

THE COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDER PROGRAMME IN ONTARIO

1. A DESCRIPTION OF THE INITIAL CASES

by

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ADMINISTRATIVE ABSTRACT

Community Service Orders (CSOs) were introduced in Ontario to provide an alternative sentence to the incarceration of offenders, where the usual terms of probation were an insufficient disposition. While this sentencing option is currently a condition of probation, it has been recommended that the CSO become a separate disposition. A two-year research investigation was undertaken to describe the CSO programme operating in 12 pilot project areas across the Province.

The findings after the first year of the study are preliminary and only indicate trends in the utilization of the CSO programme in the selected areas of Ontario. The trends, however, do show that the original objectives of the programme are, on the whole, being met. While the CSO programme appears to be providing a community-based sentencing option in the treatment of offenders, it is, as yet, difficult to determine whether the programme is providing an alternative to the incarceration of offenders.

This report is based on data collected on 689 probationers, that is, all of those issued a CSO in 12 pilot project areas, between December, 1977 and December, 1978. During this first year, 264 probationers completed their Orders. In addition to the social-demographic histories of all the probationers, of special interest were the community service experiences of these completed cases.

The majority of the CSO probationers in the pilot projects were male, under 20 years old, single, and had acquired at least some high school education. They had largely been sentenced for one offence only, and this was often a property-related offence. The most common crime of which CSO probationers had been convicted was Theft Under \$200.00. The probation terms issued by the judiciary were usually just over a year in duration, a term slightly longer than the average given to regular adult probationers in Ontario. In addition, there was a significantly greater proportion of single people in the CSO programme than on traditional probation.

The CSO probationers who had completed their Orders were assigned an average of 52.7 hours of community service work. The Orders ranged from eight to 348 hours, and almost half of the probationers had been assigned 30 hours or less. It is very likely, however, that because of the research design, the data has an over-representation of the shorter CSOs. The preliminary data also indicate a negative relationship between successful completion of CSOs by offenders and number of hours assigned.

During the 12 month period, probationers worked a total of 12,798 hours of unpaid community service. The overall rate of successful completion of the CSO assignments was 93.0% and over half of the offenders completed their hours within two months of beginning them.

The community placements and the respective tasks varied with the resources available in the pilot project areas. The most common chore was simple manual labour. At least eight out of ten probationers, however, at some time during their community service, were brought into contact, either directly or indirectly, with the beneficiaries of their efforts. Probationers usually worked alongside and were supervised by regular agency paid staff.

Only 4.3% of the probationers who completed their Orders were reconvicted during their community service. One in ten, however, had already had their probation period terminated early, as a result of the successful completion of their CSO requirements.

Most of the agencies reported total satisfaction with the efforts of the probationers placed with them. One-fifth of the probationers indicated their satisfaction with the programme by continuing their volunteer work after the completion of their assignments. A further five percent later became employees at one of their community placements.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This report constitutes the first in a series dealing with the issue of Community Service Orders (CSOs) as a sentencing option in Ontario. The purpose of the research was to describe the CSO programme by focusing on the types of offenders being issued CSOs by the courts, the kind of services they were providing to communities and how they fared in the performance of their Orders. The findings presented in this paper are preliminary, based on data collected during the first year of operation of the CSO programme in selected pilot project areas.

The results of this one-year's investigation are further discussed in relation to the stated objectives of the Community Service Order programme developed by the Provincial Co-ordinator for Community Service Order Programme Development, in the fall of 1977.

A Community Service Order is currently a condition of probation imposed under the Canadian Criminal Code, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-34, S.663 (2)(h) as amended. It is a non-custodial sentencing disposition whereby an offender serves his sentence by performing a specified number of hours of community service, as prescribed by the court. Community Service Orders were introduced in Ontario to provide an alternative sentence to the incarceration of offenders, where the usual terms of probation were an insufficient disposition.

A. THE PHILOSOPHY OF COMMUNITY SERVICE WORK

The correctional philosophy has shifted, in recent years, from an emphasis on the institutionalization of offenders towards more community-oriented treatment. The result has been a greater personalization of penalties and more reciprocal involvement of the offender and the community (Newton, 1976). Through Community Service Orders, offenders are given the opportunity of providing unpaid work to the community in lieu of being incarcerated. Mathieson (1977) describes one of the major features of this sentencing option:

....the community service order had filled the vacuum which the courts and the general public believed existed between a custodial sentence and a probation order. The courts.....are willing to allow more offenders to retain their liberty because a clear, positive programme of unpaid work will be exacted of the offender. In other words, he is not being "let off" to a period rather nebulously defined probation supervision.*

* Mathieson (1977), p. 730.

This Community Service Order option contains three important elements of current correctional philosophy (Winfield, 1977). Punishment, rehabilitation and reparation components combine to form a flexible and constructive approach to the treatment of the offender.

Punishment. The court imposes a 'punishment fitting the crime', by depriving the offender of certain personal liberties. He is required to be away from his family and leisure activities, to perform a certain number of hours of unpaid work. He is not doing penance for his crime, but is perceived as providing a service in the community.

Rehabilitation. The offender is given the opportunity to acquire new skills, such as good work habits, positive work attitudes, or perhaps technical ability. He may be given the opportunity of forming new relationships with non-offenders, such as other community volunteers. He may be exposed to and develop relationships with individuals who are less fortunate than himself and who can be helped by his efforts. Time which may be spent in unproductive or antisocial activities may now be occupied with new and exciting activities. The offender is also given the opportunity to perhaps build his self-esteem and self-respect, through his contribution to the community.

Reparation. The offender is brought into closer contact with the community. He is given the opportunity to make amends for his wrong-doings by providing help and support to those in need. Coker (1977) quite succinctly sums the perspective of the programme:

If the Law could concern itself less with intent and culpability and more with an assessment of the damage done by the offender and the ordering of compensation or the making of amends through service by the offender, we might not only achieve a more desirable practical objective, but also come closer to achieving justice.*

The advantages of the community service programme to the offender himself and to the broader community, are numerous.

• The financial cost of the programme is far less than the cost of imprisonment of the offender. While imprisonment of an offender costs approximately \$50.00 per day, supervision through a CSO costs only \$2.35 per day.

• The problem of overcrowding in institutions is reduced, with the removal of a potentially custodial-type offender.

• The social costs of imprisonment are removed. The offender is not exposed to the adverse consequences of institutional life, that is, 'contamination' or 'prisonization'.

* Coker (1977), p. 116.

The offender is able to maintain his ties with his employment, family or education commitments.

⊙ The offender is placed in a resocializing or rehabilitating atmosphere. He is able to acquire new skills and is able to provide real benefits to the community.

⊙ The community and the offender are able to develop new perspectives of each other. The community sees the offender less in the negative stereotype of offenders, while the offender sees the community as something to which he can make a positive contribution.

⊙ The offender is now required to involve himself in the sentencing process, rather than be a largely passive recipient of justice.

B. HISTORY OF COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDERS

1. The British CSO Experience

Having the offender provide community service as an alternative to incarceration emerged as a new and separate, sentencing option in Britain in 1972. The major force behind the development of this option was the need for an alternative to the imprisonment of the offender. British correctional institutions were suffering overcrowded conditions, especially under the pressure of numerous offenders serving short-term, custodial sentences. It is this British experience which has provided the direction, almost entirely, to the development of the CSO programme in Canada.

In 1973, the community service scheme was legislated separately in six areas of Britain. The Home Office Research Unit in London undertook research of the programme to collect data on the viability of the scheme, and provided extensive information on its development. The provisions in the law governing the imposition of this sentence in the various areas were embodied in the Powers of Criminal Courts Act, 1973. In dealing with an offender, 17 years or older, for an offence punishable with imprisonment, a court may, with the offender's consent, require him to perform unpaid work for not less than 40 hours nor more than 240 hours. The offender has 12 months following the date of the Order to complete his sentence. There were no guidelines as to how the schemes were to operate, therefore, the implementation of these provisions were left the full responsibility of each of the areas.

Before sentencing, the court is required, by law, to consider a social enquiry report (pre-sentence report) prepared following an assessment of the offender's suitability for the programme. The British programme has focused on adults, mainly between the ages of 18 and 25 years. Usually excluded have been people who are homeless, have an alcohol or drug problem, are violent or emotionally unstable, or who have committed a sexually-oriented crime. Most of the direction on the screening processes in selecting suitable candidates has emerged in a Home Office Research Unit publication, *Community Service Orders: Offender Suitability and Local Administration* (London, 1975). This report provides a checklist of indicators useful in a preliminary

identification of possible clients.

Under legislation, the court must be assured that there is suitable placement available for the offender, although it has no responsibility for making placements. The strength of the community service programme depends largely on the availability of suitable placements in the community. The major sources of these tasks are community organizations. Tasks vary from providing services to individuals to work on particular projects, from one-man duties to group endeavours. Offenders may work alongside other agency staff, regular community volunteers or perhaps alone. The volunteer service work, however, is such that, if it were not done by unpaid labour, it would not be done at all. The court does not specify the nature or details of the work to be carried out by the offender. A Community Service Organizer selects the appropriate tasks to be performed, after a careful matching of the offender's talents and interests with the tasks available.

While working on his Community Service Order, the offender is usually supervised by the Community Service Organizer. If the offender fails to comply with the Order, or to perform the work satisfactorily, he may be brought back to court. If he is brought back to court for non-compliance of an Order, the court may impose a fine and allow the Order to continue, or it may revoke the Order and issue a sentence for the original offence.

Success of the Community Work Order programme has been judged primarily in terms of the satisfactory completion of the sentence. Applying this measure to one British project (Hampshire, 1977) reveals that, of the first 160 Orders completed, 144 succeeded. Only six people failed to comply with the Order and ten committed a further offence during the Order. This gives an initial success rate of 90 percent. In addition, 13,325 hours of service were given to the community (Coker, 1977).

Pease, *et al*, 1975, examined the one-year reconviction rates of offenders made subject to Orders during the first year of the operation of the scheme in the six experimental areas (Pease, *et al*, 1977). This rate was based on reconvictions which occurred within one year of imposition of the sentence. The reconviction data, therefore, relate to the first year at risk after sentence. The subsequent reconviction rate across the six project areas of 617 clients was 44.2% (N=273). A control group of offenders who had been recommended by the Probation Service for community service, but who had been dealt with in another way, had a 33.3% reconviction rate in that first year "at risk". The results of the evaluation of the British programme indicated that the Community Service Order was seen as a viable sentencing alternative.

2. The British Columbia CSO Experience

The community service programme in British Columbia has integrated most of the general principles developed in the British experience. In November, 1974, the concept of a community service programme was endorsed by Justice officials and implemented on a pilot basis. The programme was initiated in

nine pilot project areas, between December, 1974, and January, 1975. A set of guidelines for community service were developed from the combined experiences of the nine project areas, after several months of operation. A statistical description of the first 1,459 admissions to the B.C. Community Service Order programme is presented in a report prepared by the B.C. Ministry of the Attorney-General (July, 1977), *The Community Service Order Programme: The British Columbia Experience, Volume I.*

As in Britain, the community service option is considered an alternative to short prison terms. The prime focus of the B.C. programme was to reduce the jail population in the six months and under term group, as well as to prevent people from going to jail for their inability to pay fines.

The major difference between the B.C. and British experiences is in the programme participants. While the British programme is designated for adults only, the B.C. programme has expanded to involve both adults and juvenile offenders. The limitations of the B.C. Order are somewhat more specific than in the British experience. The Community Service Order in B.C. sets a maximum of 200 hours within a six-month period for adults, and a maximum of 100 hours within a three-month period for juveniles.

The form of the Community Service Order is the standard probation order with an additional condition of community service. A recommendation emerging from a preliminary evaluation of the programme in 1975 was to allow community service to be a separate disposition from probation.

The probation officers report on the suitability of offenders for the programme to the court, divert offenders to the programme and supervise the Community Service Supervisors. Selection of participants for the programme is based, as in Britain, on a Probation Officer Enquiry on the offender's suitability and willingness to participate. Although not a criterion for programme involvement, community service is to be expanded in B.C. to involve more native Indians, especially those sentenced in default of a fine.

Community Service Supervisors locate suitable tasks and arrange for the supervision of the offender's work. Supervision of the offender may also be assumed by the local community service club or other volunteer agency, or by the victim of the offence. The victim as supervisor of the offender is an innovative difference introduced in the B.C. programme. The victim may provide work for the offender's Order, issued as a result of the offence committed against him, although the incidence of this has been minimal.

As in Britain, community or service organizations and volunteer agencies provide the major sources of work placements and tasks. Preference has been for tasks where the offender works with community volunteers rather than on his own.

After nine months of operation of the nine pilot projects, 332 offenders participated in the community service programme.

Ninety percent of these fully completed their Service Orders. The statistical data collected on the first 647 adult participants in the B.C. programme, indicated that 91.8 percent of Work Orders given, were completed. Almost half of the incomplete Orders were found to be not the fault of the offender in the programme. Reconviction data on the B.C. offenders in the CSO programme are not, as yet, available.

3. The Ontario CSO Experience

In November of 1977, the Ontario Ministries of Correctional Services and the Attorney-General, formally announced that a number of CSO pilot projects would be set up in the Province on an experimental basis. Prior to this date Judges had used the disposition in a number of jurisdictions, but without the support of a structured programme.

As mentioned, a CSO is currently a condition of a probation order. One problem connected with this was the dispute as to whether the Work Order could in fact be attached to a probation order without infringing on the civil rights of the offender. However, impetus was given to its use in this manner when the case of Shaw and Brehn appeared before the Ontario Court of Appeal on January 6th, 1977. The Ontario Court of Appeal upheld a two year suspended sentence which included community service as a condition of probation (1977) 36 C.R.U.S. 358.

By January, 1978, six initial pilot projects became operational (Oshawa/Ajax, Belleville, Peterborough/Lindsay, Windsor, Thunder Bay, Scarborough). All but one of these projects was operated by a private agency under contract to the Ministry of Correctional Services. This was a deliberate policy decision by the Ministry to involve the private sector in the administration of the programme and thereby increase the extent of community involvement. In this respect, the Community Service Order programme differs greatly from the CSO programmes in B.C. and in England, where they are run by the probation services.

The contracts with the private agencies specified that there was to be on staff a Community Service Order Co-ordinator, who would be responsible for implementing the programme. The CSO Co-ordinator is responsible for developing a bank of suitable work placements, for assessing the offender for his suitability for the programme, for matching the offender with an appropriate task and for ensuring that the work is performed in a satisfactory way. The probation office has retained the legal responsibility for breaching those cases which are failures.

In England, legislation was passed making the Community Service Order a separate disposition in its own right. The legislation gave guidelines on the minimum and maximum number of hours and other conditions related to the implementation of the programme. In Canada, no such legislation exists and, in Ontario, there have been some difficulties in returning cases to court because of the wording of the Order itself. For example, if a Judge merely orders that an accused person perform 100 hours of work in a one year period, the accused could refuse

to do the work and could not be breached until there were less than 100 hours left in the period of probation. The Ministry of the Attorney-General has therefore suggested to all the Crown Attorneys in the Province that they request that the Community Service Order be worded in a particular way. The wording would indicate that the offender should comply with a reporting condition, that he should commence the Order within a specified period (e.g. 30 days), and that once started on the work, he should perform the required number of hours at a minimum specified rate (e.g. not less than 10 hours per month).

The Federal Government of Canada, through the Federal Department for Justice and the Solicitor General of Canada, have demonstrated support and interest for the Community Service Order programme in Ontario. To this end they have agreed to fund the first nine projects which became operational for a two year period, each Ministry contributing 25% of the cost.

II. METHODOLOGY

A. FOCUS OF THE RESEARCH

The research design of this study focused on all probationers who were issued a CSO in 12 pilot project areas in Ontario, between December, 1977 and December, 1978. Of particular interest to the investigator were their social histories at the time of their sentence and their community service experiences during the performance of their CSOs.

B. THE SAMPLE

The study population was comprised of 689 probationers who were issued CSOs as a condition of their probation in 12 pilot project areas. Most of these probationers had been issued their CSOs during the 1978 calendar year and had either worked all or a major portion of their hours during this year.

The breakdown of the study population by pilot project area is shown in Table 1. Between December, 1977 and September, 1978, the Ministry of Correctional Services contracted agreements with private agencies to administer the programme in the pilot project areas. As indicated in the Table, the largest concentrations of probationers are found in the project areas designated as such very early in the CSO programme. One-third of the entire population emerged from the Peterborough/Lindsay area. It is important to note here that the judiciary in this area have been utilizing the CSO option as a deterrent to shoplifting.

C. INSTRUMENTS

The data compiled in this report were collected on two instruments: a Client Information Face Sheet (C.I.F.S.) and a CWO Experience Form. The first instrument, the Client Information Face Sheet, is a formalized information tool completed on a routine basis by Probation Services, when an offender is placed on probation. It describes the offender's social-demographic history, lists the offender's convictions and dispositions related to the probation order and outlines any additional facts which may be of significance to the Probation Services. Research incorporated this formalized instrument into the CSO study's data collection.

The second data collection instrument, the CWO Experience Form, was designed specially for use in the CSO research study. It was designed and pre-tested with the cooperation of the local pilot project coordinators. Later, it was integrated into the CSO process in each of the project areas as a routine information document. The CWO Experience Form measured the probationer's experience of performing community service as a court disposition. It recorded the specifications of the

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF CSO PROBATIONERS IN 12 PILOT PROJECT AREAS

<u>PILOT PROJECT AREA</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Peterborough/Lindsay (Jan., 1978)*	228	33.1
Belleville (Feb., 1978)	97	14.1
Oshawa/Ajax (Dec., 1977)	94	13.6
Scarborough (Dec., 1977)	59	8.6
Thunder Bay (Jan., 1978)	57	8.3
Windsor (Jan., 1978)	52	7.5
Kitchener/Cambridge (Sept., 1978)	37	5.4
Brampton (July, 1978)	23	3.3
Kenora (June, 1978)	19	2.8
St. Catharines (Sept., 1978)	18	2.6
London (June, 1978)	3	0.4
Hamilton (Sept., 1978)	2	0.3
Total	689	100.0

* Date project area designated as pilot programme.

probationers' CSOs, the service provided by them, their community placements, the beneficiaries of the community service, community contacts made during the community service and any criminal activity involved in by the probationer during the CSO.

D. PROCEDURE OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

When an offender was placed on probation with the CSO condition, in a pilot project area, the Probation Services submitted a copy of her/his Client Information Face Sheet to the researcher. The CWO Experience Form was dispatched by the project area coordinator upon the completion of the probationer's CSO. A CSO was considered as completed with the termination of the offender's community service in a project area (i.e. the assigned hours were achieved; the case was transferred out of a project area; the case was breached).

E. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

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

III. RESULTS

The findings of this research study are presented in several sections addressing specific topical areas.

The first section, "The Community Service Order Programme Participants", describes the offender population who were sentenced to a period of probation with a CSO condition in the pilot project areas. Where it was possible, these CSO probationers were compared with other offender populations drawn from previous research studies and reports produced in Ontario and British Columbia.

These offender populations are:

- a sample of 905 regular adult probationers in Ontario; Renner, 1978.
- a sample of 647 adult (17 years and older) CSO participants in the British Columbia CSO programme; B.C. Ministry of the Attorney-General, 1977.
- the entire adult probation and jailed offender populations in Ontario during 1977-78 fiscal year; Ministry of Correctional Services, 1978.
- a sample of 802 inmates admitted to the Guelph Correctional Centre during 1970-71 to serve at least 90 day sentences, for their first period of incarceration; P. Gendreau, et al, 1977.

The second section, "The Community Service Order Experience", details the many facets of the probationer's experience at performing community service. It focuses on data collected on 264 probationers who completed their community service during this first year of research.

The third section, "The Significance of the Sex and Age of the CSO Probationers", discusses the significance of these factors in relation to programme and non-programme components.

A. THE COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDER PROGRAMME PARTICIPANTS

This section describes the 689 offenders who were issued CSOs in the pilot project areas. They are discussed in terms of their demographic backgrounds, work or school involvement and criminal histories. Where possible, these CSO probationers were compared with other offender populations.

OVERVIEW

The majority of the CSO participants in Ontario were male, under 20 years old and single. There was a significantly greater proportion of single people in the CSO programme than in the traditional probation

programme. Most of the offenders had at least some high school education. Although knowledge of their prior criminal backgrounds was quite limited, nearly half of those on whom there was information, had had no prior convictions. The probation terms attached to the CSO were largely for just over a year in duration, a term slightly longer than was given to regular adult probationers in Ontario. Offenders had usually been sentenced for one offence only and this was most often a property-related offence. The most common crime of which CSO probationers had been convicted was Theft Under \$200.00. Also, CSO participants had been convicted of a slightly greater total number of offences than probationers in the traditional probation programme.

1. Demographic Background

The majority of the CSO participants in the pilot project areas were male; that is, 539 (78.2%) compared to 150 (21.8%) who were female. Table 2 shows a comparison of the sex distributions of probationers in the Ontario CSO programme, on regular probation throughout the province during the 1977-78 fiscal year, and in the B.C. CSO programme in 1977. A significantly greater proportion of females was found in the Ontario CSO programme than in either of these other two community-based programmes. Significant differences between male and female CSO probationers on selected factors are discussed in depth in Section C.

Only 15 (2.2%) of the entire population were of Native origin, that is, had a Status, Non-Status, Métis or other Native standing. This proportion is lower than that reported for the population of adult probationers across Ontario (4.3%), and considerably lower than that reported in the B.C. CSO Programme (8.7%).

The language spoken by most of the probationers was English (551, 92.1%). Forty-seven probationers (7.9%), however, spoke either French or another language fluently (91 were not reported).

CSO probationers tended to be very young, with nearly three-quarters of the population (455, 70.8%) 20 years old or younger (Table 3). The ages ranged from 16 to 60 years old, with probationers being an average of 20.7 years. The CSO group were compared with two other community-based programmes on the basis of age at disposition. Ontario CSO participants tended to be slightly older than the B.C. adult CSO population, yet slightly younger than regular adult probationers across Ontario (Table 4). The ages of probationers when issued their CSOs and the ages of a sampling of offenders when sentenced to their first term of incarceration were also compared. As indicated in Table 5, the CSO offenders and the first incarcerates were very similar in age at the time of their sentences. The influence of this age factor on other variables is further explored in Section C.

In keeping with their young age, CSO probationers tended to be single. Consider Table 6. There was a greater proportion

TABLE 2

SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PROBATIONERS
IN THREE COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAMMES.

COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAMME	SEX OF PROBATIONER	
	MALE %	FEMALE %
Ontario CSO Programme	78.2	21.8
Regular Ontario Probation*	85.5	14.5
B.C. CSO Programme	88.3	11.7

* Minister's Report, 1978

TABLE 3

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PROBATIONERS AT CSO
DISPOSITION

AGE OF PROBATIONER AT DISPOSITION	N	%
16 - 17 years	259	40.3
18 - 20 years	196	30.5
21 - 25 years	99	15.4
26 - 60 years	89	13.8
Unknown	46	-
TOTAL	689	100.0

Mean age of CSO probationers = 20.7 years

TABLE 4

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PROBATIONERS
IN THREE COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAMMES

COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAMME	AGE OF PROBATIONERS (YEARS)				TOTAL %
	16-21 %	22-29 %	30+ %	Unknown %	
Ontario CSO Programme	76.2	14.2	9.6	-	100.0
Regular Adult Probationers	60.9	22.2	16.9	-	100.0
B.C. CSO Programme	80.5	8.8	5.5	0.4	100.0

TABLE 5

AGE AT DISPOSITION OF CSO PROBATIONERS
AND FIRST INCARCERATES

AGE (YEARS)	CSO PROBATIONERS %	FIRST INCARCERATES %
16 - 17	40.3	34.8
18 - 20	30.5	36.1
21 - 25	15.4	20.4
26+	13.8	8.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

TABLE 6

MARITAL STATUS OF CSO PROBATIONERS
AND REGULAR ADULT PROBATIONERS

MARITAL STATUS	CSO PROBATIONERS		REGULAR ADULT PROBATIONERS
	N	%	%
Single	499	79.6	65.8
Married/Common-law	91	14.5	24.9
Separated, divorced, widow(er)ed	37	5.9	9.1
Not reported	62	-	-
TOTAL	689	100.0	100.0

TABLE 7

HIGHEST SCHOOL GRADE ACHIEVED

<u>GRADE</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
2 - 8	95	15.2
9 or 10	310	49.5
11 - 13	207	33.1
Some University, College or other	14	2.2
Not reported	63	-
TOTAL	689	100.0

TABLE 8

CURRENT EDUCATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

<u>INVOLVED IN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	169	29.5
No	403	70.5
Not reported	117	-
TOTAL	689	100.0

TABLE 9

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AT CSO DISPOSITION

<u>STATUS</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Employed	291	51.8
Unemployed/Homemaker	271	48.2
Not reported	127	-
TOTAL	689	100.0

of single probationers in the CSO programme than in the traditional probation programme throughout Ontario. Regarding their families, the 95 probationers who reportedly had dependents, had a mean number of 2.3 dependents.

2. School and Work Involvement

The highest school grade completed by the CSO probationers was generally quite advanced. Over three-quarters of the population had already achieved at least some high school (Table 7), and over one-quarter of the probationers were still involved in an educational programme at the time of their sentence (Table 8). Almost as many probationers were unemployed as employed at the time of their court disposition (Table 9).

3. Criminal History

Pre-Sentence Reports (PSRs) are often prepared by Probation Services to facilitate the court's sentencing of offenders. Probation Services reported that 60.5% (397) of the CSO population had a PSR on their file, while the remaining 39.5% (259) did not (33 were not reported).

a. Prior Convictions

Less than one-tenth of the CSO population (59, 9.0%) were reported to already be on probation at the time of their CSO disposition. These 59 probationers had been convicted on 95 charges, with a mean number of 1.6 charges each. They were already serving probation terms ranging from six to 36 months, with a mean of 20.0 months. In addition, two were required to serve an intermittent sentence (30 days and 90 days) and six also had had a definite sentence of one to 15 months.

Some indication of a probationer's prior convictions was provided for only 264 probationers (38.3%). Of these, nearly half (120, 45.5%) were reported to have had a prior conviction.

b. The Conviction Leading to the CSO Disposition

The type of court in which the CSO disposition had been made was recorded. Predominantly Provincial Courts issued the CSOs: 613 (95.8%) were Provincial Courts and 27 (4.2%) were other types of courts (49 were not reported).

The terms of probation handed down by the courts ranged from one to 36 months (Table 10), while the mean length of probation term was 16.9 months in duration. The terms of probation ordered by the courts for the CSO probationers were slightly longer than those given to regular adult probationers across Ontario. The total continuous period of probation to be served was computed, taking into consideration the 59 prior

TABLE 10

PROBATION TERMS OF CSO PROBATIONERS
AND REGULAR ADULT PROBATIONERS

PROBATION TERM	CSO PROBATIONERS		REGULAR ADULT PROBATIONERS
	N	%	%
1 - 6 mos.	77	11.7	12.3
7 - 12 mos.	240	36.6	46.9
13 - 24 mos.	309	47.1	37.3
over 24 mos.	30	4.6	3.2
Not reported	33	-	-
TOTAL	689	100.0	100.0

Mean term of probation issued CSO probationers =
16.9 months.

TABLE 11

NUMBER OF OFFENCES FOR WHICH PROBATIONER
WAS ISSUED CSO

<u>NUMBER OF OFFENCES</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
One	499	76.1
Two	87	13.3
Three	24	3.7
Four	8	1.2
Five to seventeen	38	5.8
Not reported	33	-
TOTAL	689	100.0

TABLE 12

COMPARISON OF NUMBER OF OFFENCES FOR WHICH CSO
PROBATIONERS AND REGULAR ADULT PROBATIONERS SENTENCED

<u>NUMBER OF OFFENCES</u>	<u>ONTARIO CSO PROBATIONERS</u>	<u>REGULAR ADULT PROBATIONERS*</u>	<u>B.C. CSO PROBATIONERS*</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
One	76.1	78.0	90.8
Two	13.3	17.7	5.6
Three or more	10.5	4.2	3.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Proportions provided in the Renner and B.C. Studies were adjusted to exclude the "no response" and "unknown" categories, respectively.

TABLE 13

OFFENCES FOR WHICH PROBATIONERS ISSUED CSO

<u>PROBATIONERS CONVICTED OF AT LEAST ONE:</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>% of 689</u>
OFFENCE AGAINST PERSON		
* assault (common, bodily)	15	2.2
* assault police	4	0.6
* harrassment, intimidation	<u>3</u>	<u>0.4</u>
* any offence against person	22	3.2
OFFENCE AGAINST PROPERTY		
* theft under \$200.00	222	32.2
* theft over \$200.00	55	8.0
* attempted theft, attempted to commit	9	1.3
* arson	1	0.2
* break & enter, attempted break & enter	64	9.3
* break, enter & theft	54	7.8
* forgery, fraud, false pretense, uttering (incl. attempted)	40	5.8
* mischief causing damage, wilful damage	64	9.3
* prowl, trespass	2	0.3
* possess stolen property (over & under \$200.00)	65	9.4
* robbery	3	0.4
* take vehicle without consent	10	1.5
* theft mail	<u>1</u>	<u>0.2</u>
* any offence against property	513	74.5
OFFENCE AGAINST PUBLIC MORALS & DECENCY		
* perjury, false information/statement	6	0.9
* contributing to juvenile delinquency	2	0.3
* cruelty to animal	1	0.2
* indecent acts	<u>3</u>	<u>0.4</u>
* any offence against public morals and decency	12	1.7
OFFENCE AGAINST PUBLIC ORDER AND PEACE		
* obstruct police (incl. attempt)	6	0.9
* breach of recognizance, fail to appear, fail to obey court order	7	1.0
* breach of probation, fail to obey probation order	10	1.5
* possess burglary tools	1	0.2
* cause disturbance, false fire alarm, mischief, mischief dangerous	33	4.8
* weapons & firearms	11	1.6
* escape	<u>1</u>	<u>0.2</u>
* any offence against public order and peace	68	9.9

(TABLE 13, CONTINUED)

LIQUOR OFFENCE		
• impaired driving, over 80	10	1.5
• Liquor Control Act	4	0.6
• any liquor offence	13	1.9
DRUG OFFENCE		
• simple possession (narcotic, marijuana)	38	5.5
• trafficking (narcotics)	3	0.4
• any drug offence	40	5.8
TRAFFIC OFFENCE		
• drive while license suspended	4	0.6
• dangerous driving	11	1.6
• fail to remain	1	0.2
• criminal negligence	1	0.2
• Highway Traffic Act	1	0.2
• any traffic offence	18	2.6
OFFENCE AGAINST OTHER FEDERAL STATUTES	4	0.6
UNKNOWN OFFENCE	34	4.9

TABLE 14

COMPARISON OF OFFENCES OF FOUR OFFENDER GROUPS

OFFENCES (convicted of at least one:)	CSO PROBATIONERS %	REGULAR ADULT PROBATIONERS %	FIRST INCARCERATES %	JAIL POPULATION %
Person offence	3.2	7.1	7.4	4.8
Property offence	74.5	64.4	76.1	23.3
Public morals & decency offence	1.7	3.2	1.7	0.9
Public order & peace offence	9.6	7.7	13.5	7.2
Liquor offence	1.9	2.0	3.2	22.9
Drug offence	5.8	7.5	12.0	4.7
Traffic offence	2.6	0.8	-	30.1

probation terms already in progress. Probation terms being served by the CSO population increased by nearly one month, to a mean of 17.8 months. The range increased from one to 36 months to a range of one to 55 months.

In addition to their CSO disposition, 8 probationers were also given an intermittent sentence of between 10 and 90 days, and 22 were given a definite sentence of between one and 180 days.

The 656 probationers on whom there was information available had been convicted of 1,068 charges, to warrant their CSOs. Over three-quarters had been sentenced for one offence only (Table 11). However, a greater proportion of Ontario CSO probationers had been sentenced for three or more offences than either regular adult probationers or B.C. CSO probationers (Table 12).

Up to three different offences were coded for each CSO probationer in the study. The various offences for which the probationers were given CSOs are shown in Table 13. Also indicated are the number of individuals who had been convicted of at least one count of that offence. Offence category totals reflect the number of probationers who had been convicted of at least one offence in that category. By far, the CSO population had committed more property offences than any other category of offence: three-quarters (513, 74.5%) of the CSO probationers had been convicted of at least one property-type of offence. Nearly a third (222, 32.2%) of the total sample had been convicted of at least one Theft Under \$200.00. Other significant offences were: Theft Over \$200.00, Break and Enter and Attempted Break and Enter, Break, Enter and Theft, Property Damage and Possession of Stolen Property.

CSO probationers' offences were compared to those of regular adult probationers, a sample of first incarcerates sentenced for at least 90 days and the entire jail population in Ontario. The offences for which these offender groups were sentenced are shown in Table 14. The proportions given for the regular adult probationers and the jail population are based on only one offence committed by the offender. For the two remaining offender groups, several different offences committed by them were recorded, therefore one offender may be represented in more than one offence category. The only difference between the two probationer groups was that the CSO participants had more often been sentenced for a property-related offence than the regular adult probationers.

Offences for which probationers were issued a CSO, were compared with the offences for which offenders had been sentenced to a term of incarceration in an institution. This first incarcerate group, as mentioned earlier, was admitted to Guelph Correctional Centre during 1970-71. They, therefore, are not necessarily representative of a more current first incarcerate population. Their offences, however, were fairly serious to have warranted a term of incarceration of at least 90 days. The proportion of CSO probationers who had been convicted of one property-related offence was similar to that of the first incarcerate group. The first incarcerates, though, had been convicted of a greater variety of offences. Also, more first incarcerates had had a drug conviction at the time of their

sentence.

Jailed offenders had also been convicted of a wider variety of crimes. Far more offenders had been jailed for liquor or traffic offences and considerably fewer for property-related offences.

B. THE COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDER EXPERIENCE

This section documents the CSO experiences of the 264 probationers who had completed their Community Service Orders by the end of the first year of the study. When a probationer completed his community service, the project coordinator recorded a description of the CSO experience. The number of hours assigned to the probationer, the number of hours he actually worked, the kinds of tasks he performed, his co-workers, his supervisors and his convictions during the programme were provided to give a snap-shot of the probationers' community service experiences.

Community Service Orders were considered, for the purposes of this study, completed when the offender's community service was terminated. Included among the 264 probationers who completed their community service are eight probationers who were transferred out of their original pilot project area, on whom there is as yet no further information and whose CSOs may be considered, in effect, completed.

A comparison was made between the probationers who completed their Orders (264, 38.3%) and those whose CSOs were still ongoing at the study's end (425, 61.7%). There were no differences determined between these two groups on the basis of various demographic and social factors, nor on their criminal involvement. Furthermore, all project areas but one (St. Catharines) were represented in the completed CSO group and probationers who were still working on their CSOs were being exposed to the same pilot programmes as their counterparts who had completed their orders.

OVERVIEW

CSO participants were assigned a mean of 52.7 hours of community service and almost half were assigned 30 hours or less. The community service assignments may, in fact, be greater than indicated in this study. The completed CSOs described here were very likely comprised of Orders finished very quickly and which specified fewer hours, while the longer Orders were still ongoing at the study's closing. Probationers worked a mean of 49.2 hours and provided a total of 12,798 hours of unpaid community service.

The results suggested a positive relationship exists between offence seriousness and assignment of hours. Serious offences tended to warrant a greater number of hours, while less serious offences deserved fewer hours. However, the effects of multiple offences and kinds of offences on judicial decision-making were unknown.

The overall rate of successful completion of Community Service Order assignments was 93.0%. Less than one in ten probationers worked fewer hours than they were assigned. The completion of CSOs appeared to be correlated with the number of hours assigned by the court. Offenders assigned few hours more often worked their entire assignments and, in many cases extra hours, while offenders assigned a greater number of hours, worked only the hours required or less. Probationers completed their CSOs in a relatively short period of time, with half completing them within two months of beginning them. This is not surprising, however, considering that half the offenders had only 30 hours or less to perform.

The community placements at which probationers performed their chores varied with each pilot project area's resources. The kinds of tasks performed were equally varied, although the most common form of work was simple, manual labour. Probationers usually worked alongside and were usually supervised by regular agency paid staff.

Only 4.3% (11) of the population were reconvicted during the performance of their CSO. More positively, one in ten probationers had their probation order terminated early as a result of the successful accomplishment of their CSO requirements. Agencies, on the whole, were satisfied with the efforts of probation/volunteers. Some probationers indicated their satisfaction with the programme by maintaining contact with one of their placements on an employed or volunteer basis.

1. The Community Service Assignment

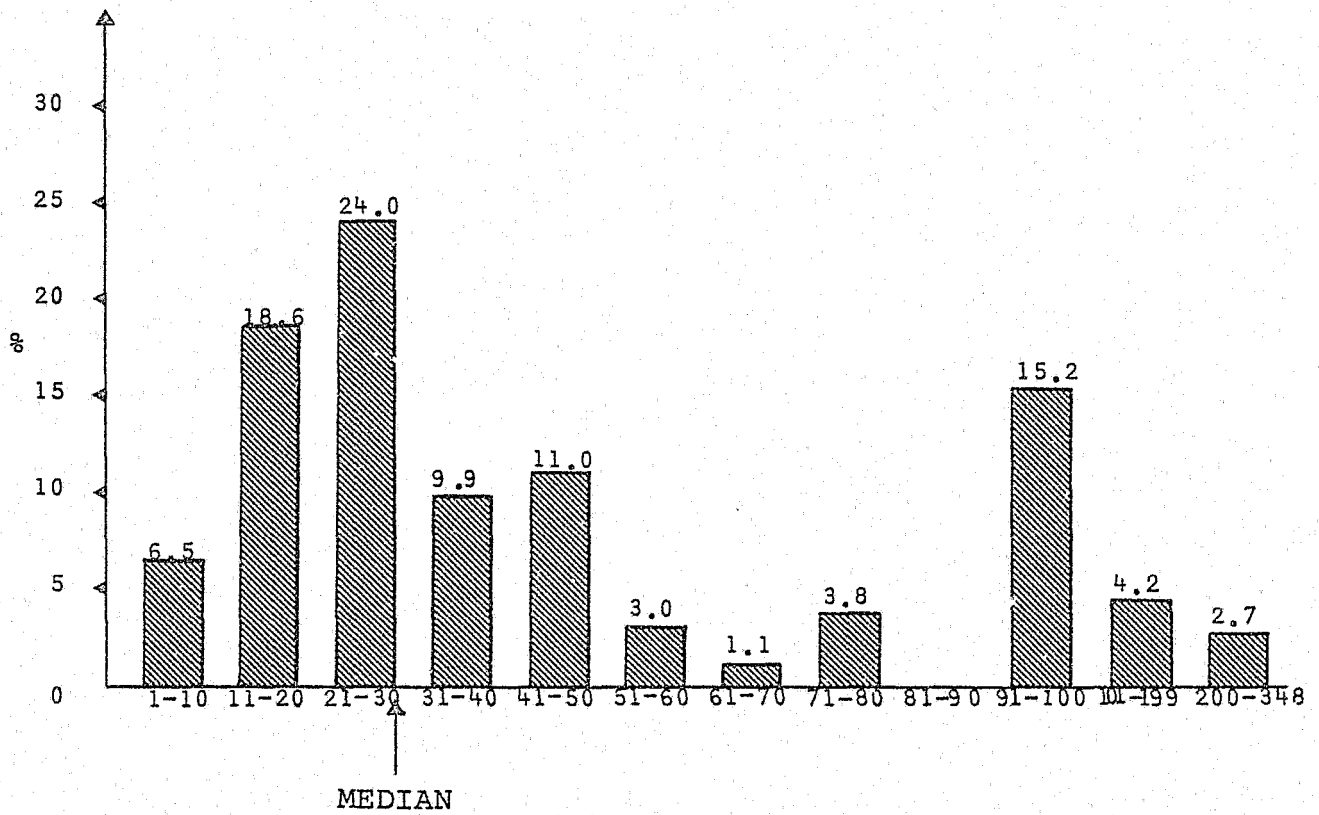
Prior Community Service Order experience was virtually non-existent. Only one probationer was reported to have been issued a CSO prior to the current Order.

In addition to their community service hours assignment, some probationers were required to comply with other conditions prescribed by the court. Thirty-two probationers (12.2%) were required to comply with specifications related directly to the performance of their CSO. These specifications were varied. Some probationers were required to work at a particular community placement, to use a special skill, to complete the CSO within a specific time frame (other than the allotted probation term), to seek special counselling or to report back to the court on their community service progress. In November, 1978, the judiciary were provided with guidelines regarding the wording of CSOs. It is therefore anticipated that, in the future, the proportion of Orders with specific conditions will increase.

The number of community service hours assigned to probationers by the court are indicated in Figure 1. The hours designated by the court ranged from eight to 348 hours. Almost half of the probationers (129, 49.0%) were assigned 30 hours or less, 55 (20.9%) were assigned between 31 and 50 hours and the remainder (70, 30.0%) were assigned over 50 hours. The mean number of hours assigned was 52.7 hours, which can be equated to approximately six and one-half 8-hour work-days. However, a note of caution must be extended to the reader. Not included in this computation were the assignments of probationers who had not completed their Orders by the study's end. It is possible that many of these assignments are the longer Orders

FIGURE 1

HOURS ASSIGNED TO CSO PROBATIONERS



HOURS ASSIGNED

(hours)

issued by the judiciary. Inclusion of these longer Orders in these data would likely inflate the overall mean assignment. The current mean assignment was greater than the average of 36 hours assigned to adult probationers in B.C.

The number of hours of community service actually provided by the probationers ranged from two hours to 348 hours. The mean number of hours worked was 49.2 hours. The disparity between the number of hours assigned and the number worked may be attributed to the cessation of community service because of a probationer's transfer or reconviction. The total number of hours of community service provided by the probationers were 12,798 hours. This figure, when adjusted to reflect 8-hour work-days, reveals that the probationers who completed their Orders provided almost 1600 work-days of volunteer, unpaid service to the benefit of their communities.

The offences for which probationers were issued a CSO were correlated with the hours they were assigned by the court. In Table 15, the hours assigned to offenders when they had been convicted of at least one offence in an offence category are shown. The totals in these offence categories are proportionately similar to those for the entire study population. The reader must be cautioned, however, that probationers may have been convicted of multiple offences in more than one offence category. All of the offences committed in the person offence category were assaults, and all the offences in the drug offence category were drug possession offences. The evidence indicates that some offences may have been considered more serious than others by the judiciary, and therefore warranting greater assignments of hours.

A CSO was considered completed at the termination of the probationer's community service. Using this definition, CSOs were completed with various degrees of success. Three levels of success were determined by the offenders' achievement of the hours of community service assigned him by the court. The majority of the probationers worked exactly the number of hours assigned them by the courts:

- 199 (77.7%) worked the same number of hours as assigned;
- 39 (15.2%) worked more hours than assigned to them;
- 18 (7.0%) worked fewer hours than assigned to them.

Successful completion of their CSOs was therefore achieved by 93.0% (238) of the probationers in the sample (the eight probationers whose cases were transferred and, as yet, incomplete, were not included in these figures).

The accomplishment of the community service assignment appeared to be negatively correlated with the number of hours assigned by the court. Consider Table 16. When probationers were assigned a large number of hours, they tended to work either the hours assigned to them or fewer hours. However, when assigned a smaller number of hours, they tended to perform their entire assignments and the likelihood of their performing extra hours was significantly increased. Since those in the successful groups who were assigned over 50 hours were able to perform all

TABLE 15

OFFENCES FOR WHICH ISSUED A CSO AND HOURS ASSIGNED

OFFENCE CATEGORY (Convicted of at least one:)		HOURS ASSIGNED (hours)			TOTAL
		8-30	31-50	51-348	
Person Offence	N (%)	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)	2 (40.0)	5 (100.0)
Property Offence	N (%)	95 (45.2)	50 (23.8)	65 (31.0)	210 (100.0)
Public Morals & Decency Offence	N (%)	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)	2 (40.0)	5* (100.0)
Public Order & Peace Offence	N (%)	18 (72.0)	2 (8.0)	5 (20.0)	25 (100.0)
Liquor Offence	N (%)	1 (25.0)	1 (25.0)	2 (50.0)	4 (100.0)
Drug Offence	N (%)	15 (100.0)	-	-	15 (100.0)
Traffic Offence	N (%)	-	-	3 (100.0)	3 (100.0)

* One probationer convicted of an offence against public morals and decency was assigned an unreported number of hours, so was not included in this table.

TABLE 16

HOURS ASSIGNED AND THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF
THE COMMUNITY SERVICE ASSIGNMENT

HOURS ASSIGNED (hours)	ACCOMPLISHMENT OF CS ASSIGNMENT					
	Worked more hours		Worked same no. hours		Worked fewer hours	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
8 - 30	21	(53.9)	103	(51.8)	4	(22.2)
31 - 50	7	(18.0)	41	(20.6)	1	(5.6)
51+	11	(28.2)	55	(27.6)	13	(72.2)
TOTAL	39	(100.0)	199	(100.0)	18	(100.0)

$\chi^2=15.741$, $df=4$, $p<.01$

TABLE 17

TIME TAKEN TO PERFORM COMMUNITY SERVICE ASSIGNMENT

<u>TIME TAKEN</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Cumul. %</u>
One month	88	37.0	37.0
Two months	46	19.3	56.3
Three months	31	13.0	69.3
Four to six months	40	16.8	86.1
Seven to nine months	16	6.7	92.9
10 to 12 months	12	5.0	97.9
13 to 18 months	2	0.8	98.7
19 to 24 months	3	1.3	100.0
Not reported	26	-	
TOTAL	264	100.0	

Mean length of time taken to perform community service: 3.5 months

TABLE 18

WHEN PROBATIONER USUALLY WORKED ON CSO

<u>WHEN USUALLY WORKED</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>% of 264</u>
<u>PART OF WEEK:</u>		
Weekdays	149	59.1
Weekends	56	22.2
Both	47	18.7
Not reported	12	-
<u>PART OF DAY:</u>		
Daytime	200	79.7
Evening	20	8.0
Both	31	12.4
Not reported	13	-

of or more than their assignments, it is unlikely that the only reason for the non-success of the other group was an overburdening of hours. There were no differences between the successful and unsuccessful probationers on any other variables, therefore the non-success of one group must be attributed to some other mitigating circumstances.

The date that the offender began his community service and the date upon which he ultimately terminated it, were recorded. The span between these dates reflects the length of time actually taken by the offender to perform his community service assignment. As shown in Table 17, the offenders were able to complete their CSO assignments within relatively short periods of time. Over one-third of the probationers (88, 37.0%) required only one month to complete their hours. Within two months of beginning their community service, half of the population had completed them and within six months, eight out of ten probationers had been able to complete their community service. The mean length of time taken to perform the CSO assignments was 3.5 months. This short period is not unexpected since half the CSO sample were only required to perform 30 hours or less of community service.

Probationers largely performed their community service on weekdays and during the daytime (Table 18). Probationers also seemed to be conscientious about keeping their appointments at their assigned placements, since regular attendance was maintained by 215 (86.3%) of the offenders. Only 34 probationers (13.7%) did not keep their appointments regularly (attendance was not reported for 15 probationers).

2. The Community Service Placements

a. The Placements

The community placements at which probationers performed their chores depended largely upon what was available in each pilot project area. A comprehensive description of the various community placements and the tasks performed at them is provided in Appendix A.

To list a few of the kinds of placements involved, community service was furnished to senior citizens, minor sports associations, church groups, charitable fund-raising, nursery programmes, community festivals, needy families, hospitals, neighbourhood volunteer programmes, hostels, homes for the crippled and mentally retarded, boys and girls clubs, humane societies, recycling depots and local parks boards. Each of these social agencies and community centres was able to accept a probationer to work at some task which would not get done without the efforts of a volunteer.

Some probationers worked at a variety of community placements. The majority (193, 76.2%) worked at one placement only, while many probationers (59, 23.4%) worked at between two and four different placements (the number of placements was not reported for 12 probationers).

b. The Tasks

The kinds of tasks available at the community placements were equally varied. The tasks performed by the CSO probationers are listed in Table 19 (tasks were not reported for 15 probationers). Duties included the provision of some helping service to an individual in need, the care of animals, the provision of simple manual labour and clerical or office work.

The amount of person-to-person contact between probationer/volunteers and beneficiaries of the service depended upon the kind of task done. Co-ordinators reported that eight in ten probationers (200, 80.3%) had performed a task which, in some way, brought them into contact with the beneficiaries of their efforts. Only one-fifth (49, 19.7%) had worked entirely at jobs not requiring contact between volunteer and beneficiary (contact with beneficiaries was not reported in 15 cases).

c. Co-workers and Supervisors

During the performance of their CSOs, probationers often came into contact with an assortment of agency staff, volunteers and other offenders. In addition, many probationers worked at more than one placement and at more than one task. Co-workers and supervisors were not reported in 14 cases. Eight out of ten probationers (201, 80.4%), at some time, worked alongside regular agency paid staff. Nearly half (114, 45.6%) worked with volunteers who were non-offenders and one-third (92, 36.8%) worked alongside other offenders who were also providing volunteer services. Only 47 (18.8%) of the probationers worked alone in the performance of their community service.

Supervision of probationers was largely assumed by paid staff at the community placement. Almost nine out of every ten probationers (216, 86.4%) were supervised by agency staff while they worked on their CSO. Probation Services, CSO co-ordinators and other agency volunteers also occasionally acted as supervisors (10, 4.0%; 30, 12.0%; 35, 14.0%, respectively).

3. Effectiveness of the Community Service Order Programme

Long-range effectiveness of this CSO programme cannot, at this time, be determined. However, several indicators of the impact of this programme on probationers were uncovered by the research.

The performance of community service as a condition of probation constitutes an intrusion upon the daily routine of an individual. CSO probationers were required to adjust their personal lives to devote time to the service of their community. The impact the performance of a CSO had upon an individual's lifestyle is, admittedly, difficult to determine. Co-ordinators were asked to record any effect the performance of a CSO may have had on specific areas in a probationer's life. While their responses were limited and entirely subjective, they were also encouraging. As indicated in Table 20, performing

TABLE 19

TASKS PERFORMED BY CSO PROBATIONERS

<u>TASKS</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>% of 249</u>
⊙ delivery, chauffeur, elevator operator, protective service	22	8.8
⊙ repairs, maintenance, construction, painting, manual labour	103	41.4
⊙ help with handicapped, blind, sick, mentally retarded, senior citizens, teens, children	73	29.3
⊙ office/clerical work, festival/programme organization, map drawing, report writing, research	37	14.9
⊙ help with animals or game	45	18.1
⊙ cooking or kitchen duties	11	4.4
⊙ treeplanting, gardening, in greenhouse, hauling/ piling lumber, clearing brush	13	5.2
⊙ work at recycling plant, sorting goods for needy	5	2.0

TABLE 20

IMPACT OF CSO ON PROBATIONER'S LIFESTYLE

AREA OF CONCERN	TYPE OF IMPACT				TOTAL
	Positive	None	Negative	Unkn./ not applicable	
Employment					
N	31	80	1	152	264
(%)	(27.7)	(71.4)	(0.9)	(-)	(100.0)
School					
N	11	82	-	171	264
(%)	(11.8)	(88.2)	(-)	(-)	(100.0)
Leisure Activities					
N	68	68	4	124	264
(%)	(48.6)	(48.6)	(2.9)	(-)	(100.0)
Family Life					
N	42	73	3	146	264
(%)	(35.6)	(61.9)	(2.5)	(-)	(100.0)

TABLE 21

CONTINUATION OF CONTACT WITH AGENCIES BY
PROBATIONERS AFTER CSO COMPLETION

<u>CONTINUED AGENCY ASSOCIATION</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes, is volunteer	51	20.6
Yes, is employed	13	5.2
No	184	74.2
Not reported	16	
TOTAL	264	100.0

community service was not having any significant negative impact.

Out of the total 264 probationers who completed their CSOs, only 11 (4.3%) were reconvicted during the performance of their community service. Eight probationers were reconvicted once only, one was reconvicted twice and two more than twice.

The offences for which probationers were reconvicted were in all offence categories, with the exception of drug and traffic offence categories. Three offenders were reconvicted on a property-related charge and three on a charge against public morals and decency. Three were reconvicted on a charge against public order and peace, all of which were failure to comply with probation order charges. Two probationers were reconvicted on a person charge, one on a liquor charge and one on an unknown offence.

Five probationers were fined as a result and one was required to make restitution. Four probationers were given further probation (one for 9 months, one for 12 months and two for an unreported term), and two probationers were issued a further CSO. Four offenders were sentenced to a period of incarceration (two for one month each and two for one and a half months each). While the community service was interrupted as a result of the disposition for two of the 11 offenders, one other had his community service terminated and one had his probation terminated as well.

During the performance of a CSO, various circumstances had arisen to necessitate some reconsideration of the requirements upon the probationer. For only eight probationers (3.3%), however, was a re-negotiation of the CSO specifications required. In addition, thirty-two (15.1%) probationers had their probation order terminated early as a result of their satisfactory community service achievement (information on re-negotiation was not reported for 23 probationers, and on early termination, for 52). These data, however, were collected at the completion of the probationers' CSO, therefore the prospect of an early termination may have been a real possibility for many others.

CSO Co-ordinators reported a high level of satisfaction among participating community agencies with the efforts of the CSO probationers. Precisely ninety percent (227) of the probationers reportedly provided satisfactory service at all the placements at which they worked. Dissatisfaction among all the placements at which the probationer worked was reported in only four instances (1.6%), and there was mixed satisfaction among agencies with the remainder (7.6%; satisfaction was not reported for 14 individuals).

A good indicator of agency satisfaction is the willingness of that placement to continue its contact with the probationer. Similarly, a participant's satisfaction may be reflected in his desire to maintain involvement with a community agency. Despite the completion of their Orders, one-quarter of the probationers

continued their association with a community placement. Sixty-four probationers (25.8%) were still involved with a community agency in a volunteer capacity or as a paid employee (Table 21).

C. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SEX AND AGE OF THE CSO PROBATIONERS

OVERVIEW

In-depth analysis revealed a few significant findings related to the sex and age of the CSO probationers. While these two factors were highly inter-related, they were also related to probationers' marital status, kinds of offences committed, and continued association with placements. Additional differences between male and female probationers were evident in their employment status, the kind of tasks they performed and when they performed them; younger and older probationers differed in their highest educational level achieved.

1. The Sex Factor

A comparison was made of the 539 male and 150 female probationers in the sample. At the time of their CSO disposition, male probationers were significantly younger than their female cohort (Table 22), and were more often single (Table 23). Female probationers were distributed evenly among the age groups and were more often married or living common-law, divorced, separated or widowed than the males. While the largest proportion of male probationers (242, 54.3%) were working at a job when they received their CSO, the largest proportion of females (67, 57.8%) were unemployed or homemakers (Table 24).

There were a few differences between the sexes regarding the types of offences they had committed to deserve a CSO. In Table 25, the number of male and female probationers who had been convicted of at least one offence in any offence category is shown. While a significantly greater proportion of the females had committed a property offence, more males had been convicted of a drug or traffic offence.

Two hundred male probationers and 64 females had completed their community service by the study's closing. Several broad variations in the community service duties performed by the two groups were evident. As indicated in Table 26, probationers tended to perform tasks in keeping with the responsibilities stereotyped for male and female roles. Tasks were not reported for 10 males and five females. There was only one difference between the sexes regarding their co-workers. Considerably more of the female probationers (35, 58.3%) worked alongside other volunteers who were non-offenders (compared to 79, 41.6% of the males, $p=.023$).

Three-quarters of the females usually performed their community service during weekdays, compared to about half of the men. More of the males, however, provided their community service on weekends. The fact that the female probationers tended to be unemployed or homemakers, and males tended to be

employed at the time of their court disposition, very likely had significant bearing on the differences in their community service work schedules (Table 27).

It appeared that female offenders found the community service experience more rewarding than their male cohort. Although their required community service had terminated, 37.7% (23) of the females maintained contact with their placement on a volunteer or employee basis. Only 21.0% (41) of the males were so inclined ($p=.008$).

2. The Age Factor

Over two-thirds of the entire population (455, 70.8%) were between 16 and 20 years old at the time of their court disposition. The remainder (188, 29.2%) were 21 years old or older (age was not known for 46). Analysis revealed a few significant differences between these two age groups on several variables.

As might be expected, nine out of ten offenders in the younger age group were single at the time of their disposition. In the older age group, however, equal proportions of offenders were either single in status or married or living common-law (Table 28).

The younger offenders had already achieved an educational level similar to that of their older counterparts. In the 16 to 20 year age group, 85.4% (374) had achieved at least some high school, compared to 76.5% (137) of the offenders in the 21 to 60 year age group (Table 29). Furthermore, one-third of the younger offenders were still involved in an educational programme, compared to only one-tenth of the older probationers (142, 35.0% and 22, 14.2% respectively; $\chi^2=22.424$, $df=1$, $p<.01$).

In spite of the fact that information on the prior criminality of probationers was so limited, the history of prior convictions of the two age groups was examined. On the basis of the information available from Probation Services, there was no significant difference between the younger and older probationers on this factor.

The offences for which probationers in the two age groups were issued their CSOs were slightly different (Table 30). More of the younger probationers were convicted of at least one property offence. More offenders in the older group, however, were convicted of an offence against public morals and decency or a liquor offence.

In addition, offences of CSO probationers were compared to the offences for which a sample of first incarcerates were sentenced to time. As indicated in Table 31, the offenders in the two age groups had committed similar kinds of offences, with a few exceptions. Among the CSO probationers, more older offenders had been convicted of a liquor offence and similar proportions of younger and older offenders had been convicted

of a drug offence. Among first incarcerates, however, more younger offenders had been convicted of a liquor offence while more older offenders had had a drug conviction. Since the first incarcerate sample was admitted in 1970-71, these differences may be attributed to changes in trends in alcohol and drug use.

The proportions of probationers in the two age groups who had completed their community service were virtually identical (161, 35.4% of the younger group and 65, 34.6% of the older group).

The only other factor on which the younger and older probationers differed significantly was whether or not they maintained contact with their placement after the termination of their CSO (Table 32). More of the probationers in the older group (23, 38.3%) continued their contact with a community placement as a volunteer or employee than in the younger group (32, 21.2%).

TABLE 22

AGE AT CSO DISPOSITION BY SEX

AGE AT CSO DISPOSITION (YEARS)	SEX	
	MALE	FEMALE
	N (%)	N (%)
16 - 17	225 (44.4)	34 (25.0)
18 - 20	165 (32.5)	31 (22.8)
21 - 25	68 (13.4)	31 (22.8)
26 - 60	49 (9.7)	40 (29.4)
Not reported	32 (-)	14 (-)
TOTAL	539 (100.0)	150 (100.0)

$\chi^2=49.682$, $df=3$, $p<.001$

TABLE 23

MARITAL STATUS BY SEX

MARITAL STATUS	SEX	
	MALE	FEMALE
	N (%)	N (%)
Single	430 (87.2)	69 (51.5)
Married, Common-Law	53 (10.5)	39 (29.1)
Div., sep., wid.	11 (2.2)	26 (19.4)
Not reported	46 (-)	16 (-)
TOTAL	539 (100.0)	150 (100.0)

$\chi^2=94.545$, $df=2$, $p<.001$

TABLE 24

EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY SEX

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	SEX			
	MALE		FEMALE	
	N	(%)	N	(%)
Employed	242	(54.3)	49	(42.2)
Unemployed/ homemaker	204	(45.7)	67	(57.8)
Not reported	93	(-)	34	(-)
TOTAL	539	(100.0)	150	(100.0)

$\chi^2=4.855, \quad df=1, \quad p<.05$

TABLE 25

OFFENCES FOR WHICH ISSUED CSO BY SEX

OFFENCE CATEGORY (convicted of at least one:)	SEX				"Z"
	MALE (N=539)		FEMALE (N=150)		
	N	(%)	N	(%)	
Person offence	17	(3.2)	1	(0.7)	n.s.
Property offence	390	(72.4)	123	(82.0)	p=.013
Public Morals & Decency offence	10	(1.9)	2	(1.3)	n.s.
Public Order & Peace offence	56	(10.4)	10	(6.7)	n.s.
Liquor offence	10	(1.9)	3	(2.0)	n.s.
Drug offence	38	(7.1)	2	(1.3)	p=.004
Traffic offence	18	(3.3)	-	(-)	p=.018

TABLE 26

COMMUNITY SERVICE DUTIES PERFORMED BY SEX

DUTIES PERFORMED	SEX		"z"		
	MALE (N=190)			FEMALE (N=59)	
	N	(%)		N	(%)
⊙ delivery, chauffeur, elevator operator, protective service	18	(9.5)	4	(6.8)	n.s.
⊙ repairs, maintenance, carpentry, etc.	97	(51.0)	6	(10.2)	p<.0001
⊙ with handicapped, blind, sick, retarded, senior citizens, teens, children	40	(21.1)	33	(55.9)	p<.0001
⊙ office, clerical, programme organization, map drawing, research	13	(6.8)	24	(40.7)	p<.0001
⊙ with animals, driving game	40	(21.1)	5	(8.5)	p=.026
⊙ cooking, kitchen duties	4	(2.1)	7	(11.9)	p=.001
⊙ treeplanting, gardening, in greenhouse, clearing brush, hauling-piling lumber	12	(6.3)	1	(1.7)	n.s.
⊙ at recycling plant, sorting goods for needy	5	(2.6)	-	(-)	n.s.

TABLE 27

DAYS USUALLY WORKED ON COMMUNITY SERVICE BY SEX

DAYS USUALLY WORKED	SEX			
	MALE		FEMALE	
	N	(%)	N	(%)
Weekdays	102	(53.1)	47	(78.3)
Weekends	51	(26.7)	5	(8.3)
Both	39	(20.3)	8	(13.3)
Not reported	8	(-)	4	(-)
TOTAL	200	(100.0)	64	(100.0)

$\chi^2=12.943$, df=2, p<.01

TABLE 28

MARITAL STATUS BY AGE AT DISPOSITION

MARITAL STATUS	AGE (YEARS)			
	16 - 20		21- 60	
	N	(%)	N	(%)
Single	413	(96.0)	77	(41.2)
Married/C.L.	13	(3.0)	77	(41.2)
Div., Sep., Wid.	4	(0.9)	33	(17.6)
Unknown	25	(-)	1	(-)
TOTAL	455	(100.0)	188	(100.0)

$\chi^2=240.191$, df=2, p<.001

TABLE 29

HIGHEST SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED BY AGE AT DISPOSITION

HIGHEST GRADE	AGE (YEARS)			
	16 - 20		21 - 60	
	N	(%)	N	(%)
2 - 8	58	(13.2)	34	(19.0)
9 or 10	234	(53.4)	72	(40.2)
11 - 13	140	(32.0)	65	(36.3)
Some Univ., Coll. or other	6	(1.4)	8	(4.5)
Unknown	17	(-)	9	(-)
TOTAL	455	(100.0)	188	(100.0)

$\chi^2=13.387, \quad df=3, \quad p<.01$

TABLE 30

OFFENCES FOR WHICH ISSUED CSO BY AGE AT DISPOSITION

OFFENCE CATEGORY (Convicted of at least one:)	AGE (YEARS)				"z"
	16-20		21-60		
	(N=455)		(N=188)		
	N	(%)	N	(%)	
Person offence	12	(2.6)	6	(3.2)	n.s.
Property offence	372	(81.8)	129	(68.6)	p=.0002
Public Morals & Decency offence	4	(0.9)	7	(3.7)	p=.0044
Public Order & Peace offence	44	(9.7)	21	(11.2)	n.s.
Liquor offence	3	(0.7)	10	(5.3)	p<.0001
Drug offence	29	(6.4)	11	(5.9)	n.s.
Traffic offence	14	(3.1)	4	(2.1)	n.s.

TABLE 31

OFFENCES BY AGE AT DISPOSITION FOR
CSO PROBATIONERS AND FIRST INCARCERATES

OFFENCE CATEGORY (convicted of at least one:)	CSO PROBATIONERS		FIRST INCARCERATES	
	AGE (YEARS)		AGE (YEARS)	
	16-20 %	21-60 %	16-20 %	21+ %
Person offence	2.6	3.2	6.3	11.3
Property offence	81.8	68.6	80.9	63.2
Public morals & decency offence	0.9	3.7	0.9	3.8
Public order & peace offence	9.7	11.2	13.1	13.2
Liquor offence	0.7	5.3	3.8	0.9
Drug offence	6.4	5.9	10.4	16.5
Traffic offence	3.1	2.1	-	-

TABLE 32

CONTINUED ASSOCIATION WITH AGENCY
BY AGE AT DISPOSITION

CONTINUED ASSOCIATION	AGE (YEARS)			
	16 - 20		21 - 60	
	N	(%)	N	(%)
Yes	32	(21.1)	23	(38.3)
No	120	(78.9)	37	(61.7)
Not reported	9	(-)	5	(-)
TOTAL	161	(100.0)	65	(100.0)

$\chi^2=5.817, \quad df=1, \quad p<.02$

IV. DISCUSSION

A. THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES OF THE ONTARIO COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDER PROGRAMME

The objectives of the Community Service Order programme in Ontario were prepared by the Provincial Co-ordinator for Community Service Order Development. Each of these objectives is discussed in terms of the data collected after one year into the CSO programme in the 12 pilot project areas. These data are very positive, indicating that the CSO programme is successfully providing an alternative sentencing disposition. However, the reader is cautioned that these data are also preliminary, based largely on the experiences of 264 probationers who completed their Orders. These results, therefore, only indicate trends in the utilization of the CSO programme in Ontario.

1. Objective I: To Offer A Community-Based Alternative Sentence To Incarceration

The CSO programme was developed in Ontario with a view to providing an alternative sentence to the incarceration of offenders. At the end of the first year of this study, 689 probationers in 12 pilot project areas had performed, or were in the process of performing, unpaid community service as a result of a court disposition. Whether or not these offenders would have otherwise been incarcerated is extremely difficult to determine.

Two major issues, though, are suggested in these findings. The first is that there are offenders being issued probation with a CSO condition who may otherwise have been incarcerated. The second is that there are offenders who are being issued CSOs who would very likely not have been incarcerated, would likely have been given simple probation (or less) and who should, therefore, not be in this programme. If one objective of the CSO programme is to divert potential incarcerates away from institutions to a community-based alternative programme, then there appears to be participants in the programme who do and participants who do not meet this most basic criterion. The offenders in this second group are placing unnecessary pressure upon the CSO programmes at the local level, are filling placements better given to appropriate candidates and, perhaps, placing undue stress on the Probation Services. By and large, these preliminary data suggest that the CSO programme is providing an alternative sentencing disposition.

First, let us discuss these potential incarcerates who were diverted to the CSO programme. The likelihood of receiving a custodial sentence tends to be greater for a recidivating offender than a first offender. One hundred and twenty probationers (45.5%) in this sample were clearly recidivists (these proportions are based on the 264 probationers on whom there was information). For these recidivists, the courts had meted out a CSO disposition on a reconviction. A disposition of a period of incarceration may therefore have been a real possibility for them, even though the circumstances surrounding their offences were not known.

Offences such as assault, rape and robbery are commonly considered as serious and violent in nature. Convictions for very serious offences among the CSO probationers were limited. Within this CSO population, only 2.2% had committed a common or bodily assault, 0.6% has assaulted a police officer and 0.4% had committed a robbery. Again, the actual circumstances of these events are not known, so the degree to which these offences might warrant incarceration is uncertain. These offences, though, on the surface, are sufficiently violent in nature to normally result in the incarceration of an offender. Those offenders who had been convicted of such serious offences and subsequently issued CSOs, therefore, may have been potential incarcerates diverted from a term of institutionalization.

It might be argued that several offences, when disposed of together by the judiciary, may warrant a more serious disposition, perhaps even a custodial sentence. It has been shown that one in ten CSO probationers had been convicted of over three offences, and up to, in one instance, 17 offences. It is possible that some of these multiple-offence probationers, when they were issued CSOs, were, in fact, headed towards a period of incarceration.

Assuming there is some consistency in the assignment of hours among the judiciary, then a greater number of hours would be assigned for a more serious offence. The level at which one would consider an assignment as very great is still, at this point, debatable. The data indicated that exactly thirty percent of the completed Orders were made for over 50 hours of community service and 6.8% for more than 100 hours. The offences for which probationers were issued such heavy assignments were person, public morals and decency, liquor and traffic offences. If these assignments are indicative of the seriousness of the probationer's misbehaviour, then nearly a third of the probationers were, indeed, fairly serious offenders. The likelihood that some of these probationers were diverted from a period of incarceration is substantial.

The second group of offenders are those who do not seem to meet the criterion of being potential incarcerates. The Peterborough/Lindsay area provided one-third of the CSO probationer population. In this area, the judiciary has clearly indicated it's intention to utilize the CSO option as a deterrent to shop-lifting, rather than as an alternative to incarceration. This fact, of course must have significant impact on how well this first programme objective is being met.

In addition, half of the population (144, 54.5%) had not had any prior convictions, that is, were first offenders. At the lower end of an offence-seriousness continuum, is the first offender convicted of one petty offence. At the higher end is the first offender convicted of at least one serious or violent offence. The petty first offender would justifiably receive a less serious disposition, ranging between a suspended sentence and a probation term. Consider a petty first offender who is issued probation with a CSO condition. It is quite possible that prior to the inception of the CSO programme, this offender would have received a simple probation sentence. For this offender, therefore, receiving a CSO disposition may in fact be a more punitive sentence than deserved normally.

Most of the crimes of which CSO participants were convicted were non-violent in nature: one-third of the probationers were convicted of a Theft Under \$200, 0.3% of Prowling or Trespassing, 0.6% a liquor offence, such as Drinking Under Age, 5.5% of a Simple Drug Possession, etc. Whether these offenders would have ordinarily received a period of incarceration from the courts for such offences is uncertain. In addition, it has been shown that over three-quarters of the offenders had been convicted of one offence only. Just as it is possible that some of the multiple offence probationers were headed towards a period of incarceration and diverted to the CSO programme, it is possible that some of the single-offence probationers were more likely candidates for a simple probation disposition or less, and sentenced to probation with a CSO condition.

It would also be logical to assume that the judiciary were assigning fewer hours for less serious offences. The data revealed that 6.4% of the CSO probationers had been assigned ten hours or fewer for their offences, one-quarter, 20 hours or less and nearly half, 30 hours or less of community service. Half the offenders with a property offence, three-quarters of those with a public order and peace offence and all those with a drug offence were ordered to perform 30 hours or less. These probationers are of particular concern. The minimal number of hours of community service assigned to them suggests that their offences were very minor in nature. It is questionable whether twenty hours of volunteer work or less would be assigned to an offender who would otherwise have been sentenced to a period of incarceration. More than likely, these minor offenders were sentenced to community service, not as an alternative to incarceration, but as a more punitive alternative to simple probation. It is also questionable whether a twenty-hour assignment (or less) would have any significant impact upon an offender.

2. Objective II: To Facilitate The Participation of the Community in the Criminal Justice System

Private agencies were contracted by the Ministry of Correctional Services to operate the local CSO programmes. This is one indication of the effort made to involve the community at large in the correctional system.

The community placements at which probationers performed their community service were many and diverse. As of the end of December, 1978, there were a total of 386 different community placements committed, either actively or in spirit, to the CSO programme in the 12 project areas. Table 33 lists the number of agencies, centres or groups in the pilot areas which were willing to place a probationer/volunteer. The community support was clearly enthusiastic.

Responsible members of the community such as agency staff and volunteers, at these placements, had a high degree of interaction with the CSO probationers. On many occasions, they assumed the responsibility for the supervision of the offender's community service work. Almost nine out of ten of those who completed their CSOs had been supervised by the regular agency staff at the community placement.

TABLE 33

NUMBER OF COMMUNITY AGENCIES/ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTIVE

OF CSO PROGRAMME AT END OF DECEMBER, 1978

<u>PILOT PROJECT AREA</u>	<u>NO. OF AGENCIES</u>
Peterborough/Lindsay	49
Belleville	56
Oshawa/Ajax	49
Scarborough	41
Thunder Bay	31
Windsor	38
Kitchener/Cambridge	21
Brampton	39
Kenora	17
St. Catharines	10
London	25
Hamilton	10
TOTAL	<u>386</u>

3. Objective III: To Allow the Offender To Participate in the Determination of an Appropriate Sanction

Rather than be a passive recipient of justice meted out by a court, the offender receiving a CSO disposition is required to involve himself in the sentencing process. In most cases, the offender is consulted prior to sentencing to determine his suitability and his motivation for involvement in the CSO programme. The research study was not able to tap the selection processes in the pilot project areas. However, one indication of pre-sentence screening may be in the use of the Pre-Sentence Reports (PSR). Over one-half of the study population had a PSR on file. Whether or not this PSR contained recommendations relating to the CSO was not known.

Once the offender has agreed to participate in the CSO programme, it is his responsibility to successfully complete the hours of community service assigned him by the court. Motivation for success is facilitated by involving the probationer in the matching of his skills and interests with the placements available in the community. It would seem that the motivation for successful accomplishment of the requirements of the CSO was quite high among this sample. The rate of successful completion of the CSOs was 93.0%.

4. Objective IV: To Encourage the Responsible Behaviour of the Offender

Only 11 offenders out of the total (4.3%) who completed their CSOs were reconvicted during their community service. Three of these probationers were convicted of a failure to comply with their probation order. In each of these cases, the breaching procedures were brought about by the offender's Probation Officer. Whether these breaches were for failure to comply with the CSO conditions or with the usual probation conditions is unknown. Because of the imprecision of the wording of Orders in the past, breaches of the CSO condition were fairly difficult to process. The number of breaches will very likely increase in the future, with the judiciary routinely setting the parameters of the Orders. The second phase of the research is expected to reflect a truer success rate.

More on the positive side, 95.7% of the 264 probationers (242) were not reconvicted during the performance of their community service. A more accurate reflection of the recidivism rate, however, will be the proportion of offenders who were reconvicted during the first year, from the issuance of the CSO. While this recidivism rate will not be available until the end of the second phase of the research, this current high rate of non-reconviction bodes well for the future.

Several probationers who successfully completed their CSOs were rewarded for their responsible behaviour. Precisely fifteen percent of this sample had already had their probation orders terminated early by the judiciary, shortly after the completion of their Orders.

5. Objective V: To Provide a Worthwhile Experience to the Offender

If the CSO disposition is, in fact, being used as an alternative sentence to incarceration, then CSO probationers have managed to avoid the negative experiences associated with institutional life. Furthermore, their commitments to family, job or school were not severed as a result of their convictions. However, because an offender has avoided incarceration, it does not necessarily mean his life has in any way been enriched. There are several indications that probationers were given an enriching experience through the community service programme.

The tasks which were found to be most suitable for the CSO programme in the British experience were those which gave the offender "a feeling of value in the community, of usefulness and possibly of expiation through service to others". If the offender views his job as being meaningful and worthwhile, then the enjoyment he receives from doing it, will be increased. Feelings of achievement can be enjoyed when a worker looks upon the tangible results of his labours. Many of the jobs performed by the CSO probationers were manual labour in type, so their achievements were clearly visible to the rest of the community, as well as themselves. Helping others less fortunate than themselves also may have provided offenders with a greater sense of worth.

Working any number of hours in the service of their local communities might have been an experience never before considered by these offenders. Almost eight out of every ten probationers worked only their required number of hours, which does not hint at their enthusiasm about the programme. Fifteen percent, however, performed more hours than were assigned to them by the court. Clearly, these probationers felt the experience was rewarding enough to want to continue it past the hours which were required.

Probationers' satisfaction with their experiences were reflected in their continued involvement with a community placement. Although it was no longer necessary for the offenders to perform community service, one-fifth felt it was worthwhile to continue as a volunteer worker. A further five percent were able to procure a paying job at one of their placements.

6. Objective VI: To be a Programme of Tangible Benefit to the Community

The major sources of tasks to be performed by probationers were the local community agencies. It must be emphasized here that the CSO programme is founded on an important premise. The work done by CSO participants is not work that is taken away from a paid worker, but is work which would not be done without the involvement of unpaid volunteers. In this respect, the pilot project areas have been very careful to elicit the cooperation and commitment of local unions.

* Coker (1977), p. 121.

During the course of this one-year study, Ontario probationers who completed their CSOs provided a total of 12,798 hours of unpaid labour to the benefit of their communities. When adjusted to reflect 8-hour work-days, these hours are equivalent to nearly 1,600 work-days of volunteer services.

The value of these volunteer services in terms of both dollars and personal benefits is incalculable. The hours of attention paid the blind, sick or otherwise handicapped would likely have been empty hours without the efforts of volunteers, such as the CSO probationers. The visible benefits were also numerous: buildings were painted, land was cleared, repairs were undertaken, goods were delivered and reports were typed.

7. Objective VII: To Promote Greater Understanding of Offenders by the Community

It is quite possible that one upshot of the association between offenders and community citizens on an equal basis, might be the development of new perspectives of each other. Offenders were often placed in caring situations and situations of some responsibility with community agencies not normally involved in correctional programmes. On the whole, probationers met these responsibilities head on with a high level of success and, in doing so, indicated their worth to the rest of the community. Most of the community agencies reported total satisfaction with the efforts of the probationers placed with them. The respect which can develop out of such a positive experience between offenders and the community is to the benefit of all correctional programmes. The community may view the offender less in the negative stereotype of criminals and more as a positive contributor to society.

8. Objective VIII: To Encourage Offenders to Spend Their Leisure Time in a Meaningful Way

When asked to report what impact performing community service had on the probationers' lifestyle, CSO Co-ordinators reported that their leisure activities were most affected. Although this information was of questionable reliability, it is worthy of note here. Co-ordinators reported that the community service programme had had a positive impact on the leisure activities of half the population who had completed their CSOs (and on whom there was information). The precise form of this impact, however, was not provided.

Real, positive effects on the probationers' use of leisure time were apparent in other ways. Of the 64 probationers who maintained contact with a placement after the termination of their Orders, 51 did so as unpaid volunteers. Evidently, the surplus energies of these probationers had been re-directed to more worthwhile enterprises than criminal involvement.

Furthermore, the fact that one in ten probationers proceeded to work more community service hours than were required of them, testifies to their improved use of leisure time.

9. Objective IX: To Bring the Offender in Contact With the Recipient of the Help

Eighty percent of the probationers in this study who performed their community service were brought into contact, either directly or indirectly, with the beneficiaries of their services. At some placements, probationers worked on a person-to-person basis with handicapped or other less fortunates, while at others, they performed their chores in an environment where some contact with the recipients of their services was highly possible. Experiencing the appreciation expressed by those who could not do for themselves, could have a broad impact on the offender's feelings of self-worth.

10. Objective X: To Give the Offender the Opportunity to Work Alongside Non-Offenders

Depending upon the placement assigned to him, the probationer may have worked alongside a variety of personnel during his CSO. Nearly half of those who completed their Orders reportedly worked with other volunteers who were non-offenders and over three-quarters with regular, paid, agency staff. Clearly, these probationers were sharing a positive experience with a non-criminal peer group.

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMUNITY PLACEMENTS AND TASKS PERFORMED IN 12 PILOT CSO PROJECT AREAS.

The following lists describe the many community placements at which the probationers performed their community service hours. The tasks which they performed at these placements are outlined. Community placements at which the probationer provided an unspecified type of service, or which were an unspecified service organization have not been included.

BELLEVILLE

LOCAL CITIZENS. Cleaned windows, painted, re-decorated, renovated, did construction work and baby-sat.

MINOR HOCKEY, BASEBALL, LACROSSE ASSOCIATIONS AND Y.M.C.A. Acted as assistant referee, assistant coach, umpire and swim coach.

CSO PROGRAMME HEADQUARTERS. Painted offices, painted signs and layed carpeting.

ASSOCIATION FOR MENTALLY RETARDED. Helped out with mentally retarded.

LOCAL SPORTS CENTRES. Did maintenance work, picked up trash and acted as entrance guards.

LOCAL HOUSING AUTHORITIES. Did maintenance and yard work.

LOCAL CHURCH GROUP. Painted.

HOME MAINTENANCE PROGRAMME. Cleaned up, and cut grass.

VOLUNTEER PROGRAMME. Did clerical work.

SERVICE CLUB. Helped at fund-raising and helped with a party held for the deaf.

LOCAL CONSERVATION AUTHORITIES. Hauled logs and did park maintenance work.

NURSERY AND DAY SCHOOLS. Did maintenance work and renovations.

CREDIT COUNSELLING SERVICE. Painted.

ADULT LITERACY PROGRAMME. Did carpentry work.

LOCAL PARKS & RECREATION. Did arena maintenance.

BOY SCOUTS. Acted as scout leader.

BRAMPTON

ASSOCIATION FOR HANDICAPPED ADULTS. Dug a foundation for a wheelchair lift, painted, did banking, and made deliveries.

ASSOCIATION FOR MENTALLY RETARDED. Did bicycle repairs, acted as steward at a race.

LOCAL PARKS AND RECREATION. Helped to organize community festival; helped with skating class for handicapped children.

HOME FOR THE AGED. Did gardening.

RED CROSS. Stored supplies and helped organize the storage facilities.

ENERSAVE. Did gardening.

SALVATION ARMY. Helped a family move; helped sort goods for the needy. Tested appliances.

LOCAL HOSPITAL. Helped with in-patient transportation.

Y.W.C.A. Baby-sat for mothers in a programme.

CHRISTMAS CHARITY. Gave out toys and gifts to needy families.

LOCAL COMMUNITY FESTIVAL. Worked at an information booth.

WOMEN'S RESIDENCE. Did gardening.

CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY. Drove children to visits.

LOCAL SPORTS CENTRE. Did maintenance work and cleaned up.

KENORA

LOCAL CITIZENS. Drove game for a hunting party. Repaired a garage. Cleared and burned brush.

LOCAL EDUCATIONAL CENTRE. Painted, did janitorial duties, shovelled snow and helped in a kitchen.

LOCAL HOUSING PROGRAMME. Hauled and piled lumber.

LOCAL RECREATIONAL PROGRAMMES. Cleaned, shovelled snow, handled pop cases, flooded ice and was caretaker.

INDIAN RESERVE OFFICE. Provided janitorial service; put up storm windows.

RESIDENCE FOR CHILDREN. Painted inside and outside of home.

GIRLS' CLUB. Organized a sports tournament and acted as supervisor and coach.

KITCHENER

LOCAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT. Delivered pamphlets and baby-sat for a ladies group.

ASSOCIATION FOR MENTALLY RETARDED. Painted, cleaned up and did carpentry work.

Y.M.C.A. Washed and cleaned facilities.

LOCAL CHURCH GROUP. Painted.

LOCAL HOSPITAL. Was a candy-striper.

RAPE DISTRESS CENTRE. Baby-sat for adults taking a course.

LOCAL CITIZEN. Did home and yard maintenance for senior citizen.

LOCAL EDUCATIONAL CENTRES. Assisted a professor. Worked with pre-school children.

MENTAL HEALTH ASSOCIATION. Did mailing.

HUMANE SOCIETY. Painted.

LOCAL NEIGHBOURHOOD SERVICE ORGANIZATION. Baby-sat.

PLANNED PARENTHOOD. Did clerical work.

NURSING HOME. Visited senior citizens.

CANADIAN CANCER SOCIETY. Did clerical work.

LONDON

CSO PROGRAMME HEADQUARTERS. Painted building and trim; did basic renovations, plastered and sanded.

OSHAWA/AJAX

MEN'S HOSTEL. Did clerical work and renovating.

LOCAL HOSPITAL. Helped with elderly patients.

HOMES FOR HANDICAPPED. Cleaned; helped to feed crippled children.

LOCAL CHURCH GROUP. Did lawn maintenance.

LOCAL CONSERVATION AUTHORITY. Cleared grass; drew maps.

LOCAL BASEBALL ASSOCIATION. Organized a tournament.

BOY SCOUTS. Acted as scout leader.

LOCAL SPORTS CENTRE. Helped with pool maintenance.

LOCAL TELEVISION PROGRAMMING. Helped with lighting.

YOUTH CENTRE. Did maintenance work and participated in programme.

HOME FOR MENTALLY RETARDED. Did maintenance work.

RECYCLING PLANT. Unloaded autos and sorted recycled materials.

PETERBOROUGH/LINDSAY

HUMANE SOCIETY. Fed animals and cleaned after them.

LUNG ASSOCIATION. Typed, stamped envelopes and filed.

LOCAL LIBRARY. Read onto tapes for blind and handicapped.

LOCAL RECREATIONAL PROGRAMME. Supervised activities for teen centres.

NURSING HOME. Fed and read to senior citizens.

LOCAL CITIZENS. Cleaned, cut grass, painted fences, dug trenches, did farm chores, cared for animals, shovelled snow and insulated attics. Helped to feed citizens and minded children.

LOCAL HOSPITAL. Delivered flowers to patients and helped out in the diet clinic. Worked for the building services department and did grounds work. Worked in kitchen and in Central Supply. Was elevator operator.

UNITED WAY. Painted.

PROGRAMME FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN. Helped with swimming programme and acted as teacher's aide.

RED CROSS. Cut grass for handicapped.

VOLUNTEER PROGRAMME. Transported elderly and handicapped to and from medical appointments. Typed and helped with publicity.

CENTRES FOR HANDICAPPED. Worked with retarded children. Worked in crafts room and audiology. Helped in gym programme with learning disabled.

PROBATION OFFICE. Did office work and helped in group situations.

RECYCLING DEPOT. Helped with glass and tin recycling.

YOUTH CENTRE. Assisted programme director, helped on newspaper pick-ups and cleaned kitchens.

MEALS-ON WHEELS. Delivered meals.

LOCAL LIBRARIES. Helped librarian. Helped with children's programme.

LOCAL EDUCATIONAL CENTRE. Planted trees and helped out in the greenhouse.

LOCAL PARKS AND RECREATION. Did park maintenance and gardening.

LOCAL PUBLIC WORKS. Helped with snow removal.

ST. CATHARINES

LOCAL RECREATIONAL PROGRAMME. Helped to coach sports.

SCARBOROUGH

LOCAL COMMUNITY CENTRE. Helped with day-care.

RED CROSS. Did maintenance work, cleaned up and did gardening. Helped to set up blood donor clinics.

RESIDENCE FOR CHILDREN. Acted as big brother.

BOYS' AND GIRLS' CLUB. Helped out at front desk, in the gym, games room and lounge.

LOCAL CHURCH GROUP. Did gardening and cleaned up.

CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY. Drove children.

HOME FOR THE AGED. Helped with arts and crafts programme.

THUNDER BAY

LOCAL SCHOOL BUS SERVICE. Cleaned buses.

BOYS' AND GIRLS' CLUBS. Acted as youth resource worker and helped to coordinate activities. Camped.

LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD. Cleaned and did maintenance work; welded.

LOCAL PARKS AND RECREATION. Provided general labour.

VOLUNTEER PROGRAMME. Bowled with senior citizens; sorted clothes at clothing depot. Drove.

DROP-IN CENTRE. Acted as youth resource worker.

LOCAL CITIZENS. Washed windows, cut lawns and repaired autos.

INDIAN RESERVE. Provided general labour.

WINDSOR

LOCAL SPORTS CENTRES. Did janitorial duties and cleaned up.

LOCAL CREDIT UNION. Did secretarial work.

LOCAL CHURCH GROUP. Provided general labour, was truck helper, jitney operator. Helped on loading dock and repaired appliances. Did yard maintenance.

LOCAL CITIZEN'S COMMITTEE. Researched data for a study.

LOCAL HOSPITAL. Helped out on children's ward.

END