the early settlers were persecuted by the British Navy who tried to drive them out. Fortunately, however, they did not succeed and the settlements endured.

The French, on the other hand, recognized the strategic importance of the island and, for a number of years, until 1904, it became a bone of contention between Britain and France. Wars fought between the British and the French in Newfoundland resulted in the destruction of many of the settlements around the coast of the Avalon Peninsula and Bonavista Bay. During the years between 1713 and 1904, the French were given fishing rights on the northeast and west coasts of the island and these coasts are referred to by the older residents as the "French Shore".

The strategic position of the island became very important during the Second World War and several United States Air Force bases were constructed on the island and in Labrador, some of which have been only recently closed down. These bases were important to Newfoundland for other reasons as well. Newfoundlanders who were erstwhile fishermen left their traditional occupations and went to work on the construction of the bases. The wages the Americans paid them as labourers made them aware of an affluence which few of them had known before. Furthermore, the contact with the Americans brought ideas and customs which were foreign to Newfoundland society. Many of the Newfoundland men stayed on in the urban areas after the construction was finished and adopted a new way of life.

Physical Characteristics

Both parts of the province, that is the island and Labrador, are characterized by long, deeply indented coastlines with many fiords, or long narrow bays. Much of the land consists of bare rock scraped free

of soil by the glaciers of the last ice age. Lakes, ponds, bogs and barrens comprise most of the interior of the island. In some parts of the island there is soil of sufficient depth for agriculture but even in these places there are many rocks which make farming difficult. Studies conducted recently by the Provincial Department of Agriculture have discovered other areas in which farming would be possible but Newfoundlanders have not traditionally been farmers and therefore the growth in agriculture has not been rapid. The cold climate and short growing season has also been a deterring factor since many crops could not tolerate such conditions.

Although Newfoundland does not have good agricultural resources, it has many others. There are abundant forests of softwood trees which are ideal for pulp and paper, many rivers which have been and could be harnessed to produce hydroelectricity, and a wealth of minerals.

Communication between the island and Labrador has often been difficult because of transportation problems. Labrador has a harsher climate than that of the island and is ice-bound for much of the year. During the years before air transportation became available, Labrador was completely cut off from the rest of the province during the winter because the ships could not get through the ice and navigation closed down until the spring thaw. At that time there was no telephone service and mail was delivered by dog-teams. Even on the island, many coastal communities received mail by dog-teams until the introduction of the snowmobile in the late 1940s. In recent years, of course, communication facilities have improved considerably and Eastern Provincial Airways schedule regular flights between the island and Labrador daily. The

discovery of minerals in Wabush and Labrador City and the development of the Churchill Falls hydro project have been responsible for the recent rapid development of these areas. The only overland link with Labrador is via the railway which runs from Sept-Îles, Quebec, through Knob Lake to Wabush and Labrador City. Even so, food and medical supplies must often be airlifted into Labrador during late winter and early spring when supplies run out, particularly in the coastal communities which are still isolated in winter.

Distribution of Population

Early settlement in Newfoundland was concentrated on the coast for a number of reasons. The first and possibly most important reason for settling near the sea was that the settlers wanted to be as near as possible to their main resource--the rich fishing grounds surrounding the island and the coast of Labrador. Also, of course, they had arrived by sea when they came from their country of origin and no forms of land transportation, except by foot, were available to them at that time. People who had come from the same points of origin tended to settle near each other. As the families of the original settlers grew up and established their own families, they found other coves and bays to settle in where they could find room for building their fishing premises such as wharves, stages and flakes, since the original cove or bay they were born in would tend to become rather crowded. Many settlers were driven into remote bays and inlets by ships of the British Navy who had orders to eradicate all settlements from the island by destroying fishing properties and burning houses and so on. Thus settlement spread all

around the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador. There were no roads in the province at that time and even today, in the last decades of the twentieth century, many of the coastal settlements are not yet linked to the rest of the province by roads.

In 1935 there were 1292 settlements in Newfoundland of which 100 had populations of more than 500. In 1951, there were 367 communities which had fewer than 50 people, but only 38 had a population of 1,000 or more.¹ By far the majority of these settlements were located along 6,000 miles of coastline. Only a few were located inland. Most were isolated and accessible only by boat. In the coast settlements, the principal occupations were fishing and logging with a certain amount of subsistence agriculture which enabled the people to eke out a living.

Many of the people in these small settlements spent their entire lives in the community in which they were born. As a result the customs and dialects which these people brought with them from their mother-country existed virtually unchanged within the community for as long as four hundred years. It is for this reason that the Newfoundland culture is so richly varied and why other Canadians often find it difficult to understand the Newfoundland language idioms.

Immorality and illegal activities were strictly controlled by each community by systems of sanctions which evolved and operated according to the beliefs and customs of the village elders. There was seldom any reason for an external agency to step in to control behaviour, since it was generally controlled from within. These people who

¹Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth, Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1967, p. 13.

violated the local mores were punished by being ostracized. When external intervention became necessary a circuit magistrate would visit the community and dispensed justice and administered punishment.¹

Medical services were generally inadequate and quite often diseases which today seem relatively minor proved fatal to people who had to travel for miles in open boats to obtain medical attention. Most ailments were treated at home using local remedies. Most of the settlements had schools in the years between 1935 and 1951 but teachers with good qualifications were not interested in working in the small communities and as a result educational standards in these communities were often quite low. Furthermore, children tended to leave school very early in order to contribute to the family income and very few obtained a secondary education.

Confederation with Canada in 1949 brought many changes to Newfoundland. Compulsory education for children between the ages of seven and fifteen was introduced and children began attending school more regularly. As a result the standard of education in Newfoundland was raised. Additional incentives for continuing education were provided by the monthly family allowance cheques which were issued while the children were in school. To the large outport families, the family allowance cheques were a welcome addition to the family income which alleviated the necessity for the children to leave school at an early age.

¹James C. Faris, Cat Harbour: a Newfoundland fishing settlement, Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies, No. 3, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 105-106. Referred to herein-after as Faris, Cat Harbour.

In 1953 the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador began a program of resettlement which was designed to reduce the number of out-ports by resettling the people in designated "growth centres" throughout the province. It was hoped that by doing this, the essential services could be provided to the people more economically than by providing these services to all the settlements in the province. The government also aimed to cut down on duplication of services which had previously been enormously expensive, such as, for example, a Roman Catholic school and a Pentecostal school both operating in one small settlement when one amalgamated school would have served more adequately. The resettlement program was designed to improve social services and to facilitate the process of "urbanization" by industrialization.

"Population changes are produced by: 1) natural increase, or the difference between the number of births and the number of deaths, and 2) net migration, or the difference between immigration and emigration."¹

The resettlement program was therefore an artificially induced migration which took people from rural areas and placed them in urban centres. An urban community has been defined by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics as one which has a population of 1000 and over.² Using this definition as a term of reference, the percentage of urban population in Newfoundland rose from 43 percent in 1951, to 45 percent in 1956, and to 51 percent in 1961. During that period there was an overall population

¹Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth, Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1967, p. 11.

²Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth, Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1967, p. 13.

increase of 27 percent while the increase in urban population was 50 percent.¹

Social Implications of Increasing Urbanization

Changes in Value System

With Confederation in 1949, Newfoundlanders found themselves thrust into the twentieth century, striving in twenty-five years to move through two centuries of development. The progress and changes resulted in the dissolution of many of the province's traditions. With the move to the larger centres came the loss of the traditional social patterns and methods of social control. In the small Newfoundland settlements deviant behaviour was condoned only if a large group of the citizens were involved, such as at a wedding where everyone would have a little too much to drink and inhibitions were decreased. Should the same behaviour be exhibited on some other occasion it might be seen as a breach of moral order and the persons involved ostracized. The threat of severance from the community was the only sanction employed against the offender.² Strength in the outport was by numbers; alone one faced a hostile world without support. These sanctions were operative only as long as one sought the rewards of membership in the community. With the move to the larger centres these sanctions became obsolete. People were placed in communities where they were already outsiders, not accepting the values of the present but unable to maintain their established ones.

¹Ibid. p. 13.

²Faris, Cat Harbour, p. 105.

In studies which dealt with the effects of the resettlement program, it was suggested that due to rapid social changes, the weakening of institutions, religious pluralism and so on, society was highly susceptible to normative uncertainty, conflict and strains between goals and available means.¹

The traditional bases of community life were changing and the adequacy of life in the smaller centres was being questioned because of increasing exposure to outside forces.

Increase in Unemployment

The changes in transportation and communications in Newfoundland in the past twenty years have permitted Newfoundlanders to experience the advantages in other areas. However for many Newfoundlanders the means to attain these goals are not present. The conflict between means and goals has caused many Newfoundlanders to be apathetic and reluctant to work towards something which they cannot attain. Many of them are not equipped to handle highly skilled jobs in the urban areas because they lack the education and training.

Many Newfoundlanders have found themselves without jobs due to the shutdown of industries which had been previously established and on which they depended for a living. The Wabana Iron Ore mine on Bell Island in Conception Bay, for example, which was a long-established industry supporting a town of several thousand people, closed down quite

¹Robert L. Dewitt, Public Policy and Community Protest: The Fogo Case, Newfoundland Economic Studies, No. 8, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland, 1969, p. 30.

unexpectedly in the mid-1960s and several hundred men were without jobs. These people were forced to leave Bell Island and move to other mining towns in the province or in other parts of Canada. Some of the men were able to find alternate jobs and stayed on in the town. Some of the people on Bell Island commute by ferry to St. John's where they have found employment. Still others who had few skills and little education received social assistance.

The newly established oil refinery at Come-by-Chance in Placentia Bay lured many workmen to the construction site by high wages and the promise of security. Many families built large new homes in the town and committed themselves to financial obligations which the new industry would help them to maintain. However, within six years the oil refinery had closed down and many families found themselves unable to honour their commitments. For many of them the only recourse was unemployment and social assistance.

The fish plant at Fermeuse was forced to close because of high operating costs and as a result three hundred men are unemployed.

The list of shutdowns and layoffs could go on and on but the examples cited show quite clearly why Newfoundland has the highest unemployment rate in the western world. Other industries in the province have not been economically viable for years but have been supported by government funds at enormous cost to the public. Some of these industries have crumbled anyhow and in so doing represent an enormous waste of public money.

Transportation and Communication

A narrow-gauge railway, running from St. John's in the east to Port-aux-Basques in the west, was completed in the early 1900s. Because of the terrain on which it was built, the roadbed is winding with many grades and sharp curves. The railway was connected to the mainland of Canada by a ferry which crossed the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The railway is now used only for freight since Canadian National operates a bus system across the island for passengers. The Trans-Canada highway which crosses the island was not paved until 1965. It is still a winding, narrow road but it is quite an improvement over the gravel road which it replaced. Coastal communities which are not directly on the Trans-Canada highway are connected to it by roads, some of which are not yet paved and are sometimes impassable in winter or during the spring thaw. In addition, coastal boats operated by Canadian National service many coastal communities, particularly those on the South Coast of the island and in Labrador which are still inaccessible except by boat or seaplane.

Air transportation in the province is provided by Air Canada and Eastern Provincial Airways. One of the six major airports, Gander, is also an international terminus. Daily flights connect Newfoundland and Labrador with the mainland of Canada and the rest of the world.

Communications in Newfoundland began in 1901 with the first telegraph message by Marconi on Signal Hill. Today Newfoundland has telephone networks connecting most communities on the island and in Labrador. Telephones did not become widely used until during the last decade. Communication with the outside world came with radio in the early 1900s and television in the late 1950s. Daily and weekly

newspapers have been published on the island since the late 1800s, but have only recently been available to many of the more isolated parts of the province and were confined mainly to the major centres such as St. John's and Corner Brook. Main service is now fairly adequate as well.

Improvements in transportation and communication have provided for Newfoundlanders more easy access to the value systems of the rest of the world and have decreased the previous insular nature of the Newfoundland communities. As a result traditional customs have been disrupted and in some cases completely changed so that the stability of Newfoundland society has been shaken. Television has played a major role in bringing ideas which were previously foreign to Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders have become aware of other ways of life and material possessions and have developed a dissatisfaction with their own life-style. Consequently Newfoundland society is in a period of transition between the old and the new, and social patterns and coping mechanisms have not yet been established to deal effectively with the problems inherent in such a fragmented social system. The following section will deal with the political implications of the transition stage.

Politics in Newfoundland

The political history of Newfoundland is much too complex to be dealt with in a paper of this nature; however it is necessary to take a brief look at the past in order to give some degree of insight into the present state of affairs. Until 1832, Newfoundland was governed from Britain by a British Governor who appointed surrogates at points throughout the island to deal with problems in their area. In 1855, Responsible

Government was introduced. This form of government lasted until February 16, 1934, when government by Commission from Britain began because of financial difficulties encountered by the Newfoundland government following the First World War. Then in 1949, Newfoundlanders were asked to choose between Commission Government, Responsible Government and Confederation with Canada. They chose, by a narrow margin, to join Canada. With the decision to unite with Canada, the democratic system was restored to Newfoundland since they had given up the right to vote during Commission of Government.¹ The Liberal party, led by Joseph R. Smallwood, formed the government and remained in power for more than twenty years.

During the years since 1949, the Newfoundland government has been trying to bring the province up to the level of development which has long ago been reached by other parts of Canada. In the attempt to do so, they subsidized companies who expressed an interest in developing Newfoundland resources, often at the expense of the taxpayers. Many of those industries were not resource-based and as a result they crumbled, as stated in a foregoing section. In the meantime, the traditional occupations were practically abandoned and allowed to stagnate. As a result, the Newfoundland fishing industry, for example, is presently trying to compete, with relatively primitive equipment, in a world which is using modern technology. Thus Newfoundland has been unable to obtain the degree of industrial sophistication which they need in order to

¹Further discussion of this change in government is found in Gordon D. Rothney, Canada in One World (The House of Grant (Canada) Ltd., 1966), pp. 319-324.

attain sound economic status but at the same time Newfoundlanders have lost the traditional work roles. Apart from concentrating on industrial development, the Newfoundland government has also spent a great deal of capital and effort in upgrading services in education, health, transportation facilities and a host of other areas. Because so many diversified problems were in urgent need of attention, the period since Confederation has not been long enough to permit the integration and synchronization necessary for the efficient and effective provision of service.

Education

Religion has always been closely related to education in the province of Newfoundland. Since the early days of settlement, various religious orders and denominations provided school buildings and teachers throughout the island and Labrador. In 1836 the government began to recognize its responsibility in the organization of educational services, but it was not until 1920 that the Department of Education was established.

It is not surprising that until the time of Confederation, illiteracy was widespread throughout the province. Prior to 1921, when the Normal School was established in St. John's, the teachers in Newfoundland had no formal training in their profession. Even then, only one year of training was provided. Generally speaking, outport Newfoundland did not enjoy the services of highly trained teachers. Many schools were staffed by teachers with less than high school education. Since Confederation, the government has made extensive efforts to

encourage the upgrading of the educational standards of teachers in the province.

Amalgamation of the schools of some religious denominations in 1943 greatly influenced the development of the Newfoundland school system. The improved organization of schools under the amalgamated system permitted more efficient use of funds for education purposes and school children benefited accordingly. The Post-Confederation governments have considered that money spent on education was an investment in the future of the province and education itself as the key to progress. As a result educational standards in the province have improved tremendously. Vocational training schools have been established province-wide, providing a pool of skilled labourers for industry. Memorial University, which was established as Memorial College in 1925, has been expanded and can now accommodate over 10,000 students, with a range of programs comparable to mainland universities. In twenty-five years the problem of illiteracy in Newfoundland has been practically eradicated.

Religion

Apart from its influence on education, religion has played a very prominent role in the development of Newfoundland society. Newfoundlanders have traditionally been devoutly religious people. They lived their lives according to the teaching of the Bible as expounded to them by the pioneer ministers and missionaries of the various denominations. As mentioned previously, moral order was maintained by community sanctions and these sanctions were generally rooted in religious teachings. At the present time, however, as in the rest of Canada,

church attendance in Newfoundland has decreased rather markedly and Newfoundlanders are no longer so influenced by religious doctrine as were their forefathers.

CHAPTER III

CRIME IN NEWFOUNDLAND

This chapter will present up-to-date statistics on criminal activity in the province, ranging from 1962 through to 1973. The second section will discuss the relationship of crime to the social environment which was discussed in the preceding chapter.

Statistical Review of Criminal Activity

In order to obtain a clear conception of trends in crime in Newfoundland during the period from 1962 to 1970, it will be helpful to refer to Table 1.

It becomes apparent, from an examination of the table, that there has been a significant increase in crime in Newfoundland during that period. In the year 1962, for example, the rate of crime per 100,000 population was 1579.6, while the 1970 rate was 4126.6 per 100,000. The trend toward increased crime continued in 1973 with a ratio of 6,000 crimes committed per 100,000 population.¹

Among the various crime groupings, violent crimes have not increased but have remained fairly stable with only 8.8 percent of all crimes reported in 1970 being of that nature. Assaults accounted for the largest percentage of the violence which was reported, and comprised

¹Canada, Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics, 1972-1973, p. XVII.

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF CRIMINAL CODE OFFENCES REPORTED IN
NEWFOUNDLAND FOR THE YEARS 1962-1970

Criminal Code Offences	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Capital Murder*	-	1	3	3	-	-	-	-	-
Non-Capital Murder*	-	2	1	2	2	-	4	5	1
Attempted Murder	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	3
Manslaughter	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
Rape	10	10	11	7	13	11	12	9	10
Wounding	11	4	5	4	3	2	3	5	2
Assaults (not indecent)	430	441	728	929	1168	1166	1209	1360	1637
Offensive Weapons	53	50	51	63	74	67	87	97	110
Robbery	9	35	11	30	26	15	34	25	45
Breaking and Entry	1619	1904	1987	2075	2003	1816	2011	2451	2508
Theft Motor Vehicles	376	431	385	469	543	479	543	572	938
Theft Over \$50.00	798	1021	1024	1030	1112	1041	1411	1643	2066

TABLE 1 (CONTINUED)

Criminal Code Offences	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Theft \$50.00 and under	2298	2418	2971	3302	2636	3764	4935	4888	5328
Have Stolen Goods	96	138	127	143	156	130	157	178	145
Frauds	617	608	774	595	817	869	1461	1129	1565
Other Sexual Offences	177	138	118	135	165	175	162	166	162
Prostitution	1	1	-	2	4	1	-	6	1
Gaming and Betting	6	15	4	10	14	7	8	5	5
Other Criminal Code	1397	1092	2766	3440	4111	4240	5359	5723	6107
Total	7898	8310	10967	12240	13853	13784	17397	18265	20633

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics Catalogue "Crime Statistics" 1962-1970 cited by Report of the Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee, Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, April 1973, p. 6.

*Capital and Non-Capital Murder combined for 1966-1970.

83 percent of the crimes against persons. By far the largest percentage of the total crimes reported in 1970 consisted of crimes against property and these account for 61 percent of the total crimes committed.

The upward trend in criminal activity has largely been confined to assaults, automobile thefts, theft, fraud and other criminal code offences which include primarily summary offences.

Table 2 compares crime rates in Newfoundland with those of the whole of Canada for the year 1970. Newfoundland crime rates have not reached the same proportions as have the national rates. Newfoundland shows a high rate of assaults, as previously noted, however it does not equal the rate of assaults for Canada in general, even though assaults form the largest category of Newfoundland crimes against persons. The two categories in which Newfoundland rates exceed the Canadian rate are frauds and other criminal code offences. Possibly the high rate of frauds is a reflection of more intensive investigation of breaches of Provincial Welfare Regulations and Unemployment Insurance abuses. Summary offences, reported under other Criminal Code offences, include alcohol-related offences. The significance of these high rates and their social implications will be discussed at greater length in the second section of this chapter.

These rates indicate that Newfoundland does not yet have the same kinds of crime problems which afflict the rest of Canada.

Criminal activity is not evenly distributed throughout the province. There are areas which are affected by certain types of crime and other areas in which other types of crimes are prevalent. Also population distribution varies, as stated in Chapter II. Figure 1 in

TABLE 2

RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION AGE 7 AND OVER OF ACTUAL CRIMINAL CODE
OFFENCES REPORTED IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND CANADA AS A WHOLE, 1970

Offence	Canada	Newfoundland
Murder	2.3	0.2
Attempted Murder	1.4	0.7
Manslaughter	0.2	-
Rape	5.8	2.3
Wounding	8.8	0.5
Assaults (not indecent)	415.6	382.6
Offensive Weapons	34.6	25.7
Robbery	62.5	10.5
Breaking and Entering	954.9	586.1
Theft Motor Vehicle	337.5	219.2
Theft over \$50.00	806.1	482.8
Theft \$50.00 and under	1497.9	1245.2
Have Stolen Goods	64.7	33.9
Frauds*	361.5	365.7
Other Sexual Offences	53.4	37.9
Prostitution	10.1	0.2
Gaming and Betting	9.1	1.2
Other Criminal Code Offences*	1324.0	1413.2
Addicting Like Drugs	5.5	-
Marijuana	70.1	8.2
Controlled Drugs	5.4	0.7
L.S.D.	19.9	3.3

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics Catalogue, "Crime Statistics", 1970, Table IIC, p. 27, cited by Report of the Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee, Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, April, 1973, p. 7.

*Newfoundland rate is higher than the Canadian rate in these two offence categories. Frauds are felt to be prosecutions for violations of the Provincial Welfare Regulations.

this chapter illustrates the distribution of population according to the districts which will be discussed below and in Tables 3 and 4. The tables concerned show the categories of crime as distributed throughout the three areas of the province. The St. John's area includes the city itself as well as all the settlements surrounding the Avalon Peninsula, the Burin Peninsula, the entire East Coast area and all the settlements of the central area east of Buchans. The Stephenville area includes the entire West Coast, the Baie Verte Peninsula, half the South Coast settlements and the city of Corner Brook. The Labrador area is comprised of the East Coast of the Great Northern Peninsula and the whole of Labrador.

The map clearly shows that the St. John's area includes the greatest proportionate concentration of the total population of the province. Population in the Stephenville, and Labrador areas is relatively sparse. Nevertheless, Table 3 shows that the rate of crime in the other two areas is nearly as high as, and in two cases higher than, that of the St. John's area. From these figures, it becomes obvious that corrections services are needed in all three areas of the province although at the present time these services are available mainly in the St. John's area.

In Table 4 another area, Gander, has been added, taken partly from the Stephenville area and partly from the St. John's area. The concentration of certain types of crime in that relatively small area indicates that it might also be wise to establish a fourth system of services there. This possibility will be discussed at greater length in a later chapter.

From Tables 3 and 4 it can be readily observed that criminal

Figure 1 = Population Distribution and Division by Districts

Source: Map supplied by Department of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Divisions were taken from An Overview and Analysis of Correctional System Requirements for the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. K. L. McReynolds Ltd., Research Design Consultants, Thornhill, Ontario, May, 1974.

TABLE 3
ADMISSIONS TO R.C.M.P., DETACHMENTS 1973

	St. John's		Stephenville		Labrador	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Alcohol and Alcohol Driving*	604	5	524	5	855	455
Summary Convictions	143	3	117	3	35	3
Property	65	3	30	2	16	4
Theft	362	0	253	6	79	5
Deceit	27	4	52	7	9	0
Personal	160	0	133	2	83	20
Other Criminal Code	32	1	47	2	12	2
Drugs	63	2	41	3	28	0
Protection Cases	53	12	92	4	26	5
Holding for Court	29	1	48	2	18	3
Miscellaneous Acts	48	1	39	1	18	10
Welfare of Children Act*	2	1	27	8	0	14
Runaways/Boys or Girls Home Escapees	12	20	18	5	1	0
Total	1600	50	1421	50	1180	521

Source: An Overview and Analysis of Correctional System Requirements For Government of Newfoundland, K. L. McReynolds Ltd., Design Research Consultants, Thornhill, Ontario, May, 1974, p. 47.

*These two offence categories show higher rates for Stephenville and Labrador than for St. John's.

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF ADMISSIONS TO HER MAJESTY'S PENITENTIARY
PER YEAR ACCORDING TO SELECTED DISTRICTS

District	1971	1972	1973
Labrador	97	76	64
St. John's	428	266	364
Stephenville	182	124	129
Gander	109	113	83

28

Source: An Overview and Analysis of Correctional System Requirements for Government of Newfoundland, K. L. McReynolds Ltd., Design Research Consultants, Thornhill, Ontario, May, 1974, p. 91.

activity is not confined to any one area of the province.

A special area of concern for the corrections field in Newfoundland is the number of juveniles who are involved with crime. As indicated in Table 5, juvenile involvement is high in breaking and entering, theft of motor vehicles, theft, assaults, and other Criminal Code offences. In offences against persons, juveniles made up 7 percent of the persons charged but in property offences, they comprised 45 percent.

The high incidence of juvenile involvement in break and entry and thefts reported in the province was not visible in the St. John's area where there is a full time juvenile court and probation services.

It should be noted at this point that the Canadian statistics show 6.3 percent of violent crimes and 29.2 percent of the crimes against property were committed by juveniles.¹

These and the foregoing statistics indicate a serious problem with juveniles in Newfoundland.

The statistics quoted in this section indicate that there has been an increase in crime in Newfoundland during the last decade. Property offences rate highest of all crimes reported and there is a low incidence of violent crime. In comparison with Canada as a whole, Newfoundland does not have a really high crime rate of serious crime. The crime in the province is dispersed throughout its entirety with different areas experiencing different crime problems. Problems with alcohol-related offences and juvenile criminal activity is prevalent in all areas.

¹Canada, Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics, 1972-1973, p. XIII.

TABLE 5

ALL CRIME OF ANY TYPE REPORTED IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND PERSONS
CHARGED ACCORDING TO SEX, ADULT OR JUVENILE, 1970

Offence	Actual Number	Adults		Juveniles	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Murder	1	1	-	-	-
Attempted Murder	3	1	1	-	-
Manslaughter	-	-	-	-	-
Rape	10	4	-	1	-
Wounding	2	2	-	-	-
Assaults (not indecent)	1637	618	49	52	7
Offensive Weapons	110	48	1	12	1
Robbery	45	9	1	1	-
Breaking and Entering	2508	581	7	584	20
Theft Motor Vehicle	938	164	-	128	-
Theft over \$50.00	2066	184	17	89	20
Theft \$50.00 and under	5328	567	165	556	74
Have Stolen Goods	145	95	4	36	2
Frauds	1565	291	32	21	12
Other Sexual Offences	162	67	-	12	-
Prostitution	1	-	-	-	-
Gaming and Betting	5	1	-	-	-
Other Criminal Code Offences	6107	1094	73	278	13
Addicting Like Drugs	-	-	-	-	-
Marijuana (Cannabis)	35	28	-	-	-
Controlled Drugs	3	-	-	-	-
L.S.D.	14	7	-	-	-
Federal Statutes	814	392	31	10	-
Provincial Statutes	5261	3861	257	105	17
Municipal By-Laws	181	128	26	-	-

Source: Canada, Statistics Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics Catalogue, "Crime Statistics", Table 11K, 1970, p. 35, cited by Report of the Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee, Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, April, 1973, p. 9.

Relationship of Crime to Social Environment

Authorities in various fields of expertise have advanced many theories which attempt to account for the rising rate of crime. The theories vary in many ways, but, in general, they attribute much of the blame to social conditions. Emile Durkheim, for example, presented the theory of anomie, which Robert Merton expanded to account for forms of deviant behaviour, other than suicide. Both Durkheim and Merton recognized the fact that social disorganization was largely responsible for the increases in crime.

According to Durkheim, social needs or desires of humans are potentially insatiable, so collective order (social organization) is necessary as an external regulating force to define and control the goal seeking of men. If the collective order is disrupted, men's aspirations may increase to the point of outdistancing all possibilities of fulfillment. At this point, when traditional rules have lost their authority over behaviour, a state of deregulation, normlessness, or anomie is said to exist. Durkheim claims that the regulatory functions of the collective order most commonly break down at the occurrence of sudden depression, sudden prosperity, or rapid technological change, when men are misled into aspiring to goals extremely difficult if not impossible to achieve.¹

In any society, Merton suggests, certain wants or aspirations--in short, certain culturally prescribed goals--are universally sought by societal members. At the same time, certain means of achieving these goals are institutionalized and normatively enforced as the right and proper ways. Usually society is organized so that an equitable distribution of means is available to members. However, should some disjunction between goals and means set in, substantially reducing the chances of some groups to achieve the goals, a state of social pathology can be said to occur. The commitment people have to the goals or the means made available to

¹Don C. Gibbons, Society, Crime and Criminal Careers: An Introduction to Criminology, 2nd Ed. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1973), p. 183.

achieve them tends to weaken. Society experiences a condition of anomie.¹

Considering the information which has been given in the previous chapter and the first section of this chapter, in the light of Durkheim's and Merton's theories, it would appear that Newfoundland society in the past twenty-five years has experienced a degree of social disorganization, classified here as anomie, which could account for many of the problems of increasing crime. Since 1949, when Newfoundland joined the Dominion of Canada, rapid technological changes have occurred. Industries have been established, not always successfully. New ideas have bombarded Newfoundlanders since the advent of the mass media, improved communication and transportation. Social upheavals have occurred in mass migrations from rural to urban areas. Economic stability has been threatened by failure of industries, loss of employment, industrial strikes and many other crises. The Government of Newfoundland has been concentrating a great deal of effort in changing Newfoundland from what was basically an agrarian type of society to an industrialized one, and in doing so have "misled [Newfoundlanders] into aspiring to goals extremely difficult, if not impossible to achieve".² The Newfoundland people have not been able to acquire the skills which are necessary for success in the new technological environment, and therefore there

¹Clayton A. Hartjen, Crime and Criminalization, Praeger University Series Viewpoints in Sociology (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), pp. 178-179.

²Don C. Gibbons, Society, Crime and Criminal Careers: An Introduction to Criminology, 2nd Ed. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1973), p. 183.

has been a "disjunction of goals and means"¹ because Newfoundlanders have been led to set new goals for themselves which many of them lack the means to obtain.

Durkheim repeatedly emphasizes the debilitating effect on society caused by excessively rapid change. Newfoundlanders have been required in the past three decades to move through two hundred years of technological and social change. When one considers the developments which occurred in the rest of the world in two hundred years plus the mind-boggling technological advances which have followed in the wake of Sputnik, it becomes easier to grasp the enormous changes which Newfoundlanders have had to take in their stride. It is not surprising, therefore, that Newfoundland society is in a state of disorganization, rather it is surprising that Newfoundlanders have adapted as well as they obviously have.

One must not assume that all Newfoundland communities have undergone the same amount of rapid change. Those which have experienced the greatest upheavals have been those in which new industries have been introduced, population changes have been most marked and economic changes have been most drastic. One such area is Stephenville, a town on the West Coast of the province with a population of 20,000, which has experienced in the past fifteen years drastic changes in town industries and thus rapid turnover in population. With the Second World War, Newfoundland became the site of several air force bases and experienced

¹Robert W. Winslow, Society in Transition: A social approach to deviancy (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 74.

a boost in the economy. Stephenville was the site of an American air force base which became the basis of the economy for the area. When the air force base was phased out in the early 1960s, pressure was naturally developed to find alternate industries for the town. A regional vocational training centre has been established there, with an upgrading school for people who had never completed secondary education. This school has attracted many school dropouts who, unable to find work in industry, are returning to further their education.

Included in the industries for the town have been a brewery and a hockey stick factory. These industries were not successful and were subsequently closed. The current venture is a government-financed linerboard mill which is achieving a national reputation as a white elephant.

The linerboard mill at Stephenville is Newfoundland's bête noir--and is expected to cost the province \$25 million this year in operating cost and debt charges. "It should never have been commenced," says Mines and Energy Minister, John Crosbie, tartly, "because it was an economic impossibility from the start." Wood for the mill is cut in Labrador and shipped hundreds of miles--making it "staggeringly" expensive.¹

Stephenville has a problem which is experienced in most areas of Newfoundland, the difficulty of establishing industries for which the raw materials are not easily available. In many instances the material must be supplied from mainland Canada or imported from the United States, and the supply is costly and tenuous. This factor has made it difficult for new industries to remain as viable entities and new ones are sought,

¹"Newfoundland no more Mister-nice-guy", Financial Post Report on Atlantic Provinces, June 12, 1976, Sec. 2.

sometimes frantically, as the recently established ones fail. The situation has produced in Stephenville a very unstable economy, with high unemployment rates and a very mobile population.

The effects of the social and economic upheaval in the Stephenville area are reflected in the sharply increasing rates of crime in that area, particularly among juveniles. Tables 3 and 4 demonstrate quite clearly the involvement of adult criminal activity in that area. Table 6 shows the sharp increase in the percentage of boys from Stephenville who have been admitted to the Boys' Home and Training School.

The R. C. M. P., who occasionally hold juveniles who are runaways or problem delinquents on remand or for transfer to a training school, report that in 1973, detachments in the St. John's area admitted 15 such persons; the Stephenville area admitted 45, while Labrador admitted only one.¹ A look at Figure 1 will indicate the relative size of each area concerned.

Labrador has also experienced a great many problems with crime, as Tables 3 and 4 indicate; there, too, social upheaval has occurred. Labrador has a population of 27,500 with a land mass of 112,800 square miles. Thus, distances are vast and large settlements are few and accessible mainly by air. The population is composed of Caucasian Labradorians, Indians, Eskimos, Newfoundlanders and the British, American

¹An Overview and Analysis of Correctional System Requirements for Government of Newfoundland, K. L. McReynolds Ltd. Design Research Consultants, Thornhill, Ontario, May, 1974, p. 88. Referred to herein-after as Correctional System Requirements.

TABLE 6

ADMISSIONS TO THE BOYS HOME AND TRAINING SCHOOL

	1968-1969	1969-1970	1970-1971	1971-1972	1972-1973	1973-Feb. '74.
Total Admissions	66	51	56	79	79	50+
Admissions from Stephenville			16 (28%)	36 (46%)	32 (40%)	29

Source: An Overview and Analysis of Correctional System Requirements for Government of Newfoundland, K. L. McReynolds Ltd., Design Research Consultants, Thornhill, Ontario, May, 1974, p. 86.

and Canadian Air Forces. Indian population is about 690 and is concentrated in North West River. There are roughly 700 Eskimos scattered through coastal settlements and 300 in the Happy Valley--Goose Bay area, which is 40 miles from North West River. The 9,000 people in Happy Valley--Goose Bay comprises one third of Labrador's population, with the armed forces accounting for one half of that number.

The crime problems of Labrador, as previously stated, are different from those of the Stephenville area. Labradorians are primarily involved in crimes connected with alcohol abuse. Labrador is the only area in the province with a large number of women involved in crime and these crimes are also connected with alcohol.¹

It has already been observed that new industries have been established in Labrador recently, such as the mines at Labrador City and Wabush and the Churchill Falls hydro project, with the accompanying influx of workmen and the resulting social upheaval. The construction workers, when they first came into these areas, left their families behind on the island or in other parts of Canada. These men did a great deal of drinking to relieve the boredom of isolation. Liquor outlets were established fairly early in the development of these towns and drinking patterns were established which were not readily eradicable. In addition, many workmen were transient, in that they stayed long enough to earn a share of the high wages and left for other areas. The isolation and the long winter aggravated the problems.

It is not only the workmen at these sites who have had problems

¹See Table 3, p. 26.

with alcohol. Many of the natives have also been involved with alcohol abuse. Of the Labradorians committed to Her Majesty's Penitentiary in the years from 1969 to 1974, Eskimos and Indians make up a large percentage of the total admissions. In 1969, 22 Eskimos and 11 Indians were admitted in a total of 167; in 1970, 28 Eskimos and 11 Indians out of a total of 82; in 1971, 32 Eskimos and 17 Indians from a total of 94; in 1972, 25 Eskimos and 23 Indians from a total of 82; in 1973, 44 Eskimos and 14 Indians in a total of 85 and in 1974, 39 Eskimos and 13 Indians from a total of 92.¹

The representation of native people in these figures is disproportionate to their representation in the population of Labrador as a whole since native peoples comprise only 6 percent of the total population. Eskimos and Indians have a low tolerance for alcohol, a fact which has been generally known for quite some time. The Moravian missionaries, when they first came to Labrador, in the early days of settlement, built their mission stations in the far north of Labrador in order to keep the natives away from the rum traders who frequented the southern fishing settlements. Previously, the natives had traded their winter supplies and neglected their hunting in order to travel south to obtain rum, and as a result many native families starved during the long winters of the north. At the present time, the natives have easier access to alcohol and as a result they become involved in crimes against

¹Newfoundland Department of Justice, H. M. Penitentiary Annual Report, 1974-1975, Table 8, p. 16.

property, persons, local statutes and public morals.¹ Forty-nine percent of the natives in the province are under the age of fourteen, so that further problems can be expected as these children grow.

Alcohol plays a major role in the crime rates in Newfoundland, as indeed it does in the social life of the province as a whole. Information released at a Conference of the Canadian Foundation of Alcohol and Drug dependencies revealed the startling fact that between 1966 and 1973 Newfoundland had a greater per capita increase in alcohol consumption, 87.8 percent, than any other province or territory.²

This large increase could be attributed to the rapid rise in the number of liquor outlets in the province. There has been an increase in the number of Liquor Commission stores and also brewery retailers.

In the past year the provincial government has established a body, the Alcohol and Drug Directorate, to plan for a major attack on the problems of alcohol and drug abuse. Up to this time, Newfoundland was the only province in Canada with no clearly established policies and co-ordinated administrative structure for dealing with such problems. A recent newspaper article stated that programs developed by the directorate will have to be postponed due to lack of funds. The program designed would cost \$3 million for implementation, while government income from liquor sales amounts to \$25 million annually.³

¹Newfoundland Department of Justice, H. M. Penitentiary Annual Report, 1974-1975, Table 12, p. 18.

²"Epidemic of Alcoholism", St. John's, Newfoundland, Evening Telegram, July 24, 1976, p. 6.

³Ibid. p. 6.

In the inland part of the province there are a number of fairly large towns such as Grand Falls, Gander, and Clarenville which have experienced problems with vandalism, drugs and so on, particularly among juveniles. Gander, for example, has had problems involving the illegal use of drugs such as marijuana, L. S. D. and hashish. This fact can be attributed to the town's main industry being the International Airport, which provides unusual opportunity for traffic in drugs. Also, Gander was designated as one of the "growth centers" for resettlement and families from the Dark Cove area were relocated there. Furthermore, the population is very mobile, with construction projects being implemented there, and transfers among airport and military personnel. Table 4 gives some indication of the crime rate in the Gander area.

The most intensively urbanized areas of the province is the St. John's area which accounts for approximately one fifth of the province's population. The city is surrounded by the towns and villages of the Avalon Peninsula, which together with St. John's, comprise approximately one quarter of the province's total population of 500,000. Table 7 gives an indication of the offences reported in the city of St. John's for the years 1969 to 1971.

The offences which rate highest in the area are assaults, break and entry, theft of motor vehicles, theft and fraud. Fraud was highest in Table 1, which showed the Newfoundland rate exceeding that of Canada.

St. John's is the site of most government buildings, head offices of major companies and the university, and is a major port for foreign fishing fleets. Because of its geographical location on the extreme eastern coast of the island, it is viewed as being quite apart from the

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF OFFENCES REPORTED TO NEWFOUNDLAND CONSTABULARY, ST. JOHN'S
SELECTED OFFENCES FOR YEARS 1969-1971

	1969	1970	1971
Capital Murder	2	-	-
Non-Capital Murder	-	-	-
Attempted Murder	1	-	1
Manslaughter	-	-	-
Rape	1	1	3
Wounding	2	1	2
Assaults	185	225	228
Offensive Weapons	12	8	15
Robbery	18	37	28
Breaking and Entering	440	555	550
Theft Motor Vehicle	357	633	530
Theft over \$50.00	775	1221	1096
Theft under \$50.00	1889	2111	2336
Possession of Stolen Goods	20	15	11
Frauds	405	491	435
Other Sexual Offences	24	42	43
Other Criminal Code	1814	2114	2063
Provincial Statutes Other than Traffic	(not reported)	1280	1898

Source: Newfoundland Department of Justice, Newfoundland Constabulary Annual Report, 1971, cited by Report of the Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee, Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, April, 1973, p. 10.

remainder of the province. The services provided by the government emanate from St. John's and the majority of specialists for services are located in the capital.

The older parts of the city, such as Gower Street and the Blackhead Road area, contain many old and dilapidated tenement buildings which house a considerable number of welfare families. This is really the only slum area in the province and it experiences some of the problems of other slum areas in North America, such as inadequate housing, primitive facilities and unemployment.

The discussion in this chapter has outlined the major problem areas of the province and given some indication of the causes underlying those problems. Newfoundland society is in a state of social disorganization and a great deal of intensive effort will be needed to deal with the social problems which have arisen. The following chapter will outline the existing facilities for corrections in the province.

CHAPTER IV

CURRENT CORRECTIONAL SERVICES IN NEWFOUNDLAND

It will be helpful at this point to present an overview of the existing facilities to deal with the criminal element in Newfoundland society. This chapter will give attention to probation, both adult and juvenile, parole, provincial adult institutions, which also house federal prisoners, juvenile training schools, the John Howard Society and the Salvation Army Correctional Division.

Juvenile Probation Service

Contrary to current correctional practices, the juvenile probation service is presently under the jurisdiction of the Department of Social Services, which provides all child welfare services for the province. This state of affairs does not produce an ideal situation and its ramifications will be discussed in the next chapter.

There are eight full-time probation officers in the province, with three located in St. John's and one each in Grand Falls, Corner Brook, Stephenville, Happy Valley and Harbour Main. In all the other areas, part-time workers are being used. Part-time workers who are responsible for probation are responsible for social assistance and child welfare. In these situations, corrections is a third priority.

In 1973, 243 juveniles were supervised on probation in the

province, and the trend was for one or two year probation orders.¹ In April 1975, there were 197 juveniles on probation to the Social Services Department, and 234 in December, 1975.²

The probation officers are responsible for preparation of pre-sentence reports for the courts and for providing supervision for children in their homes, in group foster homes or who are wards of the Director of Child Welfare and Corrections, a unit of the Department of Social Services.

In 1973, a report was prepared on corrections in Newfoundland by the Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee. This report was the result of the pressure applied by a number of concerned groups and individuals including the John Howard Society, which had long sought a study of corrections in Newfoundland. The Minister of Justice placed a high priority on the evaluation and provision of the most functional and effective corrections programs for the province. Subsequently a committee was formed which included a professor of social work, an inspector of the R.C.M.P., the district director of the National Parole Service, a juvenile and family court judge, and the director of the John Howard Society of Ontario. The mandate of the committee was to make a general evaluation and assessment of the correctional services in the province.

In the light of such evaluation and assessment it will

¹Correctional System Requirements, p. 85.

²Newfoundland Department of Social Services, Caseload Report, December, 1975.

make recommendations to the province concerning any improvements, additions or changes to the present service which might be necessary to provide the most functional and effective correctional program for Newfoundland consistent with current community needs, crime prevention, and present day trends in the correctional field.¹

The committee found that in practice, outside St. John's juveniles often appear in courts without notification to the area probation officer and often court dispositions concerning juveniles are made without consulting pre-sentence reports. Sometimes probation is used by the courts without any obligation to return when infractions occur. In short, welfare officers, who take probation responsibilities, often appear isolated from both the courts and the police system.²

Training is inadequate for even the full-time probation officers in the Department of Social Services. Many of them have no correctional training and many have no university training in the social sciences. This situation is presently changing somewhat as more of the officers are being encouraged to take university courses.

The isolation of probation officers from other parts of the justice system must also add to the limitations of their positions.

Adult Probation

Adult probation, until 1975, was carried out by the Department of Social Services only for the probationers sentenced in other provinces. The John Howard Society and the Salvation Army assumed responsibility for the largest proportion of probationers, that is, those who were sentenced within the province. Table 8 below shows that in 1972-73,

¹Report of the Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee, Keith Couse, Chairman, Newfoundland and Labrador, April, 1973, p. 30. Referred to hereinafter as Newfoundland Corrections Study.

²Ibid, p. 12.

TABLE 8
ADULT PROBATION FIGURES

	1969-1970	1970-1971	1971-1972	1972-1973
Social Services	8	11	9	10
Salvation Army	55	92	80	86
Total	63	103	89	96

Source: An Overview and Analysis of Correctional System Requirements for Government of Newfoundland, K. L. McReynolds, Ltd., Design Research Consultants, Thornhill, Ontario, May, 1974, p. 42.

the Department of Social Services supervised 10 probationers, with the remaining 86 being supervised by the Salvation Army. In the next year, 1973-74, only 126 of 613 probation orders were supervised, mainly by the John Howard Society and the Salvation Army.

Probation has been looked upon by a great part of society as an "easy out" for the offender. As Table 9 indicated, a Newfoundland probationer's chance of receiving supervision is only one in six. It is obvious that Newfoundlanders could make the mistake of regarding probation as an easy out, for with these odds, probation would hardly seem as a sentence at all, and certainly not a process of rehabilitation.

In 1975, a new adult probation service was initiated within the Department of Justice. It is presently located only in St. John's and has four probation officers. There seems to be no available monies to implement the service in other areas of the province reinforcing the common complaint in Newfoundland that most services are reserved for the capital area. The largest portion of the province gets piecemeal service at best. Recommendation 12 of the Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee's report states:

The initial priority should be the development of adult probation services, provided by the staff of the division of Correctional Services, in every magistrate's court in Newfoundland.¹

The present adult probation service was initiated upon this recommendation but is not currently operating at the suggested capacity.

¹Newfoundland Corrections Study, p. 22.

TABLE 9

COURT DISPOSITION FOR SELECTED SENTENCES 1973-1974

Probation Orders	613
Conditional Discharges	198
Unconditional Discharges	49
Total	860
Supervised Probation Orders	126

Source: An Overview and Analysis of Correctional System Requirements for Government of Newfoundland, K. L. McReynolds, Ltd., Design Research Consultants, Thornhill, Ontario, May, 1974, p. 42.

Parole Services

Parole in Newfoundland has received short shrift as well. Parole services, prior to 1967, were carried out exclusively by the Department of Social Services. However, a regional office of the National Parole Service was established in St. John's in 1967 and since that time has been responsible for parolees in the St. John's area. There is also an officer in Corner Brook and the District Director of the National Parole Service, Mr. M. R. Evans, has recently indicated that there are plans to place another officer in Happy Valley. It is evident from Table 10 below, that a large number of parolees are not handled by National Parole Services but are being supervised by other agencies.

Penal Institutions

Institutional correction services for the province are provided by Her Majesty's Penitentiary, for prisoners requiring medium security, and the Salmonier Correctional Institution, for those requiring minimum security.

Table 11 gives the number of admissions to Her Majesty's Penitentiary according to sex for the years 1969 to 1974, and Table 12 shows an analysis of the 687 admissions for the year 1973-74.

From these statistics, it can be seen that relatively few females were admitted and of the males, 62 percent were under 24 years of age. Eighty-seven percent of the admissions were serving sentences of less than four months and 46 percent were first time incarcerates. It is interesting to note that 65 percent of the admissions had an educational level of Grade 8 or less and 6 percent were illiterate.

TABLE 10
FIGURES FOR PAROLE SUPERVISION

	1969-1970	1970-1971	1971-1972	1972-1973
Social Services	56	51	41	44
John Howard Society	14	17	25	16
Salvation Army	11	4	2	4
Private	1	2	0	1
National Parole Service	18	32	34	37
Total	100	106	102	102

Source: An Overview and Analysis of Correctional System Requirements for Government of Newfoundland, K. L. McReynolds, Ltd., Design Research Consultants, Thornhill, Ontario, May, 1974, p. 42.

TABLE 11
ADMISSIONS TO HER MAJESTY'S PENITENTIARY

	1969-1970	1970-1971	1971-1972	1972-1973	1973-1974
Males	999	946	799	664	661
Females	51	21	27	22	26

Source: An Overview and Analysis of Correctional System Requirements for Government of Newfoundland, K. L. McReynolds, Ltd., Design Research Consultants, Thornhill, Ontario, May, 1974, p. 42.

TABLE 12

AN ANALYSIS OF THE ADMISSIONS TO HER MAJESTY'S PENITENTIARY FOR THE YEAR 1973-1974

62% (425) were 24 years of age and under.
12% (86) were in the age group 25 - 29 years.
13% (88) were in the age group 30 - 39 years.
13% (88) were 40 years of age or over.
5% (42) were juveniles (under 17).
*9% (63) were Federal prisoners (sentences over 2 years).
87% (594) were for sentences (or remands) of 4 months or less.
46% (319) admissions were first incarcerates.
65% (449) had an educational level of Grade Eight or less.
2% (13) had attended university.
6% (41) were illiterate.

Source: Newfoundland Department of Justice, H.M. Penitentiary Annual Report, 1973-74, pp. 1-2.

*The Penitentiary Act, Sect. 14(5) provides for Federal prisoners to be retained in the province on a discretionary basis.

These statistics show clearly that these people were not educationally equipped to compete in the labour market.

Table 13, which categorizes the admissions by nature of offence, shows that the majority of the offences committed by Newfoundland criminals are largely of a non-violent nature. The largest category, local statutes, includes alcohol-related offences, motor vehicle operation, disorderly conduct and other relatively minor offences. The second highest category is property offences.

The penitentiary building is over a century old and is inadequate in terms of space, housing and recreational facilities. The Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee recommended that, "there is an urgent need to replace Her Majesty's Penitentiary". An indication of the lack of facilities for incarceration is given in the same report:

During the fiscal year 1971-72, 2770 prisoners were held in custody lock-ups. Of these prisoners, 121 were held for 280 days awaiting sentences and 547 were held for 3,242 days awaiting escort after sentence. Sentences were actually served in these facilities by 160 prisoners for a total of 868 days.¹

The services of Her Majesty's Penitentiary are augmented by the Salmonier Correctional Institution, which possesses 2000 acres of woods and lakes and offers programs to male inmates requiring minimum security. This institution is engaged in a farming program and provides produce which supplies Her Majesty's Penitentiary.

Training Schools

There are three training schools in Newfoundland: A Boys Home in Whitbourne, just outside St. John's, a Girls Home in Pleasantville,

¹Newfoundland Corrections Study, p. 14.

TABLE 13

ADMISSIONS BY NATURE OF OFFENCE, HER MAJESTY'S PENITENTIARY 1973-74

Offences Involving Motor Vehicles	53
Against Rights of Property	189
Against Public Order	20
Against Administration of Law and Order	40
Wilful and Forbidden Acts in Respect to Certain Property	35
Against Persons and Reputations	55
Sexual Offences, Public Morals	14
Fraudulent Transactions, Contracts and Trades	38
Local Statutes	226
Drugs	24
Parole Violations	30
Remanded	8
Discharged by Court	42
Total	774*

Source: Newfoundland Department of Justice, H.M. Penitentiary Annual Report, 1973-74, p. 16.

*Difference between total admissions (687) and admissions by nature of offence (774) is due to certain inmates being committed for more than one offence.

also near St. John's, and a home for mentally defective delinquents which is also in St. John's. The home for mentally defective children also houses juveniles on remand.

In 1973, K. L. McReynolds Ltd. contracted with the Government of Newfoundland to produce a program of correctional needs for the province. The intent of the report was to produce a list of priorities and components for implementing a correctional system. They took as guidelines the recommendations in the report of the Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee. The report compiled indicated that the majority of juveniles in training schools are there because they failed probation - that is, by violating conditions of their probation orders, or by committing another offence.¹

Tables 14, 15 and 16 show the number of juveniles who were admitted to training schools and Her Majesty's Penitentiary during the years from 1968 to 1974.

The admissions to the boys' and girls' training schools show an increase for these years while the admissions to Her Majesty's Penitentiary show a decrease.

A study of 100 randomly selected admissions to the Boys Home and Training School over the period from 1967 to 1972 discovered some rather interesting statistics. Some of the results are tabulated in Tables 17 and 18.

From these tables, it can be seen that over 60 percent of offences committed were for break and entry and theft. Table 18 shows

¹Correctional System Requirements, p. 85.

TABLE 14

ADMISSIONS TO THE BOYS HOME AND TRAINING SCHOOL

1968-1969	1969-1970	1970-1971	1971-1972	1972-1973	1973-Feb.74
66	51	56	79	79	50+

Source: An Overview and Analysis of Correctional System Requirements for Government of Newfoundland, K. L. McReynolds, Ltd., Design Research Consultants, Thornhill, Ontario, May, 1974, p. 86.

TABLE 15

JUVENILE ADMISSIONS TO HER MAJESTY'S PENITENTIARY

1969-1970	1970-1971	1971-1972	1972-1973	1973-1974
59	60	78	40	42

Source: An Overview and Analysis of Correctional System Requirements for Government of Newfoundland, K. L. McReynolds, Ltd., Design Research Consultants, Thornhill, Ontario, May, 1974, p. 86.

TABLE 16

ADMISSIONS TO THE GIRLS HOME AND TRAINING SCHOOL

1969-1970	1970-1971	1971-1972	1972-1973
21	23	17	25

Source: An Overview and Analysis of Correctional System Requirements for Government of Newfoundland, K. L. McReynolds, Ltd., Design Research Consultants, Thornhill, Ontario, May, 1974, p. 86.

TABLE 17
TYPE OF OFFENCE COMMITTED BY SUBJECTS

Delinquency	Frequency
Breaking and Entering	25
Theft	36
Assault	2
Auto Theft	3
Unmanageability	22
Sex Crime	3
Other	4
Unknown	5
Total	100

Source: David James Jeans, "Profile of Delinquency: A Background to the Problem in Newfoundland", (Master of Education Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1973), p. 38.

TABLE 18
PREVIOUS COURT APPEARANCES OF SUBJECTS

Number	Frequency
None	14
One	10
Two	16
Three	5
Four - Six	24
More than Six	10
Unknown	21
Total	100

Source: David James Jeans, "Profile of Delinquency: A Background to the Problem in Newfoundland", (Master of Education Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1973), p. 40.

that 80 percent of the subjects had had previous court appearances prior to admission. Table 19 shows that the largest number of previous court dispositions had been for probation. Only 5 percent had previously been sentenced to training school. These individuals would not appear to have benefited greatly from these probation orders. The lack of adequate supervision decreases the possible effectiveness of such a sentence.

The mean age for admissions was 14.4 with the largest single age group 15.¹ Since the age of majority in Newfoundland is 17, it might be speculated that boys are not showing high recidivism rates to the training schools because their next offences possibly lead them to Her Majesty's Penitentiary.

An analysis of admissions rates by region indicates that the largest percentage comes from the west coast and the more urbanized centers such as Grand Falls, Gander, Humber East and West (Corner Brook and Stephenville), St. John's and Labrador.²

The Whitbourne Boys Home and Training School offers a wood-working program, a farm area, and regular academic activities. Concern has been expressed that these programs are not suitable for all children, and a wider variety would be more desirable. This institution has little available for the care of the older juveniles, many of whom are being sent to the adult institutions.

¹David James Jeans, "Profile of Delinquency: A Background to the Problem in Newfoundland" (Master of Education Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1973), p. 28.

²Ibid p. 42.

TABLE 19

PREVIOUS COURT DISPOSITIONS OF SUBJECTS

Dispositions	Frequency
Probation	39
Suspended Sentence	9
Foster Home	1
Training School	5
Variety	5
None	15
Unknown	26
Total	100

Source: David James Jeans, "Profile of Delinquency: A Background to the Problem in Newfoundland", (Master of Education Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1973), p. 40.

As with adult offenders, only a relatively small percentage of juvenile girls were involved in criminal activity. Although their involvement is less, the number of girls appearing before court has shown a steady increase over the period from 1962 to 1971, with 32 appearing in 1962 and 86 in 1971.¹ In a study conducted on the Female Offender in Newfoundland, which included 17 girls in the Training School and 16 who had left, it was found that the majority of girls came from areas other than St. John's particularly from the west coast and Labrador. Ninety-five percent of the sample came from families living on incomes below the poverty level. Their families were usually large and some girls were in training schools, not because of delinquency, but because they were neglected by parents.²

The Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee stated that:

Only a small minority of females in training schools present any threat to the community. The majority would be better assisted in small residential settings closer to their home communities. In some cases, the parents of these girls could be assisted to take greater responsibility, if they were treated in their own communities.³

Court Facilities for Juveniles

There is only one juvenile court in Newfoundland, which is located in St. John's. Local magistrates in other areas hold special

¹Stella Bradley, "The Female Offender in Newfoundland" (Masters Thesis, Centre of Criminology, University of Ottawa, 1973), cited by Report of the Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee, Province of Newfoundland, April, 1972, p. 14.

²Ibid p. 14.

³Newfoundland Corrections Study, p. 14.

sessions for juvenile cases. The St. John's juvenile court has family court workers. Obviously court facilities for juveniles are inadequate.

The John Howard Society and the Salvation Army

The John Howard Society of Newfoundland has been in existence since 1951. The society is the only community organization exclusively involved in counselling offenders and their families. The executive director of the society is located in St. John's. There is also a branch office of the society in Corner Brook. The society is financed by several sources: a fee for service payment from the National Parole Service, a Local Initiatives Program grant from the Federal Government, a Provincial Government grant, Federal Government monies based on a "prisoner population ratio", and private contributions.

The John Howard Society has been fulfilling a vital role in the corrections field in the province, supervising parolees and probationers, as well as visiting inmates in the institutions. As part of their program, they have hired an ex-inmate who is assisting inmates in finding employment. The society is currently preparing a handbook for inmates acquainting them with community services and their potential use. Recent efforts by the society to establish a half-way house in St. John's have been thwarted by public pressure. There appears to be a need for a public education program to broaden their knowledge of innovations in the field of corrections.

The Salvation Army established a correctional services office in St. John's in 1963 and funded it until 1968 when it received a grant from the Provincial Government. There is presently one correctional

officer attached to the service who utilizes officers in other Newfoundland communities for supervision of probationers and parolees. The statistics in Tables 8 and 10 give an indication of the scope of their involvement. The officers in the communities, who have no correctional training, fulfill supervisory roles as part of their duties as Salvation Army Officers.

The information and statistics included in this chapter clearly show that not only are the correctional services inadequate but they are mainly confined to the St. John's area. The inadequacy of these services and some possible reasons for their inadequacy will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

CORRECTIONAL SERVICES IN AN ADMINISTRATIVE CONTEXT

Fragmentation

It will by now be fairly obvious that there is no central authority governing the administration of correctional services in Newfoundland. There are in fact several authorities as indicated in Chapter Four. The Department of Social Services deals with juvenile and adult probation and parole services. The Training Schools are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Rehabilitation and Recreation. The John Howard Society and the Correctional Division of the Salvation Army have assumed responsibility for the majority of parole and probation services. In addition, the National Parole Services are under the auspices of the Department of the Solicitor General. The fragmentation produced by such an arrangement can be readily observed.

The various parts of the system are linked primarily by purpose. The common goals of these separate services are the rehabilitation of the offender and the protection of the public. Various means can be employed in the realization of these goals, however they cannot be actualized when decisions regarding means of achieving them are made in isolation with no thought to continuity or consistency of service. Such discontinuity and inconsistency is exemplified in the Report of the Newfoundland Correction Study Committee which was referred to in Chapter Four in the section on juvenile probation. It was noted there that juveniles outside St. John's

often appeared in court without notification being given to the area probation officer responsible for pre-sentence reports. Court dispositions were made without those reports.

The discerning reader will have doubtlessly concluded by this time that the greatest concentration of services is in the immediate St. John's area. At present, penal institutions, the adult and juvenile probation services, the provinces's only juvenile and family court, training schools and the major portion of the work of the National Parole Services, the John Howard Society and the Salvation Army are located in this area. However a look at Figure 1, and a referral to information previously given, will reveal that only one fifth of the province's population is in the area. The common complaint that St. John's receives a disproportionate share of services would appear to be legitimate.

The fact that Newfoundland Correctional Services are fragmented is indisputable. The reasons for such a state of affairs are not altogether obvious. The Department of Social Services has been traditionally involved with juveniles through Child Welfare legislation and is the only formal service for children in the province. It may have appeared logical, therefore, to make this department responsible for services for youth involved with the law. The dispersion of Social Services offices throughout the province enables social workers to maintain contact with juveniles in outlying areas. This geographic distribution of offices could also account for the provision of parole and adult probation services being, to a certain degree, handled by this department.

The new adult probation services has been placed under the Department of Justice presumably because of the recommendations of the

Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee:

The Department of Justice should immediately seek and appoint a Director of Correctional Services who would have decision-making authority equal to that of an assistant deputy minister and he should be the head of a Division of Correctional Services.¹

As soon as a director is appointed, and a division of correctional services set up, the first priority should be to develop an adult probation service, as a major alternative to imprisonment.²

This was part of the Committee's conviction that all correctional services should be placed under the one authority which they indicated should be the Director of Corrections in the Department of Justice. It is possible that they based their choice of departments on the fact that the Department of Justice is responsible for law enforcement and that the courts, penal institutions and the police are under its jurisdiction.

The Department of Rehabilitation and Recreation was formed as a result of a government restructuring of the old Department of Social Services and Rehabilitation. Perhaps the restructuring was done because the portfolio of Social Services and Rehabilitation had become too cumbersome. At any rate, the Training Schools were placed under the jurisdiction of the newly formed Department of Rehabilitation and Recreation.

The John Howard Society and the Salvation Army are community organizations who assumed responsibility for probation and parole as a supplement to the work of the government agencies in that field.

¹Newfoundland Corrections Study, Rec. 2, p. 20.

²Ibid., Rec. 8, p. 21.

The National Parole Service is, of course, under the Department of the Solicitor General, and assumes responsibility for federal offenders in Newfoundland as it does in other parts of Canada.

Although the reasons for the allocation of responsibilities to departments can frequently be difficult to define, the results are not so difficult to observe. The fragmentation of services has resulted in a system which is inefficient and which is not utilizing to the best advantage the available funds and resources.

One aspect of this fragmentation is a lack of communication and co-operation. The Corrections Study Committee found that

. . . Although the staff in the separate services were willing and did attempt to work together, it was felt that it was very difficult to develop a shared sense of purpose when responsibility was so divided. It was very difficult to see how a continuity of response to individual offenders could be organized, let alone assured. It was the Committee's impression that police, prisons, welfare staff and training schools tend to work in isolation (from each other), to be preoccupied with their individual problems and to protect their share of obviously scarce resources.¹

The Committee encountered some staff in these services who apparently misunderstand the official roles of people in related services. No doubt, some of them are convinced that they have quite opposite aims, without room for common ground at all.²

The fragmentation of services has not permitted the development of channels of communication between services, and prevents them from making a united effort in the field of corrections. The misunderstandings which exist among the various personnel complicate matters still further. In a service for which the public has little understanding or sympathy, a strong sense of purpose is necessary. The correction field

¹Newfoundland Corrections Study, p. 11.

²Ibid, p. 11.

in Newfoundland is not understood by the people who work within it, and hence cannot present a united front to the public nor enlist their support. The service is being provided without a true understanding of what is to be accomplished and both the offenders and the public are suffering. Many of the misconceptions result from the lack of adequate communications caused by the fragmentation and add to the inefficiency of the services. Naturally, in such a situation, co-ordination of services would be entirely impossible. One department would have no way of knowing what the other is doing and could conceivably be working at cross-purposes or duplicating efforts.

The fragmentation of resources, personnel and funds, has made it more difficult for services to be provided since an integrated view of needs is unavailable. Planning is done in St. John's for services which will affect the people in other areas of the province without adequate assessment of the needs in those other areas. Government funds are allocated in order of priority and the Corrections Services seem to be relatively low on the list. With so many departments involved in corrections the available funds are spread very thinly, so that no one department can accomplish very much with its share of the capital.

Fragmentation of services is applicable not only to Newfoundland but to correction in general. Organizational fragmentation of corrections can be seen as the heritage of its legal background resulting in a limitation of the scope of corrections administrators, in terms of both operational boundaries and correctional responsibility. Among the negative consequences occurring from this acceptance of the legal background of corrections

. . . is the tendency for managerial thinking to become constricted and reactive to the emergence of problems rather than innovative and anticipatory. The boundaries of the corrections field have been accepted largely as statutorially and bureaucratically defined, rather than creatively probed, and where appropriate, professionally challenged.¹

Because each service views itself in such a structured context, it is difficult for these separate organizations to respond to changes in the environment with resultant changes in policy.

The compartmentalization which results from a bureaucracy in which service boundaries are statutorially defined increases fragmentation and interferes with the development of an integrated corrections system. Each "compartment", or separate service, becomes preoccupied with its own designated responsibility and is unable to form a conception of itself as a unit of a whole or to synchronize its activities so as to mesh with the larger organization. As a result the tendency to fragmentation becomes more firmly entrenched.

Fragmentation hampers the ability of an organization or a group of organizations to respond to new environmental forces and stress. An organization's ability to achieve specified objectives is contingent on its detection of and responsiveness to changing environmental factors. First it must recognize and accurately assess changes that affect its operation (for example, treat alcoholism as a medical problem). Similarly, as the general population's education level increased, correctional agencies were to provide college-level programs for their clients.²

The corrections machinery has not been able to cope with the relatively stable environment of the past decades. It is even less

¹Billy L. Wayson, "Prison Administration in a Time of Change", Daniel Glaser, ed., Handbook of Criminology (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1974), p. 850.

²Ibid, p. 851.

well-equipped to handle the fast changing environment of the present.

Unification

The fragmentation of corrections services has been approached by several countries with a view towards unification. In the United States, in 1973, the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals called on states

to unify within the executive branch all nonfederal correctional functions and programs for adults and juveniles, including service for persons awaiting trial; probation supervision; institutional confinement; community-based programs, whether prior to or during institutional confinement; and parole and after-care programs.¹

This administrative unification would presumably result in greater efficiency, clearer accountability, higher performance standards, more flexible programming and better allocation of resources.

One of the problems raised when a discussion of unification takes place is the separation of juvenile and adult services. According to Skoler, the National Advisory Commission says:

Today, progressive programs for adults resemble progressive programs for juveniles, but more often than not they are administered separately to the detriment of overall planning and continuity of programming for offenders. The ambiguity and awkwardness resulting from this division is nowhere more apparent than in the handling of older adolescent and young adult offenders who . . . are dealt with maladroitly by both systems.

.

With respect to combining adult and juvenile correctional functions within a single agency, the Commission concludes that the advantage of greater visibility of a single agency to the

¹National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Corrections, 1973, cited by Daniel L. Skoler, "Correctional Unification: Rhetoric, Reality, and Potential", Federal Probation (April, 1976), p. 15.

eyes of the public and its elected representatives merits prime consideration. Moreover, the resulting integration of services and flexible utilization of staff outweigh the advantages for having a separate organization for juvenile corrections services.¹

This amalgamation would not seem to endanger legitimate distinctions or priorities for juvenile offenders; is in keeping with the functional classification of corrections; offers more strength and visibility for the correctional function, and promises accountability and flexibility within an already multifaceted criminal justice system.²

The United States has really only begun to unify its correctional services. Only seven states have integrated departments bringing together all, or substantially all, recognized correctional functions.³ It will be useful at this point to discuss briefly two countries which have made great progress in unifying their services.

In Sweden, a country known for its great interest in welfare services, an ideal combination of unified responsibility and decentralized administration of correctional services is in operation. The central authority is ultimately responsible for the provision of services, but it delegates a great deal of authority to each of five regional authorities. These regions, or districts, are in effect autonomous entities within the framework of the system, responsible to the central authority but having the power to make decisions regarding the problems in their respective districts. Obviously, in order for such a system to operate in a synchronized manner it is necessary to have a firm policy base.

¹Ibid, p. 17.

²Daniel L. Skoler, "Correctional Unification: Rhetoric, Reality, and Potential", Federal Probation (April, 1976), p. 17.

³Ibid.

The advantages of unification of institutional and extra-institutional processes, of some coherent administrative structure of probation, prison and parole, flows essentially from the fact that the link between institutional and non-institutional correctional processes grow closer and requires overall planning. The prison is now rarely thought to provide an independent, self-contained correctional process. It is seen by all who hope that it will rehabilitate as involving a gradual release procedure and an effective after-care program linked into a single rehabilitative plan, and even effective probation is coming to be seen as requiring some institutional supports in an appreciable proportion of cases.¹

Each regional authority in Sweden is responsible for providing detention prior to trial, probation and parole services, prison facilities, and after-care services. There is a central penal institution in each district as well as a range of classification and treatment institutions; pre-release centers and hostels; and extra-institutional facilities.

In such a system it is essential that the people in executive positions have a thorough understanding of each aspect of the complete system so that they can make enlightened decisions. The Swedish system operates in such a way that no person can reach a high position without having first accumulated a wide variety of work experiences in various parts of the system. Not only the executive personnel but also the front-line workers have a wide variety of experiences which enables them to understand how each part of the system influences and affects the whole.

One outstanding advantage of the regionalization of services is that it can provide for regional differences and the

¹Norval Norris, "Lessons from the Adult Correctional System of Sweden", Federal Probation 30 (December, 1966), p. 7.

modification of services to accommodate the unique requirements of a particular district. The regional prisons, for example, keep the offenders in constant touch with their home communities and facilitate the reintegration of the offender into his community when he is released. Furthermore, the delegation of authority divides the onerous burden of responsibility among several people and carries forward the theme of avoiding enterprises too large for any single person to have reasonably close acquaintance with their operation. The Swedish corrections system operates with the efficiency of a well-oiled machine.

The English Correctional Services system is similar to that of Sweden. In England there is a central authority, delegating responsibility to the local authorities who deal with probation and after-care; are responsible for pre-sentence reports; and work with the offenders while they are incarcerated and after they are released. Each locality does not, however, have a central prison, rather there are a number of specialized institutions such as Brixton, for offenders on remand; Broadmoor, for the criminally insane; Grendon Underwood, for prisoners requiring psychiatric treatment; and the Holloway prison for female offenders. Juvenile offenders are dealt with in the British equivalent of the Newfoundland training schools--approved schools and borstals. Detention centres are used for probationers who are having trouble with probation and require a period of confinement before continuing probation. This is commonly referred to as the "Short Sharp Shock" method because it is designed to give juveniles an example of incarceration and has the effect of making probation a much more attractive proposition.

Sweden and England have reached an enviable stage of development in the evolution of their correctional services which Newfoundland has not even begun to approach. The following chapter will advance some ideas for possible improvements in service delivery which could facilitate the development of a more effective system.

CHAPTER VI

REFLECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The problems inherent in the Newfoundland Corrections Service were shown very clearly in the reports of the Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee and the K. L. McReynolds' Correctional System Requirements Study. Both reports suggested guidelines for improving the service and made a number of recommendations. The McReynolds Report, using the guidelines of the Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee as terms of reference, recommended the implementation of a new adult probation service, a diversion for alcohol offenders, expansion of juvenile probation, a public education program, replacement for Her Majesty's Penitentiary, establishment of community residential centres across the province and the development of regional holding units. These improvements were to be made over the four year period between 1974 and 1978. They also recommended that, in order to facilitate the implementation of these recommendations, a Director of Corrections be appointed. Although the report did not specify that adult and juvenile corrections services should be under the same jurisdiction, it did indicate that all juvenile correctional services should be under one department and it made a similar recommendation for adult services.

To date, only three of the proposed improvements have been initiated. The Director of Corrections has been appointed; the adult probation service has been set up under the jurisdiction of the Director

of Corrections in the Department of Justice; and plans are underway for the construction of a new penitentiary to replace Her Majesty's Penitentiary and the new facility will be located in or near St. John's. Presumably, the construction of the new penal institution was given top priority because it was deemed a more urgent necessity. The emphasis could have been more properly placed on preventative and therapeutic measures.

Excessive emphasis has traditionally been placed on the idea that prisons are the ultimate solution to the problem of crime in society. In recent decades the emphasis has been shifting away from prisons and towards community-based treatments, since it has become apparent that prisons do not provide any permanent solutions for the people who have been incarcerated.

Reintegration of the offender into the community as a law-abiding citizen has been a stated purpose of correctional programs, including prisons.¹ The prison's failure to show any actualization of that goal has helped spur the movement toward the expanded use and development of alternatives to institutional settings.

In actual practice, prisons do little except punish those who have been found guilty of breaking the law. As they are managed today, prisons most certainly do more harm than good.

¹Report of the Canadian Committee on Corrections Toward Unity: Criminal Justice and Corrections, Roger Ouimet, Chairman (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1969), p. 307. Referred to hereinafter as Canadian Committee on Corrections.

Most convicts leave prisons far worse than when they entered them. The system neither corrects, retains or rehabilitates criminals in any meaningful way.¹

The use of prisons to accomplish the goal of reintegration is impeded by outmoded physical facilities, inadequate personnel and repressive practices. Until this is changed, the reintegration of offenders will remain more of an ideal than a reality. There is now a widely held belief in corrections that reintegration cannot be accomplished by isolating offenders in artificial, custodial settings. By incarceration the offender is separated from his community. He can no longer carry out responsibilities which he would have as an active citizen. He loses his employment, loses contact with his family and becomes unaware of community change. When returned to the community he is unprepared for the problems which face him. During his incarceration, there is generally little contact with outside agencies that could provide assistance upon his release. The problems which were evident prior to incarceration have probably not been dealt with and have been compounded by his incarceration. The released offender finds that although he has now to behave as a law-abiding citizen, the community is not necessarily going to accept him as such. His incarceration has not equipped him to deal with these problems.

Another criticism of prisons has been that incarceration unavoidably exposes the offender to criminal value systems which may not have been his prior to incarceration. For example, due to lack of

¹Calvert R. Dodge, A Nation Without Prisons: Alternatives to Incarceration (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1975), p. 234.

facilities in Newfoundland, federal prisoners are often sent to serve their sentences at mainland institutions. During their stay, they come in contact with prisoners who have, to one degree or another, had greater experience or who have committed far more serious crimes. Contact with the more sophisticated criminals has had a contaminating effect on the relatively innocent Newfoundland prisoners. Thus the facility intended for rehabilitation serves to corrupt them further. It was, perhaps, with a view to preventing this kind of situation that the government decided to give top priority to the construction of the new penal institution in Newfoundland in order that Newfoundland offenders, both federal and provincial, could be kept in Newfoundland.

Probation and Parole

Criticism such as those stated above have prompted correctional authorities to focus more on programs which will keep the offender within the community where, by intensive, individual treatment and environmental change, the problems underlying his delinquency can be identified, tackled and worked through in a realistic way.

In the prisons, the offender's behaviour is controlled largely by restraint imposed upon him by external forces. Upon leaving the institution, the offender suddenly finds the restraints removed and, if he has not learned to use restraint upon his own actions, little change will occur in his behaviour. Community-based treatment would provide a program of re-education in order to change the attitudes, conditions and problems which were the causes of the criminal activity. Very often the individual commits a crime, as a result of a number of circumstances

which have a cumulative effect and which he is not equipped, perhaps because of lack of education, moral values or proper attitudes, to handle in a way which is acceptable to society.

Two commonly used community-based programs are probation and parole, and their main purposes are the reintegration of the offender into the community and protection of society. The major difference between these two programs is that the parole service handles offenders after a period of incarceration, while probation takes up offenders directly from the courts without any period of incarceration. The two purposes, reintegration and public safety, may seem diametrically opposed since the public may fail to understand how the public can be protected while the offender is an active member of that public. It would appear equally logical, however, that society can be better protected if the offender can be integrated with the community, and be led to accept the values of that community. In other words, the offender can be re-educated so that he internalizes, and accepts as his own, the values and attitudes which are characteristic of the rest of his community.

The success rate of probation and parole services depends to a large extent upon the definition of success which is used in the measurement.

As defined in the Canadian Committee on Corrections report, one measure of success is "the completion of the probation period by the probationer without a breach of conditions sufficiently serious to induce the court to terminate probation and impose a sentence".¹ Using this

¹Ouimet, Canadian Committee on Corrections, p. 297.

definition, in 1976, Alberta reported 89 percent of adult probationers completed probation successfully; Manitoba reported 85 percent; Ontario 85 percent and Saskatchewan 84 percent success rate.¹

The Ontario Probation Officers Association defined successful probationers

. . . as those who were terminated early because of good behaviour plus those who completed their original term who did not have a further indictable offence during the three years immediately following termination.²

Their study showed that 68.3 percent of the cases were successful.³

The Canadian Committee on Corrections defined the success rate of parole as "the completion of the parole period by the parolee without either forfeiture or revocation".⁴

The National Parole Board reports that of the 20,254 paroles granted up to the end of 1967, 1,105 were forfeited and 1,092 were revoked, a total of 2,201 cases in which parole was not completed successfully. This means that 89.2 percent of parolees completed their parole period successfully or are still on parole.⁵

¹Ibid.

²Ontario Probation Officer's Association, "An Examination of the Results of Adult Probation", Canadian Journal of Corrections, 1967, pp. 80-86, cited by Report of the Canadian Committee on Corrections Toward Unity: Criminal Justice and Corrections, Roger Ouimet, Chairman (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1969), p. 297.

³Ibid.

⁴Canada, National Parole Board Annual Report, 1967 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer), cited by Report of the Canadian Committee on Corrections Toward Unity: Criminal Justice and Corrections, Roger Ouimet, Chairman (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1969), p. 297.

⁵Ibid.

Using this same definition, the British Columbia parole board reported a success rate of 61 percent.¹

Another measure of success is whether the inmates' total correctional experience, including parole, enabled him to avoid further convictions after the parole period was completed. A recent unpublished study, financed by the Canadian Penitentiary Service, was carried out in the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary Complex, with a group of 1,677 inmates released from regular penitentiaries between May 1959 and May 1961 and followed up for a period of five years after release. The study indicated a success rate of 55 percent for parolees. Those who were released on expiry of sentence has a success rate of only 35 percent.²

Newfoundland parolees show a success rate of 90 percent using the definition of success as completion of parole period without either forfeiture or revocation. Approximately 50 percent of the parole applications are granted.³ For example, in 1974-1975, 105 inmates were granted parole out of 214 applications.⁴

From the foregoing discussion, and the related statistics, it appears that the probation and parole services can and should be used as a viable alternative to incarceration. Both services have been enjoying a measure of success in the rehabilitation of criminals, as pointed out above. Therefore, it would seem that these services should be developed and refined so that they can operate at their optimal level. With this in mind, the first recommendation of this study is the combining of

¹Ouimet, Canadian Committee on Corrections, p. 335.

²Ibid.

³Mr. R. Evans, interview held at National Parole Service Offices in St. John's, Newfoundland, March, 1976.

⁴Newfoundland, Department of Justice, H. M. Penitentiary Annual Report, 1974-1975, p. 7.

probation services for adults and juveniles with parole services, under the auspices of one authority. By combining both services there would be a pooling of resources and personnel and this would facilitate the development of a well integrated program which could provide a greater continuity of services.

The obstruction to a clear understanding of the similarities in the people-work of probation, prisons and parole is reduced by the use of probation officers for both probation and parole in the federal correctional system and in many other jurisdictions following the same practice. (Aside from reducing confusion, there are great administrative advantages to such a combination, not the least of which is staffing flexibility and correction continuity.)¹

As the services presently exist, probation is responsible for the offender who is not being sent to prison and parole is responsible for the offender after incarceration. There is no continuous, consistent program for the offender as an individual nor for offenders as a group. Each service makes decisions concerning the offender in relative isolation. As previously observed, the Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee reported that workers in the various services were unfamiliar with the work being done in other areas of the system. If probation and parole services were combined there would exist a continuity of service impossible with fragmentation.

This practice of combining both services is followed in the English probation and after-care services where the officer who prepares the pre-sentence investigation is responsible for carrying the offender

¹Alan R. Coffey, Correctional Administration: The Management of Probation, Institutions and Parole (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1974), p. 34.

through the system and ultimately out the other end--parole.

At present the policy base for probation and parole in Newfoundland is determined by the administrative personnel of each respective service. With a centralization of these services one body, a committee of representatives from each service, could be made responsible for policy decisions affecting service delivery. The committee would lay the groundwork for the new service system and would provide for the field staff a firm basis for decision-making on behalf of their clientele and the community.

Decentralization

Centralization is necessary for the formation of the service; decentralization is necessary for the delivery of that service to the areas of the province where the needs exist.

As previously stated, most correctional services in the province are concentrated in the St. John's area. The facts and figures in the previous chapters definitely indicate that the other areas of the province have problems which necessitate the establishment of effective services in those areas. The concentration of services in St. John's has made it difficult, if not impossible, to ensure adequate service delivery to those areas. The establishment of offices in those areas had previously been prevented by the small number of offenders requiring any one service and the high cost of the establishment of separate services, therefore, the Department of Social Services has been responsible for juvenile and adult probation and some adult parole services.

With the proposed integration of services, regional offices will become practicable, particularly in view of the fact that rates of

criminal activity have been increasing sharply. Considering the distribution of population and criminal activity, it would seem logical to divide the province, for purposes of administration and service delivery, into four basic districts as shown in Figure 2. The rationale for such a division was discussed in Chapter III. In that chapter it was shown that Labrador, the Stephenville area, the Gander--Grand Falls area have the highest incidence of crimes which are almost certainly related to social and economic changes in those regions. The problems experienced in those regions demand that services be established within the area concerned so that provision can be knowledgeably made for the particular needs of each.

Facilitation of service delivery in the manner suggested above requires delegation of authority so that the field workers can have a degree of autonomy within the framework established by the policy-making body referred to above. One of the major areas of administrative concern when discussing decentralization is the delegation of authority.¹ Many agency administrators hesitate to delegate authority because of a feeling that field staff cannot be as easily controlled as someone who is making decisions at head office. If, however, the chief administrator felt confident that the field staff were highly competent people, he would more readily delegate authority to them. At present many staff members are not adequately trained in corrections and would require upgrading in order to function effectively in a new integrated system.

¹Further discussion of the issues of delegation of authority is found in Fritz Morstein Marx, Ed., Elements of Public Administration (New York: Prentice Hall Inc., 1946), pp. 269-284.

Figure 2 = Proposed Division by Districts

Source: Map supplied by Department of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Divisions were taken from An Overview and Analysis of Correctional System Requirements for the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. K. L. McReynolds Ltd., Research Design Consultants, Thornhill, Ontario, May, 1974. The division of Gander-Grand Falls was created by the author of this report.

Field workers would need to be capable of greater flexibility as each area presents a different problem and would require a different solution, for example, the problems with juveniles in Stephenville would require a different treatment from that used among the alcohol-related problems in Labrador.

Since the scope and functions of both probation and parole officers are limited to compilation of assessments, supervision of offenders and resource investigations within the community, then specialized personnel can be placed in the field rather than at head office. In this case not only would the chief administrator feel more confident but also the public would feel that the job was being done by an expert, and therefore competently.

The fact that delegation of authority can work efficiently in large organizations is illustrated by the present education system in the province. On the recommendation of the Royal Commission Report on Education and Youth, the province was divided into educational districts which replaced the old system of local boards. Under the old system, each school had its own board. The tremendous waste of funds, the inefficiency, and the lack of coordination and cooperation and any semblance of uniform educational standards made this system a prime example of fragmentation at its worst. The new system is not without faults, but it does provide centralized administration. Each educational district has a central board made up of representatives from each community in the district. These boards are responsible for policy-making within the framework of the system established and maintained by the Department of Education. The system has been working out well because

there is constant communication made possible by the channels which were built into the system at its inception. Frequent conferences, workshops and orientation programs are utilized to keep supervisory personnel and teachers in close contact with each other and with new trends in the field of education.

The success demonstrated by the reorganization of the education system in Newfoundland indicates that fragmentation, however severe, can be eradicated if the proper approach is taken. There is, therefore, reason to think that the correctional system could be improved.

Problems will no doubt arise and have to be solved. It is conceivable that conflicts will occur among personnel who are not familiar with the interrelationship of the various services. An orientation program would no doubt do much to alleviate such a problem. Also there may be conflict between the presently existing departments concerning allocation of funds. Available financial resources in Newfoundland are limited and the various departments have had frequent difficulty in obtaining their share of them. The particular department which would by the integration of correctional services have to relinquish its share of the resources which were allocated for corrections might be reluctant to do so. However, it is not the purpose of this study to deal with all the problems of the administration of the new service, which would be more appropriately left to the discretion of the proposed committee.

Public Involvement

Because of the problems which resulted from the geographic

distribution of population, it will be difficult for personnel in central district offices to maintain contact with offenders in remote communities within the districts they service. Therefore, it is suggested that interested citizens in those remote settlements be enlisted as volunteers to work with individual offenders in conjunction with district office personnel in the community environment. These volunteers could serve the two-fold purpose of helping the offender and forming thereby a liaison between the correctional services and the public. This liaison could form the basis for a more positive attitude on the part of the public towards corrections in general. Evidence that public support has previously been lacking was clearly visible in 1975 when the John Howard Society attempted to establish a half-way house in a residential area of the city of St. John's. Residents of the area raised such a protest that the project had to be abandoned.

It becomes more and more obvious that the delivery of corrections services is not being supported by the public, and in some cases, are even being hampered by the negative public pressures as illustrated above. Such situations strongly indicate that a public education program is an urgent necessity. Generally speaking, the public is subjected to the sensationalized reports of crimes in the mass media. These reports often create an impression of criminals as axe-waving murderers. Such is rarely the case, particularly in Newfoundland, where the most common offence is against property, and violent crimes are limited to assaults, as shown by Table 1 in Chapter III.

This chapter has considered some possible improvements in the delivery of correctional services. Recommendations have been made on

the basis of geographic factors, dispersion of population centres and variations in regional conditions. This combination creates a good case for regional decentralization and a firm unified policy base, without which no central administrator would dare risk decentralization.

From the information and data presented in this and previous chapters, the following recommendations have been extracted:

1. The services for adult and juvenile probation and parole should be combined, for purposes of administration and service delivery. Such a consolidated service would provide the continuity, communication and cooperation which is necessary for more effective operation and which it is obviously lacking the present fragmented system.

2. After the consolidation of probation and parole services, representatives should be selected from each of the services concerned to form a committee whose purpose would be the formation of a firm policy base for subsequent decision-making processes. This policy base would form the framework within which specialized personnel can function with maximum efficiency.

3. Following the implementation of Recommendations 1 and 2, the province should be divided into four administrative districts--Labrador, the Stephenville area, the Gander--Grand Falls area, and the St. John's area, as previously discussed and shown in Figure 2. Such a division would enable the central administrative body to make provision for regional differences.

4. With the division of the province into the specified districts, the central administrative body should ensure the placement of competent, specialized personnel in central locations in the various

districts and provide for the degree of regional autonomy essential for the provision of services, synchronized with the needs and problems of the particular district concerned.

5. Since each district will undoubtedly include settlements which are remote from the central area and frequently inaccessible by reason of transportation difficulties or distance, the regional field workers may experience difficulty in maintaining constant contact with some of their clients. For this reason it is recommended that volunteer workers be enlisted in remote settlements to work on an individual basis, in close association with regional field workers, to offer service to offenders. By utilizing members of the community to assist in the correctional effort, it might be possible to lay the groundwork of an increased understanding on the part of the public for the work of corrections in general.

6. Generally speaking, the public has a rather negative attitude towards criminals and would prefer that they be safely locked away in prisons rather than out on parole or on probation. It is understandable, given such an attitude, that the public takes a rather dim view of corrections services. In order to enlist public support, it is recommended that an education program be instituted at the earliest opportunity to acquaint the public with the aims and objectives of corrections.

Implications for Social Work Practice

The social problems discussed in this study are not confined to Newfoundland but are common in most other parts of the civilized world. The problems identified in this study should be areas of concern for

social workers providing services in this province. This paper has confined itself to the field of corrections; however, the points which have been raised indicate problems for services concerned with unemployment, social assistance, education and alcoholism.

Community social workers who are interested in environmental change within their particular community could become highly involved with correctional services personnel and cooperate with them in the reintegration of the offenders into the community. Perhaps they could form an integral part of the corrections service in helping to alleviate the conditions which were responsible, to whatever degree, for the development of the criminality. Social workers could, and perhaps should, be part of the staff of the regional corrections office.

Social workers, because of their close association with the public, could be useful liaison personnel in the public education program. They would be most likely to know which organizations would be most influential in changing public attitudes.

Clearly this study does have definite implications for social work practice in Newfoundland.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

This study was designed to investigate and discuss the problems peculiar to the field of corrections in Newfoundland and to offer some suggestions aimed at their alleviation. It contains an examination of sociological, geographical and administrative factors which are likely to influence any decisions to change and improve service delivery.

The compilation of this paper required a presentation of the unique situation encountered by correctional services in the province. Data were taken from Newfoundland sources and combined with material from corrections in general and Newfoundland correctional services in particular. In order to develop proposals it was necessary to consider the administrative, organizational and correctional fields, examine selected theories and interpret them in terms of the Newfoundland situation.

It was discovered in the course of the research that the rate of crime in Newfoundland has increased sharply in recent years, particularly in property offences and among juveniles. Alcohol-related offences are high, particularly among the natives of Labrador of whom a disproportionate percentage is represented in the crime statistics. It appears that the high incidence of crime in recent years can be attributed to the social and economic upheaval which has taken place in Newfoundland. The four major problem areas with regard to criminal

activity are Labrador, the Stephenville area, the Gander-Grand Falls area, and the St. John's area.

Most of the correctional services are presently concentrated in the St. John's area even though the majority of the population and the crime problems are dispersed throughout the province. Poor communications and transportation facilities have interfered with the delivery of correctional services to the areas of the province where the needs are sufficiently great to warrant increased attention. Correctional services are hampered further by the fact that services are fragmented by the involvement of several different and unrelated departments in their delivery.

Based on these findings, the following recommendations were made:

1. That adult and juvenile probation and parole services be consolidated.
2. That a firm policy base be established by a committee drawn from the consolidated services.
3. That the province be divided into four administrative districts.
4. That district offices be established and staffed by competent personnel to whom authority can safely be delegated from the central administrative authority.
5. That volunteer workers be enlisted to supplement services in outlying areas in each district.

6. That a public education program be implemented to enlist public support.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Canada. Statistics Canada. Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. 1972-1973 Information Canada.
- Coffey, Alan R. Correction Administration; The Management of Probation, Institutions and Parole. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1974.
- Conrad, John P. Crime and Its Correction An International Survey of Attitudes Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press. 1967.
- Dewitt, Robert L. Public Policy and Community Protest: The Fogo Case. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies No. 8 Institute of Social and Economic Research. Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland. 1969.
- Dodge, Calvert R. A Nation without Prisons: Alternatives to Incarceration. Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company. 1975.
- "Epidemic of Alcoholism." St. John's, Newfoundland Evening Telegram July 24, 1976.
- Evans, M. R. District Director National Parole Service, St. John's, Newfoundland. Interview March, 1976.
- Faris, James C. Cat Harbour: a Newfoundland fishing settlement. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies No. 3. Institute of Social and Economic Research. Memorial University of Newfoundland. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- Gibbons, Don C. Society, Crime and Criminal Careers. An Introduction to Criminology 2nd Ed. p. 183 Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc. 1973.
- Hartjen, Clayton A. Crime and Criminalization. Praeger University Series Viewpoints in Sociology. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974.
- Jeans, David James. "Profile of Delinquency: A Background to the Problem in Newfoundland." Master of Education Thesis. Memorial University of Newfoundland. 1973.

- Marx, Fritz Morstein. Elements of Public Administration New York: Prentice Hall Inc. 1946.
- Morris, Norval. "Lessons From the Adult Correctional System of Sweden." Federal Probation. December 30, 1966. pp. 3-13.
- Newfoundland. Department of Justice. H.M. Penitentiary Annual Report. 1974-75.
- Newfoundland. Department of Justice. H.M. Penitentiary Annual Report. 1973-1974.
- "Newfoundland No More Mister-nice-guy." Financial Post Report on Atlantic Provinces. July 12, 1976.
- Overview and Analysis of Correctional System Requirements for the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. K. L. McReynolds Ltd. Research Design Consultants. Glencameron Road, Thornhill, Ontario May 1974.
- Report of the Canadian Committee on Corrections Toward Unity: Criminal Justice and Corrections. Roger Ouimet, Chairman. Ottawa: Information Canada. 1969.
- Report of the Newfoundland Corrections Study Committee. Keith Couse, Chairman. Newfoundland and Labrador. April 1973.
- Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth. Phillip Warren, Chairman. Newfoundland and Labrador. 1967.
- Rothney, Gordon O. Canada in One World. The House of Grant (Canada) Ltd. 1966.
- Simon, Herbert; Smithburg, Donald; Thompson, Victor A. Public Administration New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956.
- Skoler, Daniel L. "Correctional Unification: Rhetoric, Reality and Potential." Federal Probation. April 1976 pp. 14-20.
- Skolnik, Michael L. Ed. Viewpoints on Communities in Crisis Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies No. 1 Institute of Social and Economic Research. Memorial University of Newfoundland. St. John's, Newfoundland. 1968.
- U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. Task Force Report: Corrections. Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1967.

Wayson, Billy L. "Prison Administration in A Time of Change." in Handbook of Criminology. Edited by Daniel Glaser. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co. 1974 pp. 849-865.

Winslow, Robert W. Society in Transition A Social Approach to Deviancy. New York: The Free Press. 1970.