

PRISON VIOLENCE AND THE MISSION STATEMENT

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This report was prepared by the Prison Violence Project, a research body dedicated to the elimination of violence in prisons, thus affecting a reduction of violence by ex-prisoners upon release.

From 1979 to 1984 seven staff members were murdered within Canadian penitentiaries. These unprecedented killings were the pinnacle of numerous hostage takings, murders and several serious riots. Since the particularly brutal riot of 1971, prison violence in Canada has become increasingly worse. Finally the Correctional Service of Canada was spurred to develop a concrete Mission that would reduce the violence that was being created within Federal penitentiaries. An investigation into the causes of prison violence revealed that most of the perpetrators were not originally violent offenders, but had somehow become violent during their sentence. (Porporino, 1986) They also discovered that the Service did not have a clear goal of what they were supposed to be doing with prisoners.

After much delay, the Correctional Service of Canada adopted the Mission Statement in 1989, a binding legal document that outlined the guiding philosophy of the penitentiary system. For the first time, through the principles set up in this document, corrections staff were mandated to reduce the violent criminal behaviour of imprisoned Canadians rather than simply induce pain as they had done in the past. The Mission Statement is arranged into general value statements called Core Values. These are then broken down into Guiding Principles, that govern staff attitudes toward the Value, and Strategic Objectives which define the end goal of the Core Value.

In order to overcome the political territories within the CSC, upper management resorted to the recruitment of a Scandinavian expert to take command as the Commissioner of Corrections. Ole Ingstrup's native country of Sweden had proven that the concept of giving offenders the mental, social and economic skills to become productive citizens were effective in lowering their crime rate. It was recognized that the current system in use in Canada and the United States of pure punishment and obedience was not only expensive, but also contributed to an increased crime rate.

The hope was that the Mission Statement would create a forum to change and arrest the destructive direction that Canadian penitentiaries were taking. (Vantour, 1991) The Document adopted some of the Law Reform Commission of Canada's edicts: "To get to grips with crime rationally, we have to keep our heads, not hit out blindly, and not mistake activity for action." (Law Reform Commission, 1976) Its intended action was clearly defined in the preamble; *the Correctional Service of Canada, as part of the criminal justice system, contributes to the protection of society by actively encouraging and assisting offenders to become law-abiding citizens, while exercising reasonable, safe, secure and humane control.*

The Mission Statement stresses new ideals that explain how to better reform the prisoner. In the past Canadian penologists spent vast amounts of research dollars to discover elaborate techniques of physical and mental forms of retribution.

Unfortunately, the Correctional Service of Canada remains a

highly political entity with many personal agendas that go back through generations of guards. Most feel that the Mission is an intrusion upon their own personal domain and must be resisted at all costs. The result has been a further polarization between Parliament, the penitentiary system managers and the line staff union. Prison violence and its natural continuation on the streets of Canada has become worse, with no end in sight. The following is an assessment of this dire situation that threatens to overwhelm the Criminal Justice System of Canada.

From its inception in the early 1700's until the late 1930's the prison system in Canada was primarily based upon the theory of punishment and penitence through hard labour, flogging and absolute silence. Since the human spirit naturally tried to break free, the guards had to continually smash it down. In 1859 alone, there were more than 9000 incidents of corporal punishment with lashes meted out upon less than 400 prisoners. It was inevitable that the keepers would lose control, which occurred in 1932 when Canada's first spectacular penitentiary riot erupted in Kingston Penitentiary. Led by Tim Buck, who had been imprisoned for trying to organize Canadian workers, the prisoners succeeded in opening Canada's eyes to government abuse.

The politicians reacted to the public outcry with a Royal Commission on the Penal System of Canada that studied the causes of prison violence as well as ways to eliminate criminal behaviour. Not surprisingly, the Commission recommended that the reformation of the prisoner be an objective in the correctional system. (Archambault, 1938) Due to their recommendations, vocational training, education programs, and a wide variety of therapeutic techniques were introduced into the prison system following World War Two. However, these avenues to the formation of a productive citizen were resisted by the guards who believed that anything other than harsh punishment was ineffective in their goal to create submissive prisoners. The concern with what happened to their product after release was of little importance.

Thus, for the second time, Canada's main penitentiary burst into riot. The 1954 uprising led to yet another landmark inquiry. The Committee of Inquiry chaired by Mr. Justice Fauteux, concluded in 1956 that "individuals who violated the law had been somehow 'damaged' in the process of growing up." (Fauteux, 1956) This Inquiry and its findings were used as a basis for the new "medical model" that was so popular with the fledgling discipline of psychology in its increasing domination of the prison system.

As with its predecessors, the Inquiry had a minimal effect upon the operation of "Corrections", and subsequently no effect upon the crime rate. By 1969, at the height of a social revolution in North America, the lawmakers gave up on attempting to force prison guards to conform to the idea of rehabilitating Canadian prisoners. They realized that the prison bureaucracy was too powerful for anyone to control, so they simply made the oligarchy legal. The Canadian Committee on Corrections concluded that the reformation of prisoners was better undertaken in the community instead of in the prison setting. (Ouimet, 1969) The

government's well-meaning argument was based on the theory that imprisonment should be used only as a last resort; "Abandon all hope ye who enter through these doors", became the warning to all Canadians.

Since this philosophy did nothing to protect society, the penal system protected itself from a public backlash by setting out upon a propaganda blitz proclaiming that "nothing works in rehabilitating criminals". Human nature dictated that the only reaction of prisoners to this harsh environment would be rage, rebellion and a further re-enforcement of criminal behaviour. Those prisoners who managed to overcome their illiteracy, lack of job skills and rage, did so despite their imprisonment.

Eventually top management realized that the problem seemed to be with their prison staff. Their solution was to replace organic punishment with inorganic high-technology and thus the modern maximum security prisons, Archambault and Millhaven, were born. To the prisoners, these huge prison machines were even more dehumanizing. At least in the past they had received some of the human attention that they craved, no matter how brutal.

Prior to being transferred from the old Kingston Penitentiary to Millhaven in 1971, the prisoners again reacted with a third riot so violent that it was unprecedented in Canadian history. Flesh bent and tore steel out of concrete in an orgy of violence so destructive that the reconstruction is still carrying on 25 years later. Violence in the form of riots, murder and hostage taking exploded in a chain reaction throughout Canadian prisons. The British Columbia Penitentiary riot of 1976 was no longer a novelty except for the killing of Ms. Steinhauser by the guards. She was a social worker that had tried to teach the prisoners a better way; a behaviour that threatened the guard's job security.

The public outcry after this tragedy forced the Liberal Government in 1977 to initiate a committee to study the prison service in Canada. The Sub-Committee on the Penitentiary System found that a "state of crisis" existed in Canadian prisons. It was the finding of the Sub-Committee that "sweeping changes" be made to the penitentiary system. (MacGuigan, 1977) However, the resulting inquiries did little in the way of real changes. The Correctional Service of Canada's resistance to change did nothing to quell the brewing violence.

Despite the resistance of the lower ranks, the Correctional Service of Canada is influenced by whatever party is in power in Ottawa. When the Progressive Conservative government gained power in 1984 they disregarded studies, research and innovative ideas in dealing with crime in its quest to gain political points by showing that they were "tough on crime". In 1986 they introduced Bill C-67 that allowed the Parole Board to remove all of a prisoner's earned remission. Once the prisoner's full sentence was served, he or she would be released with no supervision or support into the community. To no one's surprise those detained had a higher rate of recidivism than those released under supervision. (Solicitor General, 1992) Further public outcry led

the Conservative government to introduce a Bill that would simply imprison lawbreakers for the rest of their lives with an army of highly-paid psychologists to "treat" them until death. Fortunately this Bill died with the Conservative Party in 1993. All this despite the ratification in 1982 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and its guarantee of protection from arbitrary imprisonment.

In an average year during the Conservative Government's reign there were enough new citizens incarcerated to fill a new prison. In 1991-92 there were 7,314 new admissions while there were only 6,578 releases. Most of these new prisoners were sent into more expensive and violent maximum security (24.4%) or medium security (53.4%) institutions. (Solicitor General, 1992)

Due to the Correctional Service's reaction to the P.C. government most, if not all, of the objectives of the Mission Statement were not being complied with. Although the Mission stressed that some time may be needed to comply with the Mission objectives, the progress made toward these aims is woefully modest.

The Mission Statement was supposed to finally redirect the bloody history of Canadian corrections and in 1989, the new generation of prisoners would finally be given the tools to survive in our modern society. Five years have passed since its inception. What has resulted? A bizarre mix of intellectualism with an undercurrent of rabid sadism. The same staff still work within prisons, but now they must consciously fight not only the prisoner's will, but also the legal will of the Mission Statement. Out of the five Core Values, Core Value One is especially repulsive to the type of men and women that yearn to devote their lives to subjecting other Canadians to pain.

Core Value 1

We respect the dignity of individuals, the rights of all members of society, and the potential for human growth and development.

The overriding law within the Commissioner's Directives and the Warden's Standing Orders in the penitentiary is the security and safety of the institution. To a lawyer that would mean security and safety from violence or the threat of violence. To the Keepers it is interpreted as respect for authority and the safety of lifetime employment. Even if the front-line officers and Management staff attempted to initiate "human growth", they are too overburdened with bureaucratic duties to take into account the social or psychological needs of the prisoner.

"Corrective options" within the prison are confined to the facilitation of a variety of coercions, ranging from more time in prison, removal of earned remission, or a transfer to a Super Maximum Security Segregation Unit in Saskatchewan. The only reward is to *not* punish. Lower security camps offer no more training for the prisoner to be able to support him or herself, rather, they offer less contact with the punishers and more

places to hide from them. Due process is simply a chute through which the prisoners are herded into ever tighter confinement. Arbitrary punishment such as involuntary transfers are still the norm for those who are deemed "security risks" such as outspoken Inmate Committee members. (Correctional Investigator, 1992)

Due to over-crowding through double bunking, prisoners are often locked into cells the size of a public toilet stall with a person they are often not compatible with. The tension that builds in such confinement and lack of constructive activity inevitably results in blood shed. Most penitentiaries have a high rate of unemployment and only a small percentage of the population is enrolled in any type of programs. Thus maximum and ~~medium security institutions~~ prisoners are often locked in their cells for as much as 23 1/2 hours per day. This form of sensory deprivation has been found to be extremely psychologically damaging and should only be practised in the most necessary of circumstances. (Clements, 1979) Prison psychologists and case management officers further ostracize prisoners from the human need of culture by ignoring or subverting the individual's family connections outside the walls.

A major obstacle towards the implementation of rehabilitative programs has been the C.S.C.'s inability to recruit competent experienced sociologists and criminologists that would focus upon the reintegration of the individual into the community. At this time the majority of employees with graduate degrees are psychologists that focus upon perceived mental illness rather than the obvious social problems that most prisoners experience before breaking the law. Few Canadians from the upper classes see the inside of a prison, yet prison psychologists completely ignore the socio-economic aspects of crime simply because their field deals only with mental illness which is also a convenient excuse to ignore their larger responsibility.

A few lower security prisons have allowed Natives the privilege of limited cultural education and interaction, such as the North-West Territorial Prison. However it is managed by Native staff that have a personal mission to integrate the prisoners back into the community. These rights were only granted after much blood shed behind the walls of Western Canadian prisons by Native prisoners who had their family and culture destroyed by the Federal Government. In 1984 the predominately Cree population of Stoney Mountain Penitentiary in Manitoba had warned the mainly European staff that if the racism continued a guard would lose his life. When the staff ignored the warning, a prisoner who spoke only Cree killed two guards. The CSC's reaction was not to correct the problem, but to convict the killer as well as two innocent Native youths for murder. These men are now living martyrs to the Red Power movement within the prison system and a cause of further tension.

Canadian penitentiaries are designed to destroy the prisoner mentally as well as physically. Dignity is subverted in an attempt to control the prison. The only potential for "human

growth" is toward a culturally unique group that is not on the government list of approved Canadian cultures. Strength, cunning and selfish hate are the icons of those cultivated by our penitentiary system.

Core Value 2

We recognize that the offender has the potential to live as a law-abiding citizen.

The writers of the Mission Statement have, under this Value, recognized the lack of motivation on the part of the prison staff to reintegrate the prisoner into mainstream society. This is all too apparent in the constant labelling of the prisoner as an "offender", which convinces him or her that their criminal activity will never end. In November 1992 the Penitentiary Act and the Parole Act were replaced with Bill C-36, the Corrections and Conditional Release Act. Its main concern can be summed up in section 129,(2, ii): "where the Service is of the opinion that there are reasonable grounds to believe that the offender is likely to commit an offence causing death or serious harm to another person *before the expiration of the offender's sentence.*"

The activities within Canadian prisons have always been concealed from the greater society, due to a very powerful public relations division. Their main goal is to provide the public with an image of a system that is underfunded yet staffed with overworked professionals concerned for public safety. Bill C-36 is blatant in its concern for a political backlash once their product is released onto Canadian streets. The image-makers go to great lengths to distance themselves from any accountability and responsibility. What happens *after* the expiration of the offender's sentence? Up to 80 percent (depending upon support and skills upon release) will continue with the criminal behaviour that they were taught in prison. (Solicitor General, 1992) However the Correctional Service of Canada will be exempt of all blame and will accept the offender back, assuring job security for many years.

The average prisoner is a property offender (thief), poor (no house, no car, no money) a substance abuser, an average education of grade 7 and no marketable skills. (Solicitor General, 1992) Certainly few have had a stable family upbringing. What steps does the prison take to correct these repairable social problems? They concentrate upon psychological "programs" that are concerned mainly with pointing out to the prisoner how despicable his or her behaviour is to the instructor.

Employment programs available in the prison system teach the inmate virtually nothing that is useful to him upon release. Under the Liberal government in the 1970's and early 1980's vocational programs were introduced throughout the Correctional Service in an attempt to break the crime cycle. Prisoners were released with a means of obtaining legitimate financial security, resulting in a lower recidivism rate. (McGinnis, 1990)

When the Conservative regime came to power in 1984, they

systematically dismantled trade programs and higher education, substituting them with the Crown Corporation CORCAN. This multi-million dollar prison industry employs cheap inmate labour in the manufacture of government products, such as luxurious chairs for Case Management offices, gun ports and steel beds for cells. Their jobs are labour intensive and require minimal skills not officially recognized as trades or apprenticeship programs by employers. Beyond CORCAN, most prison employment opportunities are along the lines of cleaning or menial labour. These jobs do nothing to impart any knowledge or skill to the inmate and therefore leave him or her without any means of legitimate financial support. Education has been discouraged since the adoption of the retribution model in the early eighties. (Griffiths, 1989)

Community relations programs such as temporary passes and parole were replaced with detention, a program that released violent offenders into the community under no parole supervision and after years of personal disintegration. Prime Minister Mulroney's personal contribution to law and order was to build the Maximum Security Penitentiary in his home riding of Port Cartier. This prison was built on an island three hundred miles from the city of Montreal, from which most of its prisoners originate. His gift to his home community was to give them lifetime employment as punishers.

There is one highly lucrative method of ensuring financial security within the penitentiary. Both subcultures, that of guards and prisoners, exploit the thriving trade in illegal substances. Narcotics are abundant behind bars, not because they cannot be stopped since drugs come through visits and guards can thoroughly search both the visitor and prisoner, but because the staff know that soft drugs and a certain amount of heroin will calm the population. Security staff are very effective in stopping barbiturates and alcohol because the guards realize that these drugs tend to reduce the prisoner's inhibition to attack staff.

It has become obvious that Correctional Officers do not feel that their prisoners have the ability to live as law-abiding citizens. This attitude is reflected in the widespread attempt to eliminate parole through the removal of all good time and community supervision. The prisoner leaves the penitentiary no better educated, more violent, more criminally proficient, with ties to the criminal subculture and little relationship to law-abiding Canadians. He or she has learned from the government and other criminals that intimidation and violence is a skill that can produce respect and financial gain.

Core Value 3

We believe that our strength and our major resource in achieving our objectives is our staff and that human relationships are the cornerstone of our endeavour.

During these lean times the Correctional Service has also

felt the bite. This has caused immense problems in fulfilling this Core Value. Staff of the C.S.C. and inmates alike have been subjected to a freeze in wages for the past three years. This freeze has been extended for another two years until 1996. Staff have become demoralized, especially the Case Managers who have had their case loads drastically increased. Each Case Management Officer is responsible for overseeing the correctional plans of up to sixty inmates, a virtual impossibility. The recent mandate to down-size Regional Headquarters staff, will result in the removal of experienced programs personnel, further reducing the Service's professionalism. The usual tension between management (headquarters staff and Wardens) and front-line officers has reached a level of constant rebellion and resistance to orders from the top.

Management's support of the Mission Statement is not reflected in the attitudes of the lower ranks. Many believe the Correctional Service of Canada should not intervene into the lives of its prisoners. The motto of these officers is that the improvement of prisoners offends the dignity of just punishment.

The correctional officer leads by example, since he or she has all of the authority and most of the power within the prison. For the new guard the example comes from the older officers who in turn had their training twenty years ago. The industry of incarceration has sprouted whole cities that rely upon the crime rate as financial security. The city of Kingston for example has seven penitentiaries that employ many of its residents in direct or support jobs. The trade of prison guard has been passed down from generation to generation since 1833 when Canada's first penitentiary was built there. Most of the training is done on the job and in the prison environment. The older guards train new recruits by focusing mainly upon inmate scams and the dangers facing them from their caged charges. Case Managers are told to leave whatever they learned in university at the gate and to realize that most prisoners just want to be free and therefore are not to be trusted or coddled. Every report must amplify the prisoner's deranged nature so that no one is fooled by any positive traits that the prisoner somehow retained before his or her incarceration.

The Union of Solicitor General Employees is one of the most powerful unions in Canada. The Correctional Service of Canada employees strongly support their union with strikes and work-to-rule tactics resulting in a power base that is uncontrollable by Parliament as well as Management. Wardens have to take the union's desires into account before they attempt any changes in the prison routine. When the Mission Statement came into effect in 1989 most prison staff, from guards to Case Managers openly resisted the document during union meetings because they felt that it subverted their absolute authority to coerce prisoners. They thought it degrading that they had to have concerns for the prisoner's future in society, which to them smacked of fraternizing with the enemy. They also had a real fear that a lower recidivism would mean a reduction in the prison population

that would translate into a reduction in job security.

Recidivists are mainly those people from the lower classes that are locked into the crime cycle, outside of which they could not survive. (Andrews, 1989) If the staff were to give these prisoners the skills to become socially mobile and able to make a legitimate living, then a large portion of those committing property crimes would be given over to the work force; a very real threat to the thousands of Union of Solicitor General Employees.

There have been times when the rehabilitation of prisoners has been attempted by outside agencies such as colleges, universities and organizations such as John Howard Society, leading to a serious conflict of interest with the C.S.C. union. Kent Maximum Security Penitentiary opened in British Columbia in 1980 with a full range of programs that brought the prisoner through Life Skills programs, trades training and even a full time university program. Recidivism by those who went through the whole process was reduced to 14 percent. (Duguid, 1985) The prisoners became peaceful, substance abuse had declined and quite a few success stories of ex-cons becoming an asset to the community appeared in the media. The Federal Government and the public started discussing ways of lowering the entire security of the prison to medium and to expand programming.

The guards became concerned over job security and their salaries that approached \$60,000 per year to sit and watch a closed circuit T.V. monitor. The union had a meeting in early 1988 and decided upon drastic measures. They planted a pipe and a few shotgun shells in the industries building and called for a lock-down of the prison. They called all of the major newspapers and television stations describing the "arsenal of zip-guns" and how they required "danger pay" in order to survive their perilous conditions, despite the fact that assaults upon guards was rare in Kent. If they did not receive their demands then they threatened to leave the prisoners unsupervised. They locked-down the institution and refused to return unless they received their "danger pay" bonus. After a week long strike, the Federal government relented and gave them a pay raise. No prisoner was investigated or charged over the incident. However in 1989 Kent adopted a philosophy resembling pre-Mission penitentiaries, along with a dramatic increase in violence, including murder.

Union manufactured crimes of violence are common during wage negotiations. Riots and murders have been instigated in order to show the public how useful guards really are to Canada. In reality they are simply extorting the Canadian public for money by threatening to unleash their deadly product.

Core Value 4

We believe that the sharing of ideas, knowledge, values and experience, nationally and internationally, is essential to the achievement of our Mission.

Research into the causes and effects of crime and the

criminal justice system is based primarily upon the generated statistics that are compiled by guards and Case Managers. Criminologists and sociologists are not allowed prolonged access to prisons, and are rarely permitted to observe its operation, simply because the staff cannot control what the social scientists would see. Thus all official information about prisons and prisoners is screened and manipulated to produce an image of rehabilitation and professionalism by harried staff, as compared to the incurable psychopathy and dangerousness on the part of prisoners. Social scientists and journalists can only investigate the truth by speaking to ex-cons who are usually inarticulate and extremely hostile. Very rarely does a prisoner write about his or her experiences and these accounts are not usually accurate due to their lack of education and self-centredness in making the bandit a hero.

Another problem with the implementation of this Core Value is that much of the research, values and ideas come from the United States, a country that categorically denies the validity of rehabilitation. Countries such as Sweden, with established records of rehabilitation, are largely ignored or discounted as being culturally different.

Core Value 5

We believe in managing the service with openness and integrity and we are accountable to the Solicitor General.

The operation of the Correctional Service of Canada and its penitentiaries are largely unknown to the Canadian public. A seven month study of newspapers and television media revealed that major incidents such as murders or hostage takings are covered only in local newspapers and then only offer the barest details that have first passed through the Public Affairs filter. (Martens, 1994) Life behind the walls is never described to the public in any form. The public receives its view of the criminal justice system through Hollywood, which is a very fictionalized American account to say the least.

On October 24, 1993, Robert Gentiles, a prisoner at Kingston Penitentiary, was killed in his cell because he had complained that he had not been fed in 22 hours. A study of media accounts during the following seven months revealed a very distorted and disturbing view. Eyewitness testimony from staff, prisoners and a private pathologist who performed the autopsy, confirmed the fact that the guards had used excessive force through an illegal choke hold, instantly crushing his larynx. The official CSC reports in the local Kingston Whig Standard newspaper stated that Gentiles had experienced respiratory arrest after being sprayed with a non-lethal gas which was complicated with illegal drugs in his system. The pathologist could find no narcotics within Gentile's body, yet his report has been ignored by the C.S.C. public relations division. When C.B.C. and C.T.V. news requested access to the eyewitnesses, they were denied and had to pursue a court order to finally gain admittance to the prison. Before the legal

action made it to the courts they were allowed access, but by that time the eyewitnesses has been transferred to other institutions or deported.

The five guards who killed Gentiles are still on duty, despite their well deserved reputation for harassing prisoners. The day after the killing, they walked the cell blocks loudly bragging about their achievement. These guards are protected by the union representative of the institution who has offered his support as well as personal experience with this type of situation; he was himself personally involved in seven unnatural prisoner deaths over his twenty year career. Three and one half years ago he had been involved in an incident with four guards which resulted in the death of a retarded inmate named Taylor in the Segregation Unit of Kingston because the child-like man refused to give up his extra set of headphones. The in-house inquiry at that time recommended that prisoners no longer provoke guards into using force.

Not only are the prison staff not accountable to anyone except themselves, they do not have any desire to be part of the Canadian community. Penitentiaries are usually centred around rural towns where the main industry is imprisonment. These local people form their own subculture and have no desire to be part of the "civilians" whom they consider to be hostile to their way of life.

CSC's public relations division is bent upon keeping the wall up between the public and the prisons. They in no way foster good relations with the public. The only time they disseminate information to the public is about somebody who they think will re-offend. This is a self-fulfilling prophecy when they do so fostering only fear and anger toward the prisoners.

Five years have passed since the Correctional Service of Canada has begun to operate under the mandate of the Mission Statement. What has been its impact? Canadians from the poverty class continue to be initiated into the criminal subculture through the penitentiary university that feeds the Criminal Justice System and victimizes "normal" Canadians. These grinding incarceration machines have caused an incremental rise in the amount of crime directly attributable to ex-prisoners upon their release. Many of the crimes committed by these released prisoners continue to be of a manipulative, intimidating, aggressive or violent nature. The acquisition of these unique skills have to be imitated and practised. Outside of the police and military, only the prison system offers an in-depth instruction in physical and mental violence through an environment that forces the student to either adopt the curriculum, or suffer the consequences at the hands of those who learned their lessons well.

These caged communities exhibit their new found skills with a homicide rate that is 20 times the rate of comparable age groups in the public. (Porporino, 1986) Most of these murders are

committed by young property offenders with no history of violence, until they become instructed in the corrections environment. Much of this violence becomes inner directed as indicated by the inmate suicide rate which is three times that of free Canadians.⁹

Expressive violence within prisons can be attributed to the uniqueness of the prison atmosphere. The heavily regimented and oppressive nature of prisons results in two prominent personalities; the hard and the crushed. Freedom of choice in association is removed. Privacy is but a memory. Identity and the very human need to be recognized is translated through the language of violence and exploitation. This profanity becomes the prisoner's only form of communication.

In 1976 the Law Reform Commission recommended a complete overhaul of the Criminal Code to allow for alternative sentencing practices and to use prison sentencing as a last resort for "a hard core of real crimes needing traditional trials and serious punishments." Those requiring segregation from society had to fall within three categories. "For these three cases, prison is the penalty of last resort.":

- (1) for offenders too dangerous to leave at large.
- (2) for offenders for which, as things are now, no other adequate denunciation presently exists.
- (3) for offenders wilfully refusing to submit to other punishments.

To this day, alternative forms of dealing with crime are severely under-utilized. As many as 70% of regulatory offenses are punishable by imprisonment. (Law Reform, 1976) Since Canada has the second highest incarceration rate of the free world, even the harshest retributionist has to acknowledge the willingness of the Justice System to cage law-breakers. However our willingness to induce pain upon our citizens has created a penitentiary system ruled by career torturers who, through their almost unmitigated power, have become uncontrollable by anyone. The cost involved in supporting their regime is crippling our community, but the expense of prison is minor compared to the damage caused by its violent graduates. No social scientist has been able to calculate the actual damage caused by ex-prisoners who have been turned into hardened criminals. The facts pointed out in this paper are not new, in fact they are so belaboured that Canadians just write them off as an uncontrollable liability. If they would just look to the south and observe the prison industry in the U.S. and the enormous gang problem that is cultivated in those penitentiaries, then they would realize how important the Mission Statement is to Canada's future.

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