

THE TEMPORARY ABSENCE PROGRAM
FOR EMPLOYMENT: A STUDY OF BENEFITS

by

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SUMMARY OF RESULTS

This study dealt with an examination of benefits accrued as a consequence of participation on the employment Temporary Absence Program. Benefits were examined mainly from the participants' point of view. Benefits were looked at in the areas of employment, finances, social relationships and roles, and post-release criminality. Fifty-four participants were interviewed. Roughly half of these had been participants on the Program but were, at the time of the interview, free in the community. It is from this latter group that post-release information was obtained. The interviews were conducted between June 11, 1973 and August 15, 1973. Those interviewed had participated in T.A.P. from one of nine institutions chosen for the study.

Roughly half the people interviewed were under 25 years of age, with the average age of respondents being 28. The average length of participation on the T.A.P. was about 2.5 months. With respect to the jobs which were held while on the Program, 81.1% had the same or a similar job on T.A.P. as the last job they had held prior to incarceration, with the remaining men having different jobs. Of these, two (20.0%) remained in the same occupational category, while eight (80.0%) moved down to lower status jobs. Overall it appeared that those holding the same or similar jobs were significantly more satisfied with their T.A.P. job, as well as being higher paid, than were those holding different types of jobs.

Upon interview of the post-release subjects, it was striking to find that of 25 men, 23 were working, one was unemployed, and one had gone back to school. Of those who were working, 91.0% were performing the same job as on the T.A.P. Nine percent were performing different work. It was further discovered that 64.0% held the same job, while on T.A.P., before T.A.P., and after T.A.P., thus demonstrating the least amount of discontinuity over time. For 20.0% the T.A.P. job was new and they continued with this job after release.

Almost one-half the participants sent some money home on a weekly basis while still in the institution. Sixty-three percent put some money away regularly into savings while on the Program. It was found that 50.0% of the participants' families depended fully on the inmates' earnings to pay for their accommodation. Another 19.2% depended partly on the inmates' earnings.

Of those people who had debts upon incarceration, 69.7% had at least begun to pay some of these off with their T.A.P. earnings.

Being on the T.A.P. had some positive implications for families with regard to alleviation of dependence on public assistance. Of 12 families which were on public assistance just prior to inmates' activation of T.A.P., only two (16.7%) were still on public assistance during part of the man's T.A.P. participation.

Of the post-release people, 80.0% had savings upon release. Sixty-eight percent of these had savings of less than \$500. The rest had savings of \$500 and over.

Ninety-two percent felt that T.A.P. is not an easy way of doing time, but, in fact, that it is harder. Only eight percent stated that it is an easy way.

Approximately 50.0% of the individuals gave "social" reasons for going on the T.A.P., e.g., to keep up with family relationships, to keep in touch with society, to be useful and not waste time, etc. Forty-five percent stated that their relationships with their families had improved. The rest felt that there had been no change, and, in fact, some of these speculated that the T.A.P. may have helped their relationships from breaking down, T.A.P. thereby having a preventative value.

Two separate main office file checks, the first representing a two to three month follow-up period, the other 7½ to 8½ month period, resulted in the finding that no one had been reincarcerated. Only one individual had committed a further crime leading to a fine. The number of ex-participants looked at for the second follow-up check, was 69. These results are indeed encouraging and might form the focus of further study to determine whether the positive situations continued for a more substantial period.

A number of positive aspects of the T.A.P. were identified by respondents, the most notable of which were based on the privileges available while on the T.A.P. The ability to keep in touch with what goes on in society was another positive aspect which was mentioned by a sizable number of participants. Among the negative aspects, over 50% mentioned that they felt that some staff were not supportive of the program. Also highlighted were desires for more privileges and for separate housing facilities.

RATIONALE FOR INITIATION OF STUDY

This study was initiated during 1973 through the interests of various people within the Ministry of Correctional Services who have indicated a desire for information on benefits accrued as a consequence of participation on the Temporary Absence Program. Systematic information in this area particularly with respect to the longer term benefits for participants in the post-release period, was very limited.

Furthermore, since the Ministry of Correctional Services views the Temporary Absence Program high on its list of priorities as a useful tool in the rehabilitative process, some examination of its operation seemed warranted. Administrators of the T.A.P., as well as personnel at various levels, felt that some feedback concerning the Program at this time would be helpful to them in the administration of the Program.

B A C K G R O U N D

Although modern day Temporary Absence Programs are often attributed to the passing of the Huber Act, 1913, in Wisconsin, U.S.A., similar programs¹ were existent in Ontario early in the 1900's, specifically with the passage of the "Extramural Employment of Sentenced Persons Act, 1921". Records show that, between October 1st and December 31st, of 1920, forty-five prisoners were placed to work out of the institution.

The present Ontario T.A.P. was initiated August 26, 1969, with one of its expressed purposes being that,

*"...the Superintendent may, with the approval of the Deputy Minister, authorize a series of daily absences of an inmate from an institution for the purpose of employment, education, training or other activity that is considered by him necessary or advisable to assist in the inmate's rehabilitation."*²

This was in keeping with the general principle expressed in this Ministry's Statement of Purpose that,

*"Successful reintegration into the community is the largest single factor in determining the effectiveness of any rehabilitative program."*³

Through employment and education releases, inmates are allowed to attend work or school during the day but must return to the institution in the evening. Other forms of releases exist in which the inmate is allowed to remain in the community day and night for a prescribed period of time, usually not exceeding fifteen days.

The numbers of inmates participating in the T.A.P. during the first three years of operation have shown significant yearly increases. In fact, the number of participants in the employment program has tripled since its first year of operation.

A first year's examination of the employment and education T.A.P. was conducted by James J. Hug⁴ of the Ministry of Correctional Services. Hug interviewed the first 175 applicants for the program, some of the participating educators and employers, as well as the institutional staff connected with the program. All three sources of information pointed out that the T.A.P. had definite rehabilitative value. Hug was able to extract certain variables from file data which when combined would predict with approximately 70% accuracy the final acceptance or rejection of an applicant.⁵ Richard Fox of the Centre of Criminology of the University of Toronto, in close cooperation with the Department of Correctional Services and using some of the information collected by Hug as a basis, offered a description of the initial period of the Ontario T.A.P.. He concluded that while the T.A.P. has certain goals and objectives which tend to be rehabilitative in nature,

"....one would have to consider not only the degree to which they were met within the programme itself, but also the extent to which the same ends are or could be achieved under alternative schemes..."⁶

L I T E R A T U R E

Generally speaking, very little is known about the whole area of prison and jail releases.⁷ Writings on the subject are few, due, in part, to the fact that legislation in this field has been so recent.

The existence of temporary absence programs is part of a wider phenomenon of community-based rehabilitation. There seems to be today a growing awareness on the part of many, that if rehabilitation is to take place, it must be conducted in the natural living environment. Goffman⁸ points out that if one is to adopt proper behaviour, the expectations and conditions surrounding this behaviour must be consistent with the natural environment. He goes on to point out that because total institutions differ so much from free society in most respects, very little rehabilitation can take place within institutions *per se*.

Stanley Grupp is one of the very few who has done any extensive investigations of temporary absence (particularly work release) programs in the United States. He makes a defence for work-release in terms of the theory of punishment which integrates retribution, deterrence and rehabilitation. Deterrence is expressed by the fact that the inmate must spend his non-working hours in confinement. The constant re-adjustment to confinement and freedom serves the retributive function. While data is limited with respect to the rehabilitative function of work-release, Grupp posits that it,

"...contributes to the development of a sense of self-respect. Work furlough inmates are paying their way and helping to support dependents; this in and of itself will help develop self-respect and a sense of responsible citizenry. Similarly, to the extent that there is an increased probability of employment following release, it should help the individual remain a law-abiding citizen."⁹

Even if such work-release programs do not positively effect recidivism rates, they are nevertheless defensible because,

"In and of itself, the potential financial saving should provide sufficient inducement to initiate work release procedures. Ideally, financial considerations should not dictate penal-correctional policies, but when financial savings are known to accompany sound correctional procedures the usefulness of this unique fact in convincing skeptics should not be overlooked."¹⁰

Rudoff and Esselstyn¹¹, however, showed in a recent study that recidivism rates were significantly lower for work release inmates when compared to a control group of non-work-release inmates. Work release inmates remained at liberty longer, spent fewer days in incarceration, and decreased the seriousness of their offences when compared to the control group.

In a study of the sheriffs' viewpoint of work release¹², Grupp pointed out that sheriffs identified many advantages of work-release programs. Among the most frequently mentioned were:

- (a) financial support of inmate's family,
- (b) the inmate being less of a public burden, and
- (c) the inmate being able to keep his job.

As part of a study of North Carolina's work release program, Cooper¹³ investigated some of the attitudes of work-release employers and employees. The employees indicated that one of the major reasons for accepting work-release employment was to support themselves and their families. In the same study, employers indicated that their most important reason for hiring an inmate was based on some previous knowledge about the inmate. The next important reason cited was the desire to help in the rehabilitative process. Hug, in the Ontario T.A.P. study, discovered that the rationale cited by most employers and most schools for acceptance of an inmate was,

*"....primarily based on a desire to rehabilitate inmates in general as opposed to helping a former student/employee or an acquaintance."*¹⁴

John Currie in a study of one to five day leaves under The Ontario Temporary Absence Program found that good institutional behaviour is a significant factor in granting Temporary Absence to an applicant.¹⁵ Ingram tested the assumption that successful adaptation to institutional life is related to successful work release. While he showed that the assumption was invalid, he also demonstrated that experience gained on work release proved to be beneficial even for failures "at least in terms of their later institutional behaviour"¹⁶.

SCOPE OF STUDY

The purpose of this study is to present a delineation and analysis of benefit areas of the employment T.A.P. Other studies have explored general areas, such as the employment and education programs with respect to selection criteria and perceptions of the program by various parties concerned. It is hoped that in the present study benefits and related issues will become more clearly defined, laying the foundation for the possibility of a comparative study of the T.A.P. with other programs at a future time.

Generally speaking, this study concerns itself with those benefits accrued by the participants of the employment T.A.P. The four broad categories explored are employment benefits, financial benefits, continuity of significant roles and relationships, and post-release criminality. Benefits are examined primarily relative to the inmate, and to a lesser degree, the family, community and institution. Post-release criminality is looked at through examination of Main Office files at two different follow-up periods. Participants' perceptions of positive and negative aspects of the T.A.P., as well as their suggestions for changes are examined.

METHODOLOGY

Sample

The scope of this study population was limited to those individuals who participated in the T.A.P. at the nine institutions mentioned below only because it was considered too costly and time-consuming to attempt to interview individuals at great distances from Metropolitan Toronto, given the author's available time and graduate school requirements.

Two groups were used in this study. One was comprised of adult male inmates in custody and active on the employment T.A.P.; the other consisted of recently discharged adult males living free in the community who had previously been on the T.A.P. while in custody. Each respondent was interviewed at one time only.

Two groups were used in order to give a more general view of the employment T.A.P. with benefits being measured over time. This provided an opportunity to demonstrate whether benefits can be sustained and expected to last over time. It was also expected to demonstrate which benefits predominate at a given time.

The criteria employed for the inclusion of individuals in this study, generally speaking, were twofold:

1. Participants must have been in the Program for a minimum of 10 days. In the case of those interviewed after release, 10 days were allowed to elapse between release date and interview date.
2. Their T.A.P. participation must have been handled from one of the following institutions:
 - a) Barrie Jail
 - b) Guelph Jail
 - c) Hamilton Jail
 - d) Kitchener Jail
 - e) Mimico Correctional Centre
 - f) Simcoe Jail
 - g) Toronto Jail
 - h) Whitby Jail
 - i) Woodstock Jail

In keeping with the general policy of this Ministry with respect to contacting an individual who no longer is under its jurisdiction, it was necessary for the inmate to sign a consent form before termination of his sentence, giving tentative permission to a research assistant of the Planning and Research Branch to contact him after his release. In preparation for this, the author attended frequent evening group meetings at which inmates active on the Program were present. The nature of the study was discussed with those who were eligible to be interviewed after their release. It was emphasized that signing the consent form would not bind one to cooperate, should he change his mind later on.

The total number of individuals who were eligible to be included in this study was 77. Of these, 37 were to be interviewed while they were participating on the Program. However, eight of these individuals were subsequently taken off the Program because of violations, so only 29 were interviewed. Of the 40 individuals who were to be interviewed after their release, only 25 were interviewed. The rest were unable to be contacted or presented scheduling difficulties. The 25 who were interviewed represents roughly two-thirds the total sample, which coincides with the general pattern of follow-up studies conducted with correctional populations by the Planning and Research Branch.¹¹ Thus, the total number of interviews conducted with both sub-groups was 54. Interviews after release occurred about 14 months after discharge, with the range of lapsed time being 11 days to 72 days after discharge.

All those who were approached in the research planning stages, signed the consent form. Of these no one refused, after release, to be interviewed. Many, in fact, welcomed the opportunity.

The interviews were conducted between June 11, 1973 and August 15, 1973. Roughly one-half of the men in the study population were under the age of 25. Nearly three-fifths of them were married. Their average educational level was grade ten, and almost one-half of them had been incarcerated at least once before.

Data Collection Methods

The data for this study were obtained primarily from the inmates themselves through a semi-structured interview guide. Demographic data such as type of offence committed, age when left school, place of birth, previous incarcerations, were obtained through file data. Most interviews were conducted by the author, with a small number by a second research assistant. Each person in the post-release group was first contacted by telephone or mail to arrange an interview time and place. Many of the interviews were conducted in the evenings and weekends because most of the respondents were at work during the day.

Data Analysis

Most of the information collected was pre-coded for computer processing. A small portion of it was analyzed for content after it was collected, and then placed in appropriate categories. This occurred mainly on the open-ended items, about which there was little precise knowledge of the range of responses in advance. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), a system of computer programs, was used for obtaining frequency distributions of the data, as well as for statistical manipulations.

The χ^2 statistical test was used where applicable. However, because of the small sample size and at times the high skewedness of responses in one direction, it was decided that the frequency and percent distributions would be sufficient.

FINDINGSEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS DURING T.A.P.

Among the chief employment benefits stemming from T.A.P. is the shift from one of the traditional results of total incarceration, the inmate's laying down of his employment status. Loss of this status has a variety of possible implications, i.e. loss of income, potential necessity for income assistance, later unemployment, feelings of non-productiveness, lack of self-esteem, etc. The opportunity to engage in paid employment during incarceration, however, is one step toward regaining normalcy in daily living.

Of the 54 people interviewed in this study, 46 (85.2%) had been working just prior to incarceration, seven (12.9%) had been at that time unemployed and one (1.9%) had been a student. Of the seven who had been unemployed, one had never held a job prior to incarceration.

Comparing the last job held before incarceration with the job held while on the Temporary Absence Program, the following pattern emerged: for the 53 who had held jobs at any time in the past, 43 (81.1%) had the same or a similar job while on the T.A.P. and 10 (18.9%) had totally different jobs. Thus, for the 81.1%, this meant that they were continuing routinely at their previous or similar jobs. No retraining or great job readjustment was necessary.

Of those 46 who were working just prior to incarceration, 36 (78.3%) had the same job on the T.A.P. as they had had before incarceration. When these people were asked whether they thought they might have lost their jobs had they not been able to go on the T.A.P., over three-fifths of them (61.1%) thought that there was a chance that the jobs would have been lost. The remainder felt that their jobs would have been available to them upon release. In most of these latter cases, however, the employer was a friend or relative who had known the inmate for quite some time.

Using a classification of occupations to compare type of job held before the T.A.P. with that held while on the T.A.P., the following results were obtained: (Table 1).

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF TYPE OF JOB HELD BEFORE THE T.A.P.
WITH THAT HELD WHILE ON THE T.A.P.*

Job held while on the T.A.P.	LAST JOB HELD BEFORE THE T.A.P.				TOTAL
	Manage- rial & Profes- sional	Clerical, Sales, Service & Recre- ation	Transpor- tation & Crafts- men & Farming	Labourer	
Managerial & Profes- sional	1	0	0	0	1
Clerical Sales, Service & Recreation	0	7	0	0	7
Transpor- tation, Craftsmen & Farming	1	0	31	0	32
Labourer	4	2	1	6	13
TOTAL	6	9	32	6	53

* Ten participants stated that they had a different job on the T.A.P. compared to the last job prior to incarceration. Table 1 shows that only 8 individuals showed change across occupational categories. The discrepancy is explained by the fact that an individual may have had a new job, but may still have remained within the same occupational category.

It is significant to note that most of the participants were non white-collar workers. At the same time approximately three quarters were at both times non-labourers. On the basis of these data it would not appear that the T.A.P. caters to a select few in the white-collar, skilled categories.

Looking along the top left to the bottom right diagonal, it can be seen that 45 (84.9%) T.A.P. participants remained in the same occupational category to which they belonged before incarceration. Only eight men (15.1%) demonstrated change across occupational categories.

The direction of change for all eight individuals was from a more skilled job to a less skilled one. (See Table 1.) Seven of these individuals, four of whom had managerial and professional type jobs before incarceration, moved down to the labourer category. While the T.A.P. can help in sustaining some kind of job stability for those continuing at their regular jobs while on the Program, at the same time it appears that it tends not to offer advanced employment possibilities for those participants engaging in new jobs while on the T.A.P.

The respondent's feelings about his job are strongly related to whether the T.A.P. job was the same/similar to the last job held prior to incarceration. The participants were asked whether they would have accepted the T.A.P. job, had they been free. Those individuals whose T.A.P. job was different showed only one out of 10 (10.0%) responding 'yes', compared to 42 out of 43 (97.7%) for those whose job was the same/similar.

CONTINUITY OF EMPLOYMENT BENEFITS

The efficacy of many programs can usually be demonstrated by short-term benefits. It is rather simple to demonstrate and monitor the benefits of a program while the person is participating in that program. Much research, however, has been limited to this stage, and because of this, very little information of a follow-up nature exists. A crucial question in this study is whether participants of the T.A.P. continue with their jobs after release. Given that certain benefits exist for these people while on the Program, it is important to see whether there is a continuity of these post-institutionally. The answer to this question concerns not only the T.A.P. participants, but also those people involved with the planning and administration of the Program.

From the post-release group it was found that, at the time of the interview, their employment status was as follows:

TABLE 2

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF POST-RELEASE GROUP
(ON THE AVERAGE 3½ WEEKS AFTER DISCHARGE)

23 (92.0%) were working
 1 (4.0%) had gone back to school
 1 (4.0%) was unemployed
 25 (100.0%)

Immediately after discharge, all but one of the 25 (96.0%) had continued working at the same job he had held on the T.A.P. The other one (4.0%) was working, but had changed his job upon discharge. Of the 23 who were working at the time of interview, 21 (91.0%) were performing the same work performed when they were on the Program. Two (9.0%) were performing different work, and the time lost in the change of jobs was insignificant.

The one individual who was unemployed at the time of interview, was well aware of the fact that his job had been only temporary in nature when he went on the Temporary Absence Program. In fact, he continued with the job he had held on the T.A.P. for roughly one month after release, and was at the time of interview actively seeking work.

By examining the employment status of the 25 people comprising the follow-up group, a degree of job stability and continuity can be ascertained. This is done by comparing the jobs held prior to incarceration, while on the Program and after discharge. The least amount of discontinuity, and consequently the highest degree of job stability, is demonstrated by those individuals who hold the same job at the three points in time, i.e., before incarceration, while on the T.A.P. and after discharge. As can be seen in Table 3, sixteen (64.0%) held the same job for the three points in time:

TABLE 3

JOB SIMILARITY BEFORE INCARCERATION,
WHILE ON THE T.A.P.; AND AFTER DISCHARGE

Job	No.	%
Same job BEFORE, WHILE and AFTER T.A.P.	16	64.0
Same job BEFORE and WHILE on T.A.P. only	3	12.0
Same Job BEFORE T.A.P. and AFTER only	1	4.0
Same job WHILE on the T.A.P. and AFTER only	5	20.0
Different job at each of the three points in time	0	-
TOTAL	25	100.0

For only one person was the T.A.P. job different from the job held both prior to incarceration and after discharge. His normal job was self-employment in nature, including long hours, out-of-town trips, etc. This individual was not able to continue with this job while on the Program, but upon discharge, he resumed it. Three subjects (12.0%) held the same job prior to and while on the T.A.P. only. The reason for not continuing with the same job was due mainly to job market problems and/or personal choice.

Five (20.0%) whose T.A.P. job had been different from jobs held prior to going on the T.A.P. continued in this T.A.P. job after discharge. Two of these five individuals had been unemployed just prior to incarceration. Of the other three individuals, one remained in the same occupational category as he was in prior to incarceration, but two of them moved down to the labourer positions.

FINANCIAL BENEFITS DURING T.A.P.

Financial factors are obviously a consequence of employment. However, because of the specific factors involved, a separate discussion of these seems warranted.

Of all the reasons cited for wanting to go on the T.A.P., the most frequently mentioned were financial considerations. Respondents pointed out that the T.A.P. would allow them not only to support themselves but also their families. Of the 54 individuals interviewed, 46 (85.2%) mentioned that this was a key reason for going on the Program.

This sample of men clearly had dependants: 31 (57.4%) were married, five (9.3%) were divorced or separated; and only 18 (33.3%) were single. Furthermore, 26 (48.1%) had at least one child. When the men were asked how T.A.P. was helpful to their families, the most frequently mentioned response was that it helped financially. Of the 45 who had family ties, 28 (62.2%) mentioned financial factors. Seventeen (37.8%) mentioned other reasons only.

Before discussing specific benefits, a brief note on actual income seems warranted. In an earlier section, it was pointed out that whether one on the Program works on a job similar or different to the last job held prior to incarceration is an important issue. Comparing the incomes received by those with a different job with incomes of those holding the same/similar job sheds further light on the issue. It was found that the average weekly gross income for those individuals who held a job on T.A.P. which was the same/similar compared to their last job prior to incarceration was \$160.00. The average for those with a different job was \$114.00, substantially lower. As has already been discussed, eight of these 10 individuals had lower employment status jobs while on the T.A.P. when compared to their last jobs prior to incarceration.

What the participants of the T.A.P. do with their earnings is very much an individual matter with one exception. The basic requirement, of course, is the \$20 per week room and board money which goes to the institution in which the participant is housed. Needless to say, this is a substantial benefit to the institutions, especially over a long-term basis.

Using the 10.2 weeks average participation on the employment T.A.P., the average participant contributed roughly \$204 room and board money to the institution, by the time he was discharged.

Table 4 shows the other major areas of income distribution, representing the "usual" weekly distribution.

TABLE 4

REGULAR AREAS IN WHICH T.A.P. PARTICIPANTS
DISTRIBUTED INCOME

AREAS	NO. OF MEN	TOTAL N= 54
Sent home	25	46.3%
Put into savings	34	63.0%
Pay debts (weekly)	6	11.1%
Spending money during day (coffee, lunch, etc.)	44	81.5%

In terms of actual quantity of money on a weekly basis, the major portions of earnings were put into savings and/or were sent home.

Of course one would expect differences between married and non-married men with respect to sending money home or putting money into savings. Table 5 demonstrates the differences between married and non-married men with respect to money sent home. Table 6 demonstrates the differences with respect to savings.

TABLE 5

MONEY SENT HOME AND MARITAL STATUS

MARITAL STATUS	SENT MONEY HOME WHILE ON THE T.A.P.					
	YES		NO		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	21	67.7	10	32.3	31	57.4
Non-Married	4	17.4	19	82.6	23	42.6
TOTAL	25	46.3	29	53.7	54	100

TABLE 6

MONEY PUT INTO SAVINGS AND MARITAL STATUS

MARITAL STATUS	PUT MONEY INTO SAVINGS WHILE ON THE T.A.P.					
	YES		NO		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	12	38.7	19	61.3	31	57.4
Non-Married	22	95.7	1	4.3	23	42.6
TOTAL	34	63.0	20	37.0	54	100

While Table 5 shows that while more married men, 21 (67.7%) send money home than non-married men, 4 (17.4%), Table 6 shows that fewer married men, 12 (38.7%) put money into savings while on the T.A.P. compared to 22 (95.7%) of non-married men. Twenty-six of the inmates' families still had to pay for their accommodation (mortgage; rent, etc.) while the man was on the Program. Table 7 shows that in most circumstances, for the families which still had to pay for accommodation, the money from T.A.P. earnings was significant. In 50.0% of the families, accommodation was paid for solely from the money sent home by the T.A.P. participant. In another 19.2% of the cases, T.A.P. earnings in combination with some other source of income provided this money. In only 30.8% of the cases was accommodation paid for solely through sources other than the T.A.P. earnings. In these cases, however, the families had bank savings to fall back on. Furthermore, there tended to be more family members who held jobs in these instances.

TABLE 7

SOURCE OF INCOME FOR FAMILY'S ACCOMMODATION WHILE MAN WAS ON THE T.A.P.

SOURCES	No.	%
T.A.P. earnings only	13	50.0
T.A.P. earnings plus family earnings only	4	15.4
T.A.P. earnings plus family savings only	1	3.8
Through family savings/earnings etc.	8	30.8
TOTAL	26	100.0

Debts

Thirty-three of the individuals interviewed were in debt at the time of incarceration, the majority of these debts being over one thousand dollars. Twenty-three men (69.7%) were able to pay off these debts, at least partly while on the Program. Of these men, nearly three-quarters felt that they could not have reduced their debts had they not been on the T.A.P.

Public Assistance

One consideration which the general public might overlook in considering the Program is the fact that they too stand to benefit from the Temporary Absence Program. To the degree that the Temporary Absence Program can reduce the number of inmates' families on public assistance while inmates are engaged in paid employment during incarceration, T.A.P. becomes a benefit for the community in significantly reducing potential public expenditures. In this study, the number of inmates' families on public assistance were compared at three time periods: before activation of the T.A.P., during participation of the T.A.P., and after discharge. (Table 8.)

TABLE 8

DEPENDENCE ON PUBLIC ASSISTANCE
BY FAMILIES OF PARTICIPANTS

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	No.	%
Public Assistance prior to activation of T.A.P. ONLY	10	83.3
Public Assistance prior to AND during T.A.P. participation	2	16.7
Public Assistance after activation AND/OR after release from T.A.P.	0	-
Total number on Public Assistance during any time period	12	100.0

It can be seen from the table that before activation of the inmate's T.A.P., 12 families were on public assistance. However, only 2 of the 12 families remained on public assistance once the inmate had been activated on the Program. One of these families was still on public assistance because the inmate had been working only a short period of time when interviewed, and thus had not received his first pay cheque. As to the other family, it appears that they may have been subsidized due to the large family size and the relatively low T.A.P. job earnings of the inmate. None of the families in the post-release group were on public assistance after the inmates' release.

Some families might possibly do without public assistance so as to avoid the application process. In fact, it was related by one participant to this writer that had he not been able to go on the T.A.P., he would not have permitted his family to apply for public assistance, even though he knew that indeed financial help was needed. Thus, T.A.P. may also spare the inmate's family the undue loss of pride of having to apply for public assistance.

CONTINUITY OF FINANCIAL BENEFITS

It was found that because the inmates had savings upon release and had sent money home during their participation on the T.A.P., none of the men or their families in the post-release group applied for public assistance after the man's release.

It is significant to note that of the 25 people comprising the post-release group, 20 (80.0%) had some savings upon release. The amount of savings ranged from as little as \$18.00 to as much as \$2,000.00. More specifically, six (31.5%) had savings of up to \$200.00. Seven (37.0%) had savings of over \$200.00 but less than \$500.00 and six (31.5%) had savings of \$500.00 and over. The total is only 19 (not 20) because no information was available for one individual regarding the actual amount of savings. It is known, however, that he did have savings.

The 20 people who had savings upon release used their savings in various ways, from putting the money into the bank to buying a car or television. In at least half the cases, it involved paying off bills. The others used part or all of their savings, accumulated on the T.A.P., to pay for accommodation, to buy new clothes or other necessities of daily living. Of the 20 men having savings, only two (10.0%) stated that they could have managed just as well if they had had no savings. Twelve

(60.0%) stated that it would have taken much longer to afford what they purchased, four (20.0%) said that they would have had to borrow money, and two (10.0%) indicated that they probably would have had to apply for public assistance.

Thus, the financial benefits tend to continue after release, and T.A.P. participants do not suddenly quit their jobs and apply for public assistance once out of the institution.

CONTINUATION OF SIGNIFICANT ROLES
AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The Temporary Absence Program, among its other functions, serves as an instrument for regaining an inmate's freedom and continuation of the key personal roles which would normally be impossible under total incarceration.

An examination of benefits in these general areas was seen as important. They are defined as social relationships, interaction with family members, continuation of key responsibilities to the family, and the general area of self-fulfillment and self-growth. The history of corrections has demonstrated that total denial of these possessions has not significantly reduced or ameliorated the state of criminality. If anything, it has become evident that this loss of freedom may produce negative results for certain categories of offenders.

One participant of the T.A.P. pointed out to the writer that the feeling of being "half free" by virtue of going out to work during work hours, gave him what he referred to as a "tragic sense of time". During work hours he realized the importance of time in terms of its potential for productivity and felt some control. This was not the case during non-working hours.

When asked for their reasons for going on the Program, 27 men (50.0%) mentioned reasons which were later classified as "social". The following table gives the breakdown on these social reasons:

TABLE 9

"SOCIAL" REASONS GIVEN FOR
GOING ON THE T.A.P.

REASONS	No.	%
To keep up with the family and friend relationships, only	8	29.6
To be useful and not waste time, only	7	26.0
For rehabilitative reasons, only	5	18.5
To keep abreast of what goes on in society, only	2	7.4
Combinations of the above	5	18.5
TOTAL	27	100.0

The table indicates that of the "social" reasons given for going on the T.A.P., the ability to keep up relationships with family and friends was the most frequently mentioned. There is also a concern for not wasting time during one's sentence. Working while serving one's sentence is obviously perceived as a productive and useful activity.

When the respondents in this study were asked whether their families were helped by the fact that they had gone on the T.A.P., 45 (88.2%) said that it was helpful, while only six (11.8%) said that either they weren't sure or that T.A.P. was of no help to their families.

Besides the financial help it gave families, the next most frequently mentioned benefit was the boost to the family morale. The participants also pointed out that their relationships with their families were able to continue without disruption. Weekend passes and changes of clothing at home, which are part of the T.A.P., allow the participant to participate with his family.

In two cases, participants pointed out that the family would make some of their key decisions regarding family or other matters precisely on those weekends when the inmate was on a pass. Thus, T.A.P. provided a continuity of the inmate's normal key family roles and responsibilities.

Of the 51 who answered the question of whether they believed their relationship with their families had changed at all while on the T.A.P., 23 men (45.0%) said "yes", and 28 (55.0%) said "no". All of those who said "yes", indicated that the relationship had changed for the better, had grown stronger than it had been before going on the T.A.P.. Those who said that there had been no change also pointed out that it had not become worse. Several of these people speculated that perhaps the Program had helped in preventing the possibility of breakdowns in family relationships, an occurrence which is not uncommon during incarceration.

It is interesting to look at what the people in this study said when asked whether they felt that by being on the T.A.P., they had gained more than a person serving time without T.A.P.. Fifty-three out of 54 (98.1%) stated that they had. The most mentioned gain was positive personal feelings (29 out of the 53, or 54.7%). They expressed the belief that being allowed out on the T.A.P. helped to give them a sense of worth, (i.e., that someone had enough trust and confidence in them to allow them to go out to work, especially when administrations realize that there is some risk involved). They also added that they developed a greater sense of self-worth and self-gratification, realizing that they can stay out of trouble during the day.

The next most mentioned kind of gain from the T.A.P. was the feeling that the Program makes it easier to get back into society (25 or 47.2%). T.A.P. is perceived as making the transition a little more gradual as compared to the usual abrupt discharge. Some felt that they would be able to follow work schedules more easily and also that the T.A.P. experience helped them learn to budget their income more economically and more efficiently.

Others also felt more confident that they would be able to cope with problems of daily living more easily. These are all examples of what might be referred to under the general label of "adjustment to society". Ten (18.9%) mentioned that their being on the T.A.P. may have alleviated potentially "bad" jail or prison influences. Because they were not incarcerated during working hours, they felt that they were "bypassing" many of these negative influences.

POST-RELEASE CRIMINALITY

The job status of the people who had been on T.A.P. but at the time of interview had been discharged, show these people to be in rather stable positions. They not only had jobs, but many had savings upon release as well. Some of their debts had been partly paid off from their T.A.P. earnings. A substantial number of participants pointed out that their relationships with their respective families had gotten stronger because of the T.A.P.. The speculation was also made that perhaps the fact that they had been on the program had kept their family relationships from deteriorating or breaking down.

It is possible to understand why frustrations in the above areas could precipitate renewed criminal activity on the part of an ex-inmate. Intuitively, one would expect little criminal activity from the participants of the Temporary Absence Program. A check of the R.C.M.P. reports and Main Office files of the post-release group, including also those not interviewed, revealed that at the end of August, 1973, of the original sample of 40, only one individual had committed a crime for which he had to pay a fine without further incarceration. This file check represents roughly a 2 to 3 month follow-up period.

A second Main Office file check was made on February 19, 1974. For the same 40 individuals in the post-release group, this represented a follow-up period of approximately 7½ to 8½ months after discharge. In addition, all those others who had been interviewed while on the T.A.P. (i.e., active group N=29) had by then finished serving their sentences. For these 29, the follow-up period was considerably shorter than for the other 40 people. In any case, out of the total of 69 individuals, there were no new convictions or reincarcerations in addition to the drug crime mentioned above, which had been committed within the first three months following discharge.

The results of these two file checks are indeed encouraging. Although selection procedures may cause the T.A.P. participants to be a group of better risks, there is some indication to show that those administering T.A.P. are accepting some applicants from restricted categories.¹⁸ Rudoff and Esselstyn¹⁹ have shown in a follow-up study of work furlough in California that post-release criminality is significantly less for work furlough releases than comparable non-work furlough releases.

While more controlled research would be necessary to prove or disprove conclusively that post-release criminality of work T.A.P. participants is better than the criminality among a matched group of non-participants, the evidence in this study compared to recidivism statistics discussed in other studies suggests that it is.

PARTICIPANTS' PERCEPTIONS OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF THE T.A.P., AND SUGGESTIONS FOR CHANGES

The feelings, opinions and suggestions of those individuals participating in the T.A.P. can serve as a valid and useful input for the Program as a whole. There are many practical considerations which appear once these programs are under operation, and the participants are often the first ones who are aware of these. Staff involved in the administration of T.A.P. would provide another view, but it was not possible to focus on their views in this study.

Positive Aspects

The T.A.P. participants were asked to discuss the positive aspects of the T.A.P., if they thought there were any. All of the 54 participants stated that there were positive aspects. The majority of them cited more than two. Only those aspects which were mentioned by more than 10.0% of the sample were included in the following table:

TABLE 10

POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE T.A.P.
MOST MENTIONED BY PARTICIPANTS

ASPECTS	No.	% of Total N = 54
Facilities & privileges inherent in T.A.P. participation	25	46.3
Ability to keep in touch with society	19	35.2
Able to hold on to job	17	31.5
Financial support for self and/or family while on T.A.P.	16	29.6
Able to derive a feeling of trust & responsibility	15	27.8
Ability to see family and keep in touch with them	10	18.5
Weekend passes	8	14.8

It is important to note that within all the perceived positive aspects are included not only personal aspects (i.e., feeling of trust and responsibility, being out, etc.), but also such aspects as financial, employment and family benefits.

The size of the institution in which the T.A.P. participant was housed was thought to have a potential influence on the number and type of positive aspects mentioned. Therefore the variable institutional size (inmate population) was dichotomized by grouping the three largest institutions on the basis of population as large, and the remainder as small. With respect to the number of positive aspects mentioned, institutional size does not seem to be influential. Table 11 bears this out.

TABLE 11

NUMBER OF POSITIVE ASPECTS MOST MENTIONED
AND SIZE OF INSTITUTION

INSTITUTIONAL SIZE	NUMBER OF POSITIVE ASPECTS MOST MENTIONED					
	LESS THAN 3		3 OR MORE		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Large	10	31.3	22	68.7	32	59.3
Small	10	45.5	12	54.4	22	40.7
TOTAL	20	37.0	34	63.0	54	100

$$\chi^2 = 0.601, 1 \text{ degree of freedom, } p > .05$$

However, when the relationship between each specific aspect and institutional size is considered, it becomes clear that a significantly larger number of individuals having done their T.A.P. from larger institutions mention the benefit of facilities and privileges than do those from small institutions. It can be seen that the percentages of those mentioning it are 59.4% and 27.3% respectively. (See Table 12).

TABLE 12

BENEFIT OF FACILITIES AND PRIVILEGES MOST MENTIONED AND SIZE OF INSTITUTION

INSTITUTIONAL SIZE	BENEFIT OF FACILITIES AND PRIVILEGES					
	YES		NO		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Large	19	59.4	13	40.6	32	59.3
Small	6	27.3	16	72.7	22	40.7
TOTAL	25	46.3	29	53.7	54	100

$\chi^2 = 4.189$, 1 degree of freedom, $p < .05$

The finding is probably due to the fact that larger institutions tend to have more facilities than smaller ones on the whole. For the other positive aspects, however, there were no significant differences in responses of men when comparing large and small institutional size.

Negative Aspects

Of the 54 individuals in this study, 53 thought that there were negative aspects to the T.A.P., (i.e., aspects which they did not like). These are categorized in order of frequency in Table 13.

When participants mentioned meals as a negative aspect, they were referring to the fact that they were on a different schedule at night than other inmates depending on the time when they returned from work. The complaint was based on the fact that on many occasions the food which was there for them may have been prepared one to two hours before; consequently the meal would be spoiled and cold. The situation was perceived as so bad by some of those who got back late from work, that they simply chose not to have any supper rather than eat what was often described as "not enough", "cold", "spoiled", etc.

Recreation and sleeping facilities were perceived as being rather poor. They also disliked the idea of sharing facilities with non-T.A.P. inmates.

TABLE 13

NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF THE T.A.P. MOST MENTIONED BY PARTICIPANTS

ASPECTS	No.	% of TOTAL N = 53
Staff (resent T.A.P. participants, provocative, use of T.A.P. as a threat, etc.)	27	50.9
Meals (poor quality, not enough, usually cold by the time they were eaten)	24	45.3
Poor facilities for T.A.P. participants	23	43.3
Weekend passes (not enough, difficult to obtain, etc.)	12	22.6
Regulations of the T.A.P. not clearly spelled out	11	20.8
Restrictions for bringing in own personal items (e.g. soap, deodorant, shaving cream, etc.)	11	20.8
Freedom vs. confinement (too much change from freedom during day to confinement at night)	7	13.2
Tension between T.A.P. participants and non-T.A.P. inmates	6	11.3
Problems and delays in administration of the T.A.P. (e.g. getting on the T.A.P. and then waiting for response to such things as whether weekend pass was permitted or not).	6	11.3

The negative aspect most frequently mentioned concerned participants' perceptions of the commitment which the institutional personnel had toward the program. It was felt by the participants that the institutional staff, custodial staff in particular, were not behind the concept of Temporary Absence. Participants perceived a resentment by the staff for the fact that inmates were allowed to go to work. They pointed out that many of them had to be extremely careful because revocation of their participation in the T.A.P. was used as a threat against them by some of the staff. These respondents felt that they could do very little about this for fear that they would be taken off the program. In many instances, the relationship between the participants and institutional staff was not perceived as a friendly or positive one.

While more participants housed in larger institutions tended to be dissatisfied with the institutional personnel than were participants from smaller institutions, the difference was not significant statistically. Overall, it was found that people who were on the T.A.P. at larger institutions tended to mention more negative aspects of the T.A.P. than did people from smaller institutions. (See Table 14.) Six individuals cited the tension between T.A.P. participants and non-T.A.P. participants as a negative aspect. All of these were housed at the large institutions while on the Program.

Some changes which have already been introduced are aimed at resolving some of the problems just mentioned. For example, many of the institutions have plans for the separation of T.A.P. and non-T.A.P. participants. Furthermore, more open discussions about the T.A.P. are beginning to occur as exemplified by the four T.A.P. Regional Conferences which were held during the last year.

TABLE 14

NUMBER OF NEGATIVE ASPECTS MOST MENTIONED AND SIZE OF INSTITUTION

INSTITUTIONAL SIZE	NUMBER OF NEGATIVE ASPECTS MOST MENTIONED					
	LESS THAN 3		3 OR MORE		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Large	8	25.8	23	74.2	31	58.5
Small	15	68.2	7	31.8	22	41.5
TOTAL	23	43.4	30	56.6	53	100

$\chi^2 = 7.76$, 1 degree of freedom, $p < .01$

Suggestions for Changes Cited by the Participants

Subjects were asked for any suggestions they might have for improving the Program. The most frequently mentioned suggestions for change in the T.A.P. are presented in Table 15.

TABLE 15

PARTICIPANTS' SUGGESTIONS FOR CHANGE

SUGGESTIONS	No.	% of Total N=50
T.A.P. participants should be separated from inmate population, (e.g., T.A.P. in half-way houses, etc.)	23	46.0
Facilities (more medical, recreational, employment seeking services, etc.)	23	46.0
Weekend passes (more and extended)	21	42.0
Some regulations should be relaxed (e.g. should be allowed to bring in personal items, wear clothes other than prison blues at night, etc.)	15	30.0
Personnel (better trained, more supportive of T.A.P., more professional)	12	24.0
Rehabilitative Program (more supportive programs connected to the T.A.P., more group meetings, more evening activities, etc.)	9	18.0
More publicity and information should be provided to the inmate population regarding the T.A.P.	7	14.0
Food (more efficient distribution at night)	7	14.0

The whole question of separation is very much related to the tension which arises between T.A.P. participants and other inmates. Without separate facilities, the T.A.P. participants often find themselves under a great deal of pressure to deliver messages or bring in contraband at night not necessarily for themselves but for non-T.A.P. inmates.

The suggestions for separation (not just sleeping quarters but total segregation from the rest of the regular inmate population) seems to be much more important for T.A.P. participants at larger institutions as can be seen from Table 16.

TABLE 16

SUGGESTION FOR SEPARATION AND INSTITUTIONAL SIZE

INSTITUTIONAL SIZE	SEGREGATION					
	YES		NO		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Large	19	61.3	12	38.7	31	62.0
Small	4	21.1	15	78.9	19	38.0
TOTAL	23	46.0	27	54.0	50	100

$$\chi^2 = 6.14, 1 \text{ degree of freedom, } p < .02$$

Only 21.1% of those from small institutions suggested separation compared to 61.3% of those from large institutions. It appears that because there tends to be more tension between T.A.P. and non-T.A.P. participants at the larger institutions, separation would be a way to counteract this. Complexities inherent in larger institutions may preclude, to some degree, attention being given to T.A.P. participants. Separating T.A.P. participants from other inmates by providing separate facilities, own food schedules, separate activities, etc., places more needed attention on the participants. Almost one-quarter (24.0%) suggested that the Program incorporate more

specialized personnel for people on the T.A.P. The nature of the personnel suggested was not of a custodial type only, but also for staff having the ability to counsel and talk with the participants regarding problems or other matters which arise. They indicated that while the T.A.P. is a good Program, it cannot stand alone and is not a panacea. Problems arise from day to day which would probably not arise without T.A.P. These may be problems at work, personal problems or a host of other problems. Furthermore, the large majority (92.0%) point out that T.A.P. is not an easy way of doing time and that, in fact, it is a harder way. For example, some found it very difficult to refuse an invitation from a fellow worker to 'go for a beer' after work.

When attempts were made to examine what kinds of individuals would be more or less likely to make certain suggestions for changes, it was found that overall, on the characteristics examined, there were no significant differences. The characteristics examined were: drug use history (user vs. non-user); incarceration history (first incarcerate vs. more than first incarcerate); type of community where last lived (urban vs. rural); age (young vs. older). These control variables were not related to the type of specific suggestions made for changes.

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The question may be posed by some people as to whether the employment T.A.P. is a successful one. Of course, there are many ways of measuring success. Although this study focused on benefits, and it was not its primary function to measure success, inferences regarding the success of these people can be made on the basis of the benefits which were examined. The benefits were in the area of employment, financial, social and post-release criminality. If the large number of benefits accrued within each of those areas is used as one measure of success, these data present a generally positive picture.

The data in this study indicate that, for the most part, T.A.P. participants remained employed at the same/similar job which they held prior to incarceration. For some, however, the T.A.P. job was a new one. Those in the former group tended to demonstrate more benefits than those individuals in the latter group. The T.A.P. participants whose job on the Program was different from their last job before incarceration, for the most part, moved down in occupational status, they were paid less and were less satisfied with their T.A.P. jobs when compared to those holding the same jobs. More careful scrutiny of T.A.P. jobs, more discussion with prospective participants regarding the nature of their jobs and their skills and qualifications may help prevent freezing participants in lower-status jobs. Perhaps administrators of the T.A.P. should not be satisfied with the adage that any work is better than no work. However, if it is a choice between becoming a T.A.P. participant or not, this may not be the most relevant question.

Some attention might be given to the policy of \$20.00 room and board. The overall aim of course, is to maximize benefits for the T.A.P. participant and for the community. By providing more opportunity for the inmate's family to receive more money, perhaps during incarceration and upon release there would be more money available to meet needs for adequate integration into community life. Twenty dollars per week for room and board is probably not a great effort for an individual who earns \$250-300 per week. However, for someone earning only \$120-150 per week this amount of money might be a great effort considering the housing needs his family may also have. While the idea of a sliding scale room and board concept might create administrative problems and raise other philosophical issues, some discussion about the question may result in new ideas.

Community involvement and education are almost conditions *sine qua non* the T.A.P. cannot make progress. The work done by the Main Office Coordinator and his staff, local coordinators, superintendents, probation and parole officers with regards to making the community more aware of the T.A.P. and actually getting them involved (e.g., employers, judges, police, families of participants, etc.) should not only be commended, but encouraged and expanded.

Separation of quarters for T.A.P. participants and non-T.A.P. inmates is something which has already begun at some institutions. A look at this, and at community residential centres for T.A.P. participants, should help resolve some issues. This notion of separation of T.A.P. participants from non-T.A.P. participants is an area which appears to be of high concern to the people interviewed for this study. The focus of these separate facilities would be therapy-oriented as opposed to just custody.

The use of more professional staff (psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, etc.) and para-professional people, as they suggest, would seem to be a step toward the resolution of some of the problems, concerns, questions, and need for feedback and communication of T.A.P. participants. They would like to see more concentration paid to therapeutic concerns and less to custody matters.

Further to this, the question arises, "Do T.A.P. participants need tight security at night even though they can be trusted during the day?" Halfway houses, or more generally, community residential treatment centres, are suggestions which the individuals in this study have made. The present plan for the Community Resource Centres may be a logical first step towards achieving this end.

The concept of the T.A.P., along with a discussion of some of the findings of this study, would be important areas for general discussion where there is some reservation about rationale for T.A.P. It is understandable that some people among correctional staff and the general public may not wholly agree with the idea of T.A.P.

More local institutional conferences, staff development days, etc., might provide opportunities for gaining more acceptance of the T.A.P., particularly by custodial staff at the institutional level.

Examination in the future of the Educational T.A.P. might be a fruitful endeavour for a more comprehensive picture of the T.A.P. One element which should be incorporated, if the aim is to assess the long term benefits and success, is the provision for post-release information.

An examination of staff attitudes would also be helpful.

Another look perhaps should be given to the study of Dr. James J. Hug, 1969, and a comparison of the present state of affairs regarding acceptance and rejection criteria.

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