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la société face au crime

annexe 6

la justice criminelle

les québécois s'interrogent sur
la criminalité et les mesures correctionnelles



commission d'enquête sur l'administration de la justice
en matière criminelle et pénale au québec



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Majasin

COMMISSION D'ENQUÊTE SUR L'ADMINISTRATION DE LA JUSTICE EN MATIÈRE CRIMINELLE ET PÉNALE AU QUÉBEC

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COMMISSION D'ENQUÊTE SUR L'ADMINISTRATION DE LA JUSTICE EN MATIÈRE CRIMINELLE ET PÉNALE AU QUÉBEC

Avis au lecteur

Ce présent rapport est le troisième d'une série de recherches effectuées par le département de Criminologie de l'Université de Montréal sous la supervision de M. André Normandeau.

Cette recherche a été mise à la disposition de la Commission d'enquête sur l'administration de la Justice en matière criminelle et pénale.

Ce troisième volume est consacré aux Québécois s'interrogeant sur la criminalité et les mesures correctionnelles.

Cet ouvrage est publié en anglais tel qu'il fut présenté à la Commission d'enquête sur l'administration de la Justice en matière criminelle et pénale.

La Commission.

LA SOCIÉTÉ FACE AU CRIME

**LES QUÉBÉCOIS S'INTERROGENT SUR LA CRIMINALITÉ
ET LES MESURES CORRECTIONNELLES**

GROUPE DE RECHERCHE SUR L'ADMINISTRATION DE LA JUSTICE

LA JUSTICE CRIMINELLE

volume 3

LES QUÉBÉCOIS S'INTERROGENT SUR LA CRIMINALITÉ ET LES MESURES CORRECTIONNELLES

Recherche effectuée privément par le soussigné
et dont les résultats sont mis à la disposition de la Commission d'enquête
sur l'administration de la justice en matière criminelle et pénale

ANDRÉ NORMANDEAU, Ph. D.

Département de Criminologie

Université de Montréal

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
INTRODUCTION	21
THE SAMPLE	22
I — GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD CORRECTIONS	25
— Crime rates	25
— Law enforcement	27
— The Courts	29
— Corrections	30
— Community-based correctional programs	33
— Financial support for corrections	35
II — CONTACT WITH CRIMINALS	39
— Attitudes toward various crimes	39
— Alcoholism and drug addiction	42
— The re-entry problem	43
— The Halfway House	49
— Volunteer work	52
III — CORRECTIONS AS A CAREER	55
— Level of confidence	56
— Profile of the correctional worker	56
— Most rewarding correctional jobs	57
— Career choices	57
IV — SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS	65
a) General attitudes toward corrections	65
b) Contact with convicted criminals	66
— Corrections as a career	68
	17

	<i>Page</i>
V — IMPLICATIONS OF SURVEY FOR CORRECTIONS	73
— A public education problem	74
— Gaining public support	74
— Specific steps to be taken	75
— Tapping the volunteer potential	75
— The road ahead in corrections	76
— A final word	77
THE QUESTIONNAIRE (French version)	85
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY : Studies of Public Opinion on Crime and Corrections	101

INTRODUCTION

LES QUEBECOIS LOOK AT CRIME AND CORRECTIONS

A Public Opinion Survey in Metropolitan Montreal

André NORMANDEAU, Ph. D.
Department of Criminology
Université de Montréal

INTRODUCTION¹

With other colleagues in the Department of Criminology of the Université de Montréal, I have been engaged in the last twelve months in five opinion surveys in the Province of Quebec, three about the police (interviewing the public as well as the policemen), and two about criminal justice at the court and correctional levels (interviewing the public as well as the criminal lawyers)².

Continuing in this perspective, but limiting our sample this time to the Metropolitan Montreal Area, we would like to report herein the main results of a sixth, but much more limited study, which is a *replication* of a research done in U.S.A. and entitled *The Public Looks at Crime and*

¹ The results of this monography were partly summarized for a round-table on "Professional and Executive Manpower for the Future" at the Canadian Congress of Corrections, Vancouver, June 8-14, 1969, as well as for a luncheon roundtable on "Criminal Justice" at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, September 1-4, 1969.

² See the following publications printed by the Quebec Government Printing Office, 1969, as part of the volumes put out by the Commission Prévost (a Quebec Crime Commission)

- (a) J. Rico et G. Tardif, *La Police*, Volume I, Sondage d'Opinion Publique sur la Police au Québec.
- (b) J. Rico et G. Tardif, *La Police*, Volume II, Sondage d'Opinion auprès des Policiers du Québec.
- (c) J. Archambault (et al), *La Police*, Volume III, Satisfaction des Policiers au Travail.
- (d) E. Fattah et A. Normandeau, *La Justice Criminelle*, Volume I, Sondage d'Opinion Publique sur la Justice Criminelle au Québec.
- (e) J.L. Baudoin, J. Fortin et J.P. Lussier, *La Justice Criminelle*, Volume II, Sondage d'Opinion auprès des Criminologistes de Montréal.

Corrections. This public opinion survey, published in 1968, was made by Louis Harris and Associates for the *Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training*¹.

This Commission was set up to study in detail the extent and nature of the manpower shortage in corrections, to investigate the needs and resources for training correctional workers, and to get something done about meeting the needs it finds.

The Commission, however, was well aware that the success of its mission — and the success of corrections — will depend upon public understanding and support. To develop such understanding and support, more must be known about how the public now feels about corrections.

The survey, made for the Commission, was national in scope and examined three areas :

- a) General attitudes of the public toward corrections and rehabilitation of the offender.
- b) Feelings about contacts with convicted offenders on their return to the free community.
- c) Opinions about corrections as a career.

The third factor has obvious relation to the problem of recruiting manpower for corrections, but it in turn depends heavily upon the first and second.

The report of the Montreal replication of this American survey is presented here.

THE SAMPLE²

We used a "random block sample" of people 18 years or older, living in the Metropolitan Montreal Area, as defined by the last census in 1966. Our sample was finally constituted of 463 French-speaking Canadians and of 194 English-speaking Canadians. Half of the population in each group was female.

In presenting our data, we shall always present separately the opinions of these two distinct Canadian groups, as well as their American counterparts. (We must keep in mind, however, that the American answers reflect a national picture).

¹ Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, *The Public Looks at Crime and Corrections*. (Washington, D.C. : U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968).

² The study was made with the technical aid of SMA-CROP Inc., a multidisciplinary survey center well-known in the Montreal area. The interviews were done by students enrolled in a sociology class taught by the present author.

I—GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD CORRECTIONS

I—GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD CORRECTIONS

Corrections is the last phase in a system which the public sees as having many faults. Let us begin by briefly examining public opinion about the earlier phases of the system of criminal justice.

CRIME RATES

First, the public is aroused about the incidence of crime. Almost eight in ten (78 percent) of English Canadians, and nine in ten of French Canadians and Americans feel that the crime rate in their areas has been increasing or has remained the same in the last year.

TABLE 1
DO YOU THINK THE CRIME RATE HAS INCREASED, DECREASED, OR STAYED ABOUT THE SAME IN YOUR AREA DURING THE LAST YEAR ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Increasing	46	50	40
Decreasing	4	3	8
Same	43	40	38
Not sure	7	7	14

The reasons offered for feeling the crime rate is increasing are quite revealing.

First, there is no mention, in Canada as in U.S.A., of personal victimization. To the contrary, the number one reason cited by all groups was

"what I read and see on television" (about 25 percent). A strong consensus also appears for the two other main reasons cited. The student "contestation" or the urban riots are mentioned as prominent manifestations of "unrest around the country" (about 20 percent). And many people feel that the seeds of criminal behavior take root in the home through parental laxity (about 20 percent).

TABLE 2

WHY DO YOU THINK THE CRIME RATE HAS INCREASED IN YOUR AREA ?
(BASE : FEEL CRIME RATE INCREASING : 40 to 50 %)

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
What I read and see on TV	27	29	25
Unrest around country	22	24	20
Parents too lax	21	19	22
Foreign element moving in	8	11	6
Too many restrictions on police	6	15	10
Young people have no morals	6	10	6
Not enough police	5	5	6
Not enough recreation for young people	4	2	5
Courts too lenient	4	2	4
Unemployment	4	1	5
Drugs, narcotics	3	1	2
For kicks	3	2	2
Lack of Religion	3	8	4
Poverty	2	3	1
Other	10	5	7
Not sure	3	6	2

(Figures add to more than 100% as some respondents gave more than one answer)

The significance of these findings on the crime rate is not that they support the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports or the Federal Bureau of Statistics' Reports, but that they point up the very high degree of public concern over the incidence of crime in our society and the prevailing mood that violence is breeding greater crime and violence.

Let us mention, in this general perspective, that there are no differences in the causes which lead to crime cited by French and English Canadians as

well as Americans. The laxity of parents is cited first, then poverty and lack of education.

TABLE 3
WHAT ARE THE MAIN REASONS WHY PEOPLE BECOME CRIMINALS ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Parents too lax	59	65	61
Environment bad	16	20	14
Poverty	16	18	18
Unemployment	12	16	10
Lack of education	12	14	10
Young people have no morals	12	14	11
Alcohol	10	9	11
Drugs-narcotics	10	8	12
Broken homes	9	7	7
Not enough recreation for young	9	10	7
For kicks	9	4	10
People have too much ; spoiled	7	8	4
Too many on welfare	7	8	5
Lack of religion	7	7	4
Courts too lenient	5	9	10
Time of unrest	4	2	3
Kids see violence on TV	4	5	6
Mentally ill	3	3	1
Too many restrictions on police	3	1	1
Other	8	9	10
Not sure	3	4	1

(Figures add to more than 100% as some respondents gave more than one answer)

LAW ENFORCEMENT

A general feeling prevails that our system of law enforcement does not really discourage people from committing crimes. Over six in ten of the adults (Canadians as well as Americans) in the survey expressed this feeling, as compared with only one quarter who felt the system does discourage crime.

TABLE 4**DOES OUR SYSTEM OF LAW ENFORCEMENT REALLY DISCOURAGE PEOPLE FROM COMMITTING CRIMES ?**

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Really discourages	26	20	25
Doesn't discourage	56	64	51
Encourages	6	9	7
Not sure	12	7	17

While the *system* of law enforcement does not receive a favorable rating, law enforcement *officials* receive generally positive ratings for the job they are doing. As table 5 shows, the total adult group rates provincial (or state) and federal authorities slightly higher than local authorities. French Canadians think less of the job done by the authorities at all levels.

Some of the reasons for this difference of opinion about law enforcement are seen in the next table. While 86 percent of the English

TABLE 5**HOW WOULD YOU RATE THE JOB LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS ARE DOING ?**

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
LOCAL OFFICIALS			
Positive	68	65	70
Negative	32	35	30
PROVINCIAL OFFICIALS			
Positive	72	64	75
Negative	28	36	25
FEDERAL OFFICIALS			
Positive	72	69	77
Negative	28	31	23

TABLE 6
ARE MOST ARRESTS FAIR OR UNFAIR ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Fair	80	72	86
Unfair	11	23	10
Not sure	9	5	4

Canadians and 80 percent of the Americans feel that most arrests of people accused of committing a crime are fair, only 72 percent of the French Canadians feel this way. While 70 percent of the English Canadians and 67 percent of the Americans feel that people waiting in jail to be tried are treated fairly, only 58 percent of the French Canadians agree that this is true.

THE COURTS

Over half of the Canadian as well as American population (51 and 55 percent for French and English Canadians and 57 percent for Americans) feel someone waiting to be tried waits too long before coming to trial.

Once brought to trial, criminals are dealt with too leniently by the courts, according to just under one half (49 percent) of the American respondents, and just over one half of the French (53 percent) and English (54 percent) Canadian respondents. About one third of the respondents in each group feel that the courts have been generally fair.

TABLE 7
ARE PEOPLE WAITING IN JAIL TO BE TRIED TREATED FAIRLY OR NOT ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Fairly	67	58	70
Unfairly	9	28	12
Not sure	24	14	18

TABLE 8
HOW HAVE COURTS DEALT WITH CRIMINALS ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Too lenient	49	53	54
Too severe	1	5	1
Some too lenient, some too severe	15	5	11
Fair	29	35	31
Not sure	6	2	3

CORRECTIONS

If half of the Americans (51 percent) feel that the prison system is doing a good job in helping to deal with the problem of crime, Canadians are much more severe in their feelings, since only 15 percent of the French Canadians and 29 percent of the English Canadians feel that way.

Part of the problem is the gap that people feel exists between the actual emphasis of the prison systems and what they feel the emphasis should be. In U.S.A., while only 48 percent feel prisons are currently most interested in rehabilitation, 72 percent feel this should be the main emphasis. While 37 percent feel the main emphasis is now on punishing the individual or protecting society, only 19 percent believe this should be the main emphasis. In Canada, the trend is also towards rehabilitation, but English and especially French Canadians lean more than Americans towards the aims of punishing the individual or protecting society. In effect, while 72 percent of the

TABLE 9
**WHAT KIND OF A JOB HAS THE PRISON SYSTEM DONE IN HELPING
TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM OF CRIME ?**

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Positive	51	15	29
Negative	49	85	71

TABLE 10
**WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MAIN EMPHASIS IN MOST PRISONS,
AND WHAT SHOULD IT BE ?**

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
EMPHASIS NOW IS			
Punishing	13	49	27
Rehabilitation	48	27	39
Protecting society	24	18	21
Not sure	15	6	13
EMPHASIS SHOULD BE			
Punishing	7	26	16
Rehabilitation	72	47	61
Protecting society	12	17	15
Not sure	9	10	8

Americans favour the goal of rehabilitation, 61 percent of English Canadians and 47 percent of French Canadians do so.

As to corrections' success in rehabilitating criminals, the split is about half and half in U.S.A., but Canadians see less success.

While over one third of the population, in U.S.A. as well as in Canada, were unable to state whether local, provincial (or state) or federal prisons are most interested in trying to rehabilitate criminals, it is clear that few people feel there is much interest in rehabilitation at the local level. French Canadians give more credit to provincial prisons and English Canadians to federal prisons.

TABLE 11
**HOW SUCCESSFUL HAVE PRISONS AND OTHER CORRECTIONAL SYSTEMS
BEEN IN REHABILITATING CRIMINALS ?**

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Very successful	5	6	3
Somewhat successful	49	10	29
Slightly successful	41	64	57
Not at all successful	5	20	11

TABLE 12**WHICH TYPE OF PRISON IS MOST INTERESTED IN REHABILITATION ?**

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Federal	28	11	38
Provincial or State	28	44	20
Local	8	5	1
Not sure	36	40	41

The feeling that prisons have been only partially successful was also expressed by the people when they were handed a list of words and phrases and asked to choose those that were most descriptive of prisons.

Over seven in ten of Americans and English Canadians, as well as eight in ten of French Canadians, feel "living behind bars" is most descriptive of

TABLE 13**WHICH OF THESE PHRASES BEST DESCRIBES LIFE IN PRISON ?**

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Living behind bars	71	80	73
Getting rehabilitated	33	19	27
Learning trades and skills	33	20	30
Small cells	27	34	29
Psychological counseling	18	9	16
Tough guards	14	19	13
Learning how to get out	14	12	15
Trustee system	13	4	11
Visits behind barriers	13	18	11
Chain gangs	10	18	5
Prison breaks	8	21	12
Pounding rocks	8	15	8
Alarm systems	5	8	7
Hunger strikes	4	13	5
Sympathetic workers	3	1	4
Not sure	4	2	1

Note : Figures add to more than 100% as some respondents gave more than one answer.

prison life. "Getting rehabilitated", "learning trades and skills" and "small cells" get in second. For the total group, the ratio of negative, punishment-oriented items to positive, rehabilitation-oriented items (found by adding the percentages for each item in the two groups) is 1.4 to 1.0 in U.S.A., 1.5 to 1.0 with English Canadians and 1.7 to 1.0 with French Canadians.

A more negative impression of prisons is also found in the response of one half of the adults that "big-time racketeers and people with connections receive special treatment in prison" (52 percent in U.S.A., 55 percent with English Canadians and 57 percent with French Canadians). About one quarter of the people in each group believe they are treated like everyone else. This negative attitude was again expressed when about one in five (20 percent) in each group felt that "time in prison will often turn someone who is not really bad into a hardened criminal". An additional half felt this "sometimes" happens.

TABLE 14
WHO IS MORE LIKELY TO GAIN INFLUENCE OVER SOMEONE
RELEASED FROM PRISON ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Authorities	50	38	52
Organized crime	50	62	48
(Not sure)	(34)	(30)	(31)

COMMUNITY-BASED CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS

Part of the problem faced by community-based correctional programs is seen in the view held by about 50 percent of the respondents in each group that it is almost impossible for the authorities to keep track of what someone is doing once he leaves prison.

While about one third of the sample in each group were not sure whether the authorities or organized crime would be more successful in gaining influence over someone who was just released from prison, those who did express an opinion split down the middle with American and English Canadians, while French Canadians gave more weight to organized crime.

There is little interest in an increased use of parole since only about 20 percent would want an increase.

TABLE 15
SHOULD PAROLE BE USED MORE OR LESS ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Used more	20	14	21
Used less	14	24	13
About right now	49	43	50
Not sure	17	19	16

TABLE 16
IS ENOUGH HELP GIVEN TO EX-PRISONERS ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Getting psychological help			
Enough	21	15	24
Not enough	45	46	44
Not sure	34	39	32
Finding a place to live			
Enough	23	18	24
Not enough	41	42	47
Not sure	36	40	29
Keeping out of trouble			
Enough	24	18	26
Not enough	50	48	44
Not sure	26	34	30
Getting training for useful work			
Enough	33	21	30
Not enough	42	50	41
Not sure	25	29	29
Getting decent jobs			
Enough	23	10	25
Not enough	52	59	49
Not sure	25	31	26

People were then asked whether enough help is given in various areas to those who get out of prison. By about a two-to-one margin in U.S.A. and with English Canadians, and a three-to-one margin with French Canadians, they replied that not enough help is given.

It is clear that the American and Canadian public is dissatisfied. It believes not enough is being done in prisons or in the community to help rehabilitate criminals. New programs and more personnel are certainly needed. But what about the increased costs ? Let us now turn to the question of financial support for corrections.

TABLE 17

WHERE WOULD YOU MOST LIKE TO SEE GOVERNMENT SPENDING INCREASED ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Aid to schools	41	52	42
Juvenile delinquency	21	5	11
Law enforcement	13	14	19
Poverty program	11	13	20
Defense	5	3	2
Correctional rehabilitation	3	2	2
Highways	3	3	1
Aid to cities	1	6	1
Space	1	—	—
Foreign aid	—	—	1
Not sure	1	2	1

FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR CORRECTIONS

The way to the public's pocketbook for corrections is through support for juvenile delinquency prevention and rehabilitation programs. When given a list of 10 different areas of governmental spending and asked in which one they would most like to see spending increased, juvenile delinquency was second only to aid to schools in U.S.A., but fourth with English Canadians and fifth with French Canadians.

TABLE 18

**SHOULD MORE MONEY BE SPENT ON PRISON SYSTEMS
AND CORRECTIONAL REHABILITATION PROGRAMS ?**

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Spend more	43	40	46
Not necessary	40	40	38
Not sure	17	20	16

Aside from aid to schools, in order to attack the problem of crime the public seems to give as much weight to increased funds for the application of force as to increased funds for rooting out the social causes of crime through a poverty program or the rehabilitation of criminals.

However, a slight plurality in U.S.A. as well as in Canada for increased funds for corrections was seen when people were asked directly whether more money should be spent to improve the prison system and rehabilitation programs.

Pocketbook reluctance increased when people were asked if they would be willing to see taxes raised to improve correctional rehabilitation programs. The idea was rejected by almost two to one in U.S.A. and by English Canadians and by three to one by French Canadians.

TABLE 19

**WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO SEE TAXES RAISED TO PAY FOR
CORRECTIONAL REHABILITATION PROGRAMS ?**

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Willing	33	24	35
Not willing	59	71	64
Not sure	8	5	1

II—CONTACT WITH CRIMINALS

II—CONTACT WITH CRIMINALS

For correctional rehabilitation efforts to ultimately succeed, the individual must return to and be accepted by his community. In this survey attempts were made to measure the intensity of the re-entry problem through a number of different techniques :

1. Measuring the public attitude toward an individual based on the crime he has committed.
2. Measuring the public attitude toward an individual based on the type of contact with him.
3. Measuring the acceptability of a specific community-based corrections program — the Halfway House.
4. Determining the degree of public interest in crime prevention and correctional volunteer work.

ATTITUDE TOWARD VARIOUS CRIMES

First, the public was asked the best way of dealing with an adult convicted of a specific crime : probation, a short prison sentence with parole, or a long prison sentence.

There is a limited interest in the use of probation as a correctional technique, at least for the crimes named. Less than 25 percent would favour probation, in the U.S.A. as well as in Canada. Only in the case of prostitution did as much as 26 percent of the Americans, 29 percent of the English Canadians and 36 percent of the French Canadians feel probation should be used.

In spite of the public's belief that the correctional system's primary emphasis should be on rehabilitation, there appears to be a general feeling that the process (for adults) must begin with at least a short period of incarceration. How much this is due to the perceived inadequacies of present community-based programs and how much to a belief in the purifying qualities of punishment is impossible to say.

TABLE 20

WHAT IS THE BEST WAY TO DEAL WITH SPECIFIED ADULT CRIMINALS ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
25-year old, burglary			
Probation	20	18	22
Short sentence with parole	57	55	60
Long sentence	15	19	13
Not sure	8	8	5
Man, armed robbery			
Probation	—	1	—
Short sent./parole	11	7	5
Long sentence	86	91	90
Not sure	3	1	5
Prostitution			
Probation	26	36	29
Short sent./parole	36	34	38
Long sentence	23	20	22
Not sure	15	10	11
Man, murder			
Probation	—	—	—
Short sent./parole	2	—	1
Long sentence	90	99	97
Not sure	8	1	2
22-year-old man, looting during riot			
Probation	21	24	19
Short sent./parole	46	49	55
Long sentence	28	24	20
Not sure	5	3	6
Accountant, embezzling			
Probation	7	2	8
Short sent./parole	43	35	40
Long sentence	42	58	42
Not sure	8	5	10
Man, selling narcotic drugs to minors			
Probation	—	—	—
Short sent./parole	4	—	2
Long sentence	94	99	97
Not sure	2	1	1

TABLE 21

HOW SHOULD JUVENILES BE DEALT WITH FOR SPECIFIED OFFENCES?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
17-year-old stealing, 1st time, department store			
Probation	77	81	72
Short time in reform school	19	16	22
Long time in reform school	1	1	1
Not sure	3	2	5
15-year-old boy who mugged and robbed an old man			
Probation	13	10	19
Short time in reform school	56	51	62
Long time in reform school	26	25	21
Not sure	5	14	8
15-year-old stealing a car			
Probation	40	30	42
Short time in reform school	47	57	51
Long time in reform school	9	11	3
Not sure	4	2	4
14-year-old looting in an urban riot			
Probation	56	50	59
Short time in reform school	32	29	35
Long time in reform school	8	17	5
Not sure	4	4	1
16-year-old breaking school windows			
Probation	66	61	59
Short sentence in reform school	25	24	29
Long sentence in reform school	5	12	9
Not sure	4	3	3

Juvenile delinquents are viewed by the public much less harshly than adult offenders. People were asked how juveniles who had committed specific crimes should be treated : with probation, a short term in reform school with parole, or a long time in reform school.

The sharp difference between the treatment of an adult offender and a juvenile offender is seen in attitudes toward a 14-year-old looter in a riot compared with a 22-year-old looter. For the 14-year-old, more than 50 percent in each sample group would put him on probation ; for the 22-year-old, less than 25 percent believe he should be put on probation.

TABLE 22
HOW SHOULD ALCOHOLICS AND ADDICTS BE TREATED ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Alcoholic arrested for loitering			
Probation	6	5	3
Jail	7	5	8
Hospital	83	80	82
Not sure	4	10	7
Adult drug addict arrested for using drugs			
Probation	2	5	6
Jail	10	6	7
Hospital	85	81	81
Not sure	3	8	6
Teenage drug addict arrested for using drugs			
Probation	3	7	2
Jail	5	2	5
Hospital	88	87	87
Not sure	4	4	6

ALCOHOLISM AND DRUG ADDICTION

Certain instances of anti-social behavior are recognized as illnesses, and there is overwhelming support for hospital treatment rather than a correctional solution.

The results clearly show that an overwhelming majority in U.S.A. and in Canada think that the alcoholic or the drug addict properly belongs to the hospital.

THE RE-ENTRY PROBLEM

The American and Canadian public showed a clear awareness of ex-convicts' difficulties in returning to the community. We asked: "Suppose someone close to you were just coming out of prison after serving a sentence for a serious crime. What do you think are the most serious problems he would face in readjusting to society?"

Two items stand out most sharply in each group: the difficulty in finding a job, and the problem of regaining the trust of the community.

TABLE 23

WHAT PROBLEMS DO EX-CONVICTS FACE IN READJUSTING TO SOCIETY ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
—Finding employment	60	70	55
—Being accepted and trusted in the community	42	40	57
—Finding new friends, meeting old friends	20	25	17
—People would look down on him	12	9	14
—Gaining self-confidence	8	9	13
—Family acceptance	8	4	8
—Getting adjusted to freedom	8	3	2
—Being accepted socially	6	4	5
—Getting a place to live	6	2	2
—Feeling ashamed and inferior	6	2	3
—Having to prove himself worthy	4	1	3
—Other	13	9	10
—Not sure	4	1	5

Note: Add to more than 100% as some respondents gave more than one answer.

The critical importance of these areas emerged when people were asked how they would feel working on a job with someone who had been in prison and was on parole. Only one or two in ten indicated he would feel uneasy whatever the person had done. But when specific crimes were mentioned, the number who said they would feel uneasy rose sharply.

TABLE 24
WOULD YOU FEEL UNEASY WORKING WITH A PAROLED CONVICT ?

Crime for which convicted	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Shooting someone in an armed robbery			
More uneasy	74	82	75
Less uneasy	19	13	24
Not sure	7	5	1
Embezzling from a charity			
More uneasy	41	31	39
Less uneasy	52	47	49
Not sure	7	22	12
Stealing an auto			
More uneasy	29	35	26
Less uneasy	65	61	67
Not sure	6	4	7
Passing bad cheques			
More uneasy	32	41	32
Less uneasy	62	55	59
Not sure	6	4	9
Shoplifting when 16			
More uneasy	16	24	14
Less uneasy	79	71	84
Not sure	5	5	2
Evading income taxes			
More uneasy	19	11	25
Less uneasy	75	88	70
Not sure	6	1	5

Someone who has committed a serious violent crime (in the survey "shooting someone in an armed robbery") will obviously cause a great deal of uneasiness. Next on the list was a crime with a somewhat unsavory

quality — embezzling from a charity. Only shoplifting and income tax evasion do not generate a sizable amount of uneasiness. For each of the other situations approximately one third or more would feel uneasy. There is no significant difference on this count between the American or Canadian pattern.

TABLE 25a

**WOULD YOU HESITATE TO HIRE AN EX-CONVICT WHO SHOT SOMEONE
IN AN ARMED ROBBERY ?**

Potential Job	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Janitor			
Hesitate	43	50	40
Not hesitate	50	41	49
Not sure	7	9	11
Production worker			
Hesitate	35	41	36
Not hesitate	57	48	60
Not sure	8	11	4
Clerk handling money			
Hesitate	71	80	73
Not hesitate	22	17	20
Not sure	7	3	7
Salesman			
Hesitate	54	63	51
Not hesitate	36	29	38
Not sure	10	8	11
Supervisor			
Hesitate	63	71	59
Not hesitate	27	21	25
Not sure	10	8	16

The problem of finding a job is seen more clearly with the next question. People were asked to imagine they were an employer and then whether they would have any hesitation in hiring first "someone who had been in prison for shooting someone in an armed robbery", and second, "someone who had been in prison for passing bad checks", for a variety of jobs ranging from janitor to supervisor. The question was deliberately loaded to make it as difficult as possible for people to express a reluctance to hire the person. This was done by asking him whether he would hesitate to hire

the individual or whether he felt this person "had paid his debt to society and deserved to be hired like anyone else".

In the U.S.A. as well as in Canada, the individual who had served time for a crime of violence meets with difficulty in finding both blue-collar and white-collar jobs. The range is from over three in ten who would hesitate to hire him as a production worker to over seven in ten who would hesitate to hire him as a clerk handling money.

TABLE 25b

WOULD YOU HESITATE TO HIRE AN EX-CONVICT WHO PASSED BAD CHECKS ?

Potential Job	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Janitor			
Hesitate	22	31	25
Not hesitate	73	64	68
Not sure	5	5	7
Production worker			
Hesitate	21	25	20
Not hesitate	73	66	76
Not sure	6	9	4
Clerk handling money			
Hesitate	68	74	66
Not hesitate	25	20	24
Not sure	7	6	10
Salesman			
Hesitate	53	59	49
Not hesitate	39	30	44
Not sure	8	11	7
Supervisor			
Hesitate	54	59	54
Not hesitate	37	37	40
Not sure	9	4	6

The man who has served time for passing bad checks would have less trouble getting a job as a janitor or a production worker, but would apparently meet with difficulty in obtaining either a white-collar or a supervisory position.

The number of people who would hesitate to hire an ex-convict, even though he has "paid his debt to society", suggests both that the public has a long way to go before it can accept and really help the returning individual,

and that professional aid may be necessary in finding a job for the individual and easing his readjustment to society.

In terms of personal contact with an ex-convict, the problem appears to be even more severe than in the work situation. People were asked whether or not they would feel uneasy if it turned out that someone they know in various situations had served time in prison for armed robbery.

TABLE 26

WOULD YOU FEEL UNEASY OVER THESE PERSONAL CONTACTS WITH AN ADULT WHO HAD SERVED TIME FOR ARMED ROBBERY ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Someone you work with in club or civic organization			
Uneasy	44	58	42
Not feel uneasy	49	32	52
Not sure	7	10	6
Your insurance agent			
Uneasy	60	66	59
Not feel uneasy	34	29	39
Not sure	6	5	2
Your employer			
Uneasy	52	57	52
Not feel uneasy	40	37	38
Not sure	8	6	10
Your son's best friend			
Uneasy	75	84	78
Not feel uneasy	19	11	14
Not sure	6	5	8
A new close personal friend			
Uneasy	57	69	60
Not feel uneasy	35	26	38
Not sure	8	5	2

Only in the relatively innocuous situation of "working with someone in a club or civic organization" do less than half of the adults say they would feel uneasy, at least with regard to Americans and English Canadians. (French Canadians have a majority who feel uneasy even on this item). Personal friendship would make six in ten uneasy, and the idea that such a

person might be their son's best friend makes more than three quarters of the adults uneasy.

The same uneasiness was felt when people were asked about a juvenile delinquent who had been in reform school for robbery and his possible contact with their son or daughter. There is a fairly high level of uneasiness about each of the possible contacts, particularly when it is quite personal, as with friendship or serious dating.

TABLE 27

WOULD YOU FEEL UNEASY OVER THESE PERSONAL CONTACTS WITH A JUVENILE DELINQUENT WHO HAD SPENT TIME IN A REFORM SCHOOL FOR ROBBERY ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
A boy in your son's class in high school			
Uneasy	39	44	37
Not uneasy	55	45	57
Not sure	6	11	6
Someone your son knows in a social club			
Uneasy	44	47	43
Not uneasy	48	44	50
Not sure	8	9	7
A close personal friend of your child			
Uneasy	70	76	70
Not uneasy	23	22	20
Not sure	7	2	10
A boy seriously dating your teenage daughter			
Uneasy	84	85	85
Not uneasy	10	5	9
Not sure	6	10	6

The results of the hiring of ex-convicts and personal contact with them are not meant to imply that people believe that there is a criminal nature and that once a person is a criminal he will always be one. Some people, if they knew an ex-convict well or spent a great deal of time with him, might

TABLE 28
IS THE HALFWAY HOUSE A GOOD IDEA ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Yes, good idea	77	75	78
Not good idea	20	20	17
Not sure	3	5	5

lose the feeling of uneasiness they had. The results, however, do point to the initial barrier of mistrust that separates the ex-offender from society, a barrier which, without guidance and encouragement, he may never be able to pass, and, in fact, he may decide is not worth passing.

THE HALFWAY HOUSE

One of the more promising techniques developed for easing the re-entry problem of convicted criminals is the "Halfway House". From these community-based institutions, the offender must deal with many of the problems he will ultimately have to face alone once he is fully released. They serve as an alternative to both the isolation of a correctional institution and the often inadequate guidance in probation and parole.

The concept of the Halfway House, when explained to the people interviewed, was thought to be a good idea by about eight in ten in the U.S.A. as well as in the two Canadian groups.

TABLE 29
**WOULD YOU PERSONALLY FAVOR A HALFWAY HOUSE
IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD ?**

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Favor	50	41	48
Not good idea	35	47	39
Not sure	15	12	13

TABLE 30**HOW WOULD MOST PEOPLE IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD FEEL ABOUT A
HALFWAY HOUSE IN THE AREA ?**

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Most opposed	58	79	61
Most in favor	22	10	20
Most not care either way	10	7	9
Not sure	10	4	10

Support is clearly for the idea. When asked whether they would personally like to see such an institution set up in their neighbourhood, respondents showed less support (especially French Canadians), but about 50 percent still said they would favor the idea.

But is about 50 percent the true level of community support for a Halfway House ? Unfortunately not. The idea has such a positive ring that it was only when people were asked how they felt others in their neighbourhood would feel that the full measure of hostility to a Halfway House in their own community surfaced.

Support for a Halfway House falls away. By better than two to one, and by three to one for French Canadians, people feel most of the neighbourhood would be against it. Less than 25 percent feel that most people in the community would support the idea.

TABLE 32**CAN VOLUNTEERS HELP IN CORRECTIONAL REHABILITATION ?**

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Volunteer help	50	61	53
Left to professionals	41	33	41
Not sure	9	6	6

People are leery of taking the risk of having criminals in their neighbourhoods. They are afraid of trouble the criminals might cause and of the bad influence that might result, particularly on the young. People also admit to being simply old-fashioned about such a dramatic proposal.

The purpose of setting up a Halfway House in a community is to permit the community to exert an influence on the inmates and thus help in the rehabilitation effort. However, the community tends to think mainly in terms of its own safety and of the possible influence of the Halfway House on themselves and their children.

The future success of this innovative program will largely depend upon the ability of the authorities to convince a community of its own resources and responsibilities as well as the impact it could have on rehabilitation. Highly personal anxieties will have to be stilled. The survey results suggest that this will be a difficult task.

TABLE 33

WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO DO VOLUNTEER WORK ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Auxiliary civilian police force			
Certainly	11	22	14
Probably	24	26	22
With juvenile delinquents			
Certainly	17	29	20
Probably	31	29	28
Minority group young people			
Certainly	14	19	13
Probably	29	25	26
Citizens Committee against organized crime			
Certainly	14	24	20
Probably	26	34	30
With a parole board			
Certainly	12	18	10
Probably	20	23	24
Job placement agency for ex-prisoners			
Certainly	13	20	15
Probably	23	27	22

VOLUNTEER WORK

With a high degree of uneasiness over possible personal contact with ex-convicts and a reluctance to see community-based institutions set up in the neighbourhood, possibly one of the most fruitful ways of involving the public in correctional rehabilitation is through volunteer work in various crime prevention and correction programs.

About 50 percent of the Americans and English Canadians, and 60 percent of the French Canadians, said they felt volunteers can help in the rehabilitation of criminals and that this area should not be left only to the professionals.

When asked whether or not they would personally be willing to do volunteer work in a number of different areas *if asked*, at least one third (and often even half among French Canadians) indicated in each area they would certainly or probably be willing.

Discounting the "probably volunteer" group as being unlikely to actually participate, we are still left with over one in ten (and often even two in ten among French Canadians) in each area indicating he would be willing to do volunteer work. The key phrase in the question was probably "if asked", for it is highly improbable that these individuals would come forward by themselves.

But a concentrated campaign calling for volunteers could elicit a strong response. The use of these volunteers could go a long way toward eliminating the community uneasiness expressed in this study, and ease the re-entry into the community of the individual who "has paid his debt to society".

III—CORRECTIONS AS A CAREER

III—CORRECTIONS AS A CAREER

The corrections profession is currently suffering from a severe manpower shortage, in U.S.A., in Canada, as well as more specifically in the Province of Quebec. In some phases of this work, it is estimated that the number of personnel should be doubled and even tripled. This is the case especially for adult probation in Quebec, for example.

TABLE 34

HOW MUCH CONFIDENCE DO YOU HAVE IN THESE OCCUPATIONS ?

	Americans %		Canadians %			
			French		English	
	Lot	Little	Lot	Little	Lot	Little
Clergy	77	23	89	11	73	27
Doctors	74	26	85	15	78	22
Scientists	67	33	60	40	71	29
Teachers in grade or high school	62	38	66	34	61	39
College teachers	57	43	65	35	63	37
Correctional rehabilitation workers	57	43	49	51	60	40
Law enforcement officials	55	45	51	49	59	41
Social Workers	54	46	46	54	61	39
Psychiatrists	50	50	53	47	49	51
Businessmen	43	57	42	58	62	38
Lawyers	42	58	34	66	45	55

In this survey the degree of interest in corrections as a career was probed. People were asked possible career areas they would recommend to a young person close to them.

LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE

First, however, respondents were asked to indicate the level of their confidence in various occupations, including correctional rehabilitation.

In the U.S.A., as well as in Canada, both correctional rehabilitation workers and law enforcement officials fall midway between the high ratings given to the clergy and doctors and the relatively low rating given to businessmen and lawyers.

The next question was asked only with people included in our Montreal sample. We bluntly asked them "what is, in your opinion, a criminologist?" (a "criminologue" in French). We know that it is a new profession within the correctional realm.

The total answers were classified in the following ways :

A criminologist is :	Canadians %	
	<i>French</i>	<i>English</i>
(a) somewhat of a "criminal lawyer" :	16%	10%
(b) someone who takes care of criminals :	26%	31%
(c) someone who studies crime and criminals :	26%	30%
(d) somewhat of a "criminal" :	18%	12%
(e) not sure :	14%	13%

A majority (52 percent among French Canadians and 61 percent among English Canadians) have thus an idea somewhat close to reality, since a criminologist does take care of criminals in one way or another, or does study the phenomenon of criminality.

We next asked about the level of confidence in people involved in specific areas of law enforcement, administration of justice, and corrections.

Where is little variation in the level of confidence between the different occupations among Americans and Canadians. Save for prison guards, (a one third vote of confidence), all the other "justice" people receive a 50 percent vote of confidence, more or less.

PROFILE OF THE CORRECTIONAL WORKER

While the confidence is not particularly high for correctional rehabilitation work as an occupation, the profile for this group (drawn from a list of descriptive words and phrases) is very favorable both in the U.S.A. and Canada.

TABLE 35**HOW MUCH CONFIDENCE DO YOU HAVE IN PEOPLE INVOLVED IN COURTS,
POLICE AND CORRECTIONS ?**

	Americans %		Canadians %			
	Lot	Little	French		English	
			Lot	Little	Lot	Little
Criminologists	59	41	64	36	55	45
Policemen	56	44	71	29	68	32
Detectives	55	45	53	47	61	39
Juvenile delinquency workers	55	45	67	33	61	39
Psychiatrists working with criminals	55	45	44	56	52	48
Social workers working with criminals	55	45	59	41	65	35
Parole officers	53	47	58	42	62	38
Judges	51	49	50	50	54	46
Probation officers	51	49	57	43	61	39
District attorneys	49	51	50	50	55	45
Prison wardens	48	52	46	54	50	50
Prison guards	36	64	39	61	40	60

“Interested in helping his fellow man”, “dedicated”, “intelligent”, “hardworking” and “kind”, the correctional worker has a positive image with the public.

The apparent discrepancy between the very favorable profile and the less favorable level of confidence is, to a large extent, a measure of the public's feeling that there is a gap between the importance and the potential of the corrections field and the success it has achieved.

MOST REWARDING CORRECTIONAL JOBS

When we asked people which jobs within the correctional field they felt would be most rewarding, “working with juvenile delinquents” emerged with a clear lead, even more so among French Canadians. No other job won the support of more than one in five persons. Prison guard and warden are considered the least rewarding jobs in the correctional field.

CAREER CHOICES

People were asked which of 12 possible career choices they would recommend to a young person close to them who was seeking advice.

TABLE 37
WHICH OF THESE DESCRIPTIONS FITS CORRECTIONAL WORKERS ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Interested in helping fellow man	66	74	61
Dedicated	58	68	68
Intelligent	45	49	53
Hard working	36	58	40
Kind	36	50	39
Courageous	16	18	20
Creative	12	4	1
Do-gooder	12	5	6
Conservative	5	15	11
Incompetent	1	2	4
Cynical	1	1	—
Not too bright	1	—	1
Violent	1	—	1
Lazy	1	—	—
Corrupt	1	1	—
Sadistic	—	—	—
Not sure	6	5	2

Note : Figures add to more than 100 percent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

TABLE 38
WHAT ARE THE REWARDING JOBS IN THE CORRECTIONAL FIELD ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Juvenile delinquency worker	52	67	58
Social worker	21	24	27
Chaplain	19	34	14
Vocational counsellor	18	15	19
Teacher	17	15	14
Criminal psychiatrist	12	10	17
Parole officer	9	13	10
Probation officer	7	12	10
Warden	3	—	1
Prison guard	1	—	—

Note : Figures add to more than 100 percent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Medicine and business lead the list of recommended careers for young people, even among French Canadians. Law enforcement finishes sixth among Americans and English Canadians and seventh among French Canadians. Correctional rehabilitation is seventh among Americans, eighth among English Canadians and sixth among French Canadians.

TABLE 39

WHAT CAREER WOULD YOU RECOMMEND TO A YOUNG PERSON ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Medecine	37	51	35
Business	28	25	40
Teaching	27	22	19
Law	22	14	24
Science	16	16	24
Law enforcement	15	14	12
Social work	13	17	10
Correctional rehabilitation	13	16	9
Military	13	4	3
Clergy	12	13	8
Psychiatry or psychology	7	5	5
Not sure	10	5	6

Note : Figures add to more than 100 percent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

(We did not have in our Montreal sample people below 18 years of age. But the American study did have a teenage sample. When they asked the teenagers how much consideration they had given to each of 13 different areas as something they might want to do, a career in correctional rehabilitation was last on the list. Only 1 percent had given it serious consideration.)

When people who would not recommend correctional rehabilitation work were then asked to specify the reasons for the relatively low attraction of correctional work, the first thing stands out, in the U.S.A. as well as in Canada, is the large number of individuals who don't know why they have not recommended, or seriously considered, correctional work, i.e. about one third in each group. Clearly, for many people, this field is one they have never thought about in career terms. Obviously, also, low pay is an important deterrent.

When the respondents were asked what they felt would be the rewards and advantages of a career in the correctional rehabilitation field and what they felt would be the disadvantages, the sense of "pride in helping to give people a new start" was seen by Americans and Canadians as the outstanding reward of a career in corrections, whereas the most significant disadvantage was seen in the expectation of failure, the expectation that they would not really be able to lead the individual to a successful readjustment to society.

TABLE 42

WHY NOT A CAREER IN CORRECTIONS ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
Low pay —	15	21	26
Have to be a special type —	15	8	14
Other fields offer more opportunities for success -	13	20	21
Is for older people —	9	4	1
Too many disappointments -	6	11	3
No respect — thankless job	6	10	3
Too dangerous —	5	7	3
Don't want to work with criminals —	3	2	5
No future in it —	3	9	1
Hard work —	2	—	1
Not sure	38	34	40

Note : Figures add to more than 100 percent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Success in recruiting correctional manpower must be largely dependent on an awareness of opportunities in the field. Currently, this awareness appears quite limited and even somewhat distorted. A greater effort must be made to bring correctional work into the public consciousness and to correct the public's ideas about the "types" who go into this field.

Lack of correctional personnel is an important factor in many instances of abortive rehabilitation efforts. Yet lack of success in rehabilitation efforts is an important factor in discouraging others from entering the correctional field. To recruit effectively, to attract highly qualified people in a society as

success-oriented as North America (U.S.A. and Canada), it is not enough simply to offer security and adequate pay. What must be offered is the possibility of success and the self-fulfilment that accompanies success. Success in the correctional field means successful rehabilitation. As long as the achievement of this goal is doubted by the public, recruitment will be difficult.

TABLE 43
WHAT ARE THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF A CAREER
IN CORRECTIONAL REHABILITATION ?

	Americans %	Canadians %	
		French	English
ADVANTAGES			
Pride in giving people a new start	55	59	60
Helping your fellow man	25	20	31
Helping create a better society	3	7	2
Other positive	5	2	1
DISADVANTAGES			
Helpless cases — working with people you can't help	35	41	34
Low pay	20	15	28
Hard work — long hours	13	15	12
Too many disappointments ; loss of self-confidence	9	4	8
Few rewards — always criticized	9	10	4
Would be dangerous	9	10	5
Other negative	3	2	5
Not sure	13	7	10

Note : Figures add to more than 100 percent as some respondents gave more than one answer.

IV—SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

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Save for slight and often insignificant differences between the “correctional looking-glass-selves” of Americans, French and English Canadians (Canadians refer here, however, only to a sample in Metropolitan Montreal, let us remember), we may generalize the findings across the border¹.

A. GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARD CORRECTIONS

The public feels that our society has not been able to deal successfully with the problem of crime. There is a sense of disappointment in what has been accomplished through law enforcement, the courts, and corrections. In the development of a criminal, parental laxity is seen as far and away the major factor. The cumulative impact of poverty, unemployment, and a bad environment is also considered important.

Less than one in twenty of the people believes the crime rate in his area is decreasing. About one half feels that it has been increasing.

There is little hope for the future unless some change occurs. Over six in ten feel that the system of law enforcement does not really discourage people from committing crimes, although the police at all levels—local, state and federal—receive generally high rating. One half of the public feels that the courts have been too lenient in dealing with criminals, and an equal number believe that the prison system has done a poor job in helping to deal with the problem of crime.

Still, it would be hasty to conclude that the public is in a vindictive frame of mind and takes a tough view of the system of criminal corrections. There is certainly an undercurrent that the police have been somewhat over-

¹ The only significant difference is related to people's feeling about the kind of job the prison system has done in helping to deal with the problem of crime (see Table 9, page 30). In effect, twice as many Americans as English Canadians, and twice as many English Canadians as French Canadians feel that this job has been positive.

restricted in their ability to make arrests and that the courts could be somewhat more severe in their handling of criminals in terms of both conviction and sentencing. But corrections suffers from the reverse problem — less than half feel that the main emphasis today is on rehabilitation, but more than half feel that this should be the primary emphasis.

This gap leads to a somewhat negative stereotype of the corrections system. When asked to describe prison life, 3 persons out of 4 think first of living behind bars, one in five feels that someone “not really bad” is often turned into a “hardened criminal” by time in prison, one half of the public feels that “big time racketeers and people with connections” receive special treatment in prison, and less than half feel that prisons and the corrections system have been somewhat or very successful in rehabilitating criminals.

Community-based corrections are looked on with an air of distrust. While people are not willing to see the use of parole cut back, they are reluctant to see its use expanded. Only one in five feels that parole should be used more than it is now.

Related to this problem is the general feeling (expressed by two-to-one margins in some cases) that not enough help is given to people who get out of prison in getting psychological help, finding a place to live, keeping out of trouble, getting training for useful work, or getting decent jobs.

One must conclude from the above data that the public feels the corrections system is currently inadequate. At the same time, the public is not eager to help bring about change if it means more money would have to be spent.

In terms of priority of *increased* governmental spending, funds for dealing with juvenile delinquency rank second behind aid to schools, while more money for correctional rehabilitation is sixth, following law enforcement and poverty programs.

When asked directly whether they felt more should be spent on prisons and rehabilitation programs, the public split down the middle.

And when it gets down to the hard fact of *who* is going to pay for improved correctional rehabilitation programs, the public balks. A majority of the public is not willing to see taxes raised to pay for better programs.

B. CONTACT WITH CONVICTED CRIMINALS

A cynic might be inclined to say that the problem with current rehabilitation efforts is that, at some point in the process, the convicted individual must re-enter society and his community. The survey showed that, in spite of the public's awareness of the re-entry problem, they are not likely to welcome the individual with open arms. There is a distinct undertow of hesitation and uneasiness in the anticipation of contacts with ex-criminals.

Some of this uneasiness is probably inevitable, but it makes the goal of complete rehabilitation that much more difficult to reach.

The use of probation for most adult crimes finds little favor with the public. For a list of seven different crimes, ranging from embezzlement through murder, no more than one quarter of the adult population felt that probation was an appropriate sentence. Probation for crimes committed by juveniles, on the other hand, is a much more acceptable course of action to the public.

Drug addiction and alcoholism are overwhelmingly considered illnesses which should be treated in a hospital. Over eight out of ten respondents felt this way.

A majority volunteered recognition that one of the most serious problems facing a released convict is getting a job. This problem was more clearly pointed up when people were asked, if they were employers, whether they would have any hesitation about hiring a specific criminal for a variety of jobs. As might be expected, the man who was convicted of a "white collar" crime was more acceptable than the "violent criminal". But in both cases the job opportunities were limited — janitor or production worker possibly, but clerk, salesman or supervisor unlikely.

In terms of more personal contact, someone who has served time for a violent crime faces serious problems in being accepted in the community. About half would feel uneasy working with such a person in a club situation, or working with him, or having him as a friend, and three quarters would feel uneasy if this ex-criminal were a friend of their son.

Community resistance also emerged when people were asked about Halfway Houses, (described in the questionnaire as "places where ex-convicts — usually young people — would go after serving a prison term. They would work in the community, but would have to sleep in the Halfway Houses where there would be counselors to supervise and help them with their problems"). There is strong support for the Halfway Houses as an idea, with 3 persons out of 4 feeling it is a good idea. When asked whether they would personally be in favor of a Halfway House being set up in their neighbourhood, they dropped their support to 50 percent in favor. On balance this is still favorable — but then, there is a certain difficulty in opposing a *concept* like the Halfway House, even when the concept is to be set up in your own neighbourhood. The release of more deeply felt attitudes was obtained when people were freed from the onus of answering for themselves and were asked how they felt most people in their neighbourhood would feel about the setting up of a Halfway House. By a two-to-one margin it was felt that most people in the neighbourhood would oppose the idea.

There is, however, one bright spot in the otherwise dark picture of public attitudes toward community-based corrections programs. This is the area of volunteer work. There was a feeling that volunteers have an impor-

tant role to play. A majority felt that volunteers could help and that rehabilitation programs should not just be left to professional workers. When asked whether they personally would be willing to volunteer work in six different areas, from working with an auxiliary civilian police force to working with juvenile delinquents, at least 10 percent in each area said they would certainly be willing to serve *if asked*, and an additional 20 percent said they would probably be willing to serve *if asked*.

While there is probably some inflation in this hypothetical participation, unquestionably a significant number of individuals could be induced to do volunteer work. These individuals could be particularly important in breaking down the resistance to community-based corrections programs.

CORRECTIONS AS A CAREER

In recent years, many experts have found an immediate and urgent need to increase the number of workers in the correctional field. The results of the American study, as well as our replication in Montreal, suggest that recruitment to fill these needs will be extremely difficult, particularly among young people.

Generally, there is a fairly high level of confidence in the abilities of law enforcement officials and corrections workers — in fact, higher than the level of confidence in businessmen and lawyers.

A word profile of correctional rehabilitation workers pictures them as “interested in helping their fellow man” and “dedicated”. The public considers working with juvenile delinquents the most rewarding corrections career, followed by other social work in corrections. Prison guard and warden are considered the least rewarding jobs.

When adults were asked which of 11 areas they would recommend to a young person close to them as a possible career, correctional rehabilitation and law enforcement were not very popular.

The main reasons volunteered by adults for not recommending corrections are that the pay is too low, that someone must be “a special type” to be interested in this area, and that other fields offer better opportunities.

For teenagers, who were interviewed only in the American study, the problem with corrections as a career is not low pay or the need to be a special type of person, but rather, and much more importantly, the feeling that the job is unrewarding, that they would be working with difficult cases under difficult conditions, and that they would be unable to provide any real help. It is not that the younger generation lacks social consciousness and concern, but that they also have a need, not unnaturally, for success. Thus it becomes difficult to choose as a career an area in which they feel success is remote.

Recruiting, then, for corrections must partly be a question of resisting a self-fulfilling prophecy, for past failures help create manpower shortages and thus generate future failures. It is not enough to stress the idea of need and the opportunity for service. The potential of success in rehabilitation programs must be an important element in corrections recruiting.

**V — IMPLICATIONS OF THE SURVEY
FOR CORRECTIONS**



V—IMPLICATIONS OF THE SURVEY FOR CORRECTIONS

The implications of such a limited study are nonetheless important and have been put forward clearly by the Joint Commission on Manpower and Training, which stressed primarily the need to educate the public and gain its support.

It is clear that the North American public does not know as much about corrections as it should. Public attitudes toward corrections are being formed within a factual vacuum. Many correctional administrators have not taken responsibility for informing the public. In contrast, other public services, such as law enforcement, education and health, have acknowledged their responsibility for reshaping public attitudes when these were viewed as detrimental to the goals of their programs.

Despite the meagreness of its knowledge about what corrections is and does, the public has some firm convictions about what ought to be the case. The surveys revealed the public feeling that corrections should lay more emphasis on rehabilitating the offender than on punishing him. Much greater concern was voiced for the young offender than for the adult. The public would rather see increased federal spending for juvenile delinquency programs than for any other field except education. It realizes that the man or woman released from an institution or from probation supervision faces great difficulties in readjusting to life in the free community. It views alcoholism and narcotics addiction as medical rather than crime problems. It has more confidence in the correctional worker than in the correctional system. Many citizens would be willing to do volunteer work in helping offenders to become useful members of society.

Despite all these attitudes which are in line with modern correctional thinking, the public shows relatively little confidence in the most conspicuous development in corrections today — the trend towards handling the majority of offenders in the community through such programs as probation, parole and Halfway Houses. There appears to be widespread uneasiness at personal contact with those who have run afoul of the law. A great majority rejected corrections as a career field.

A PUBLIC EDUCATION PROBLEM

The findings point unmistakably to the failure of corrections as a public service field to acquaint the public with its goals, its problems, its successes, almost its very existence. Correctional administrators of the future should be trained in the art and science of communications as it relates to influence processes which can create a more favorable public attitude towards corrections and its objectives. The problem is how to give the public an accurate picture of the field of correctional work in all its complexity and range of opportunities. The education and training programs of the future should emphasize the responsibility of correctional leaders to correct public views where these are essentially in conflict with reality, and to foster the creation of favorable attitudes to replace hostile or neutral ones.

The surveys should provide excellent sources of discussion material for the ongoing training and development of the correctional leadership. In fact, further surveys should be encouraged so that correctional field can trace its image and impact upon the public as well as its position in relation to other social institutions.

GAINING PUBLIC SUPPORT

To succeed in its mission, corrections will have to cultivate public support assiduously, explain its mission and its problem, take its place among other public services, and seek tax support on this basis. While the surveys showed that the majority of the public would not want to see taxes raised to improve corrections, a substantial third of those interviewed were, in fact, willing to support tax increases for this purpose.

In seeking a place among tax-supported services, correctional leaders must remember that those who pay the taxes are entitled to know how their money is spent. A good deal of the present lack of public interest and legislative support may well be ascribed to the failure of corrections to show how public funds have been invested and what the returns have been in men, women and youngsters returned to the free community to lead useful lives. Typically, corrections comes to public notice only in times of crisis, like a prison riot. This would not be the case if corrections maintained at least a speaking acquaintance with the public, as successful schools and hospitals have learned to do.

But public support must also come in forms other than appropriations. Corrections cannot achieve its potential unless citizens are willing to take responsibility for helping to further the reintegration of offenders into the community. By its preoccupation with the offender as a disturbed and misguided individual whose personality must be modified, corrections may have

allowed society to ignore its responsibility to change conditions which cause crime to exist and criminals to continue criminal pursuits.

If North Americans continue to look only at the offender and not at the environment which produces him, corrections will continue to have only limited success. A society that is truly determined to reduce crime must deal specifically with its causes. A society that wants to prevent recidivism must see to it that all its institutions are concerned with assisting the offender to enter, and stay within, the main currents of its political, economic and social life. And Correctional leaders must assume responsibility for bringing these facts home to the public.

SPECIFIC STEPS TO BE TAKEN

The surveys indicate several steps which corrections can take to begin its task of public education.

TAPPING THE VOLUNTEER POTENTIAL

A bright spot in the survey findings was the revelation that at least 10 percent of the public would be interested in serving as volunteer workers in juvenile programs, helping to get jobs for ex-prisoners, working on citizen committees against organized crime and the like, *if asked*. While this does not mean that millions of citizens could be induced to volunteer for jobs tomorrow, it does indicate that correctional administrators could increase the size of their pool of volunteer manpower and womanpower many times over. Skillful recruitment and management of volunteers calls for special effort and skills, but the gains can be well worth the effort.

Not the least of these gains will be the opening of new avenues to public interest and support. Through his contacts with correctional staff and with offenders, the volunteer gains understanding of problems and ways to solve them. One enthusiastic volunteer is worth three professionals as a missionary for a public service.

Perhaps the most important gains from the use of volunteers come from their experience and relationships outside the correctional setting. Focused on the problems of offenders, the volunteer's experience has added new dimensions to correctional programs. His fellow citizens, who are the employers and other key figures in the community, tend to respond better to the volunteer than to the professional in corrections.

To tap this potential, the correctional administrator must develop means of recruiting volunteers through personal contact. Recent studies indicate that volunteers are most likely to give their service if asked personally

or approached by someone they know. Advertisement campaigns are virtually useless. After recruitment, the volunteer needs orientation and in-service training, coupled with a carefully planned program which will utilize his talents effectively.

Tapping new sources of manpower and better exploiting the traditional sources will not be easy for corrections. In the competition for manpower which marks both public and private sectors today, corrections has some strikes against it. The general public — particularly the young people — sees it as a non-success field. To compete for scarce manpower, corrections will have to accentuate the positive by emphasizing its successes rather than the failures which have caught public attention. As a practical matter, corrections must systematically inform parents, teachers, guidance counselors and others who influence the career decisions of young people. Haphazard appearances at high school "career days" and college recruiting halls will not be good enough.

Social studies courses at the secondary school level should include content on crime and corrections. Local correctional leaders must reach out to institutions of education at secondary and higher levels to insure that young persons know about this public service. Corrections and education are worlds apart in most communities, knowing little about each other and missing opportunities to bridge the knowledge gap or to cooperate in improving programs. The younger generation is characterized as socially minded. It can be made responsive to the needs of the correctional field if a well-planned, systematic recruitment program is developed by correctional administrators at the local level.

THE ROAD AHEAD IN CORRECTIONS

The surveys in the U.S.A. and in Montreal have shown that the road to more effective corrections may prove to be hard going. The public is well-intentioned as regards many offenders, but it shows alarm at modern methods of handling them, particularly when these methods bring them into contact with law-abiding citizens. This attitude is only partially offset by the fact that many people are willing to work personally with juvenile offenders.

It seems clear that two things will have to happen before the public gives real support to corrections. First, it must realize that almost every law-breaker eventually returns to freedom ; there are very few executions or life sentences today. Since this is the case, something must be done while offenders are in correctional status to make it likely that they will be useful citizens upon release.

Second, the public must learn that corrections can and does succeed in rehabilitating many offenders if the personnel and the funds are available

to apply modern correctional methods and develop new ones, and if the community is willing to help offenders in their readjustment to freedom.

These are two very big "ifs". Yet experience with changing public attitudes in other areas shows that they can be realized. Consider, for example, the evolution of community attitudes towards mental illness. As soon as the public came to realize that it was not necessary to confine the mentally ill for life in isolated institutions, that many of them could be treated there, or even in their own community so that they could return to normal living, citizen support was created for modern treatment, *even, and especially, in the community.*

Similar progress can be made in corrections. As pointed out earlier, it requires imaginative and sustained efforts by correctional leadership and by interested citizen groups to inform the public about the possibilities of rehabilitating offenders.

A FINAL WORD

We may conclude by quoting some pertinent remarks made by the Joint Commission on Manpower and Training, which are valid for Canadians as well as Americans : *

"Many readers of this report, particularly those active in the field of corrections, will find some of the facts it presents disillusioning — even saddening. Men and women working in corrections were aware that the public is becoming less inclined towards the punitive and tends more and more to regard rehabilitation of the prisoner as the function of correctional institutions. Thus it comes as somewhat of a shock to learn that society as a whole is not tolerant of the presence of the returned offender. Corrections workers were of the opinion that they had made greater progress in establishing a favorable attitude on the part of the public.

It is evident from the report that citizens generally are agreed upon what we should be doing with the convicted offender. That is encouraging. However, they do not seem to think we are doing a very good job of it. That is disturbing.

However, these and other facts brought out in the report are things we should know. If we are laboring under illusions, it is time we were nudged into awareness of reality. It is evident that we have our work cut out for us as far as making friends and interesting people is concerned.

There are, of course, bright spots in the picture. One of the most exciting of these lies in the attitude expressed by young people towards corrections as a career. Apparently they are not deterred by fear of possible danger or by the fact of low remuneration. They are, however, discouraged by the thought that the chance of success would be small. Here are young men and women who are not concerned primarily with monetary returns; they want to be assured that there is a good chance of accomplishing something. They are idealists.

* *The Public Looks at Crime and Corrections, op. cit., p. iii.*

Are not these the kind of people we are looking for? Let us devise ways and means of getting them."

A general outlook on the results disclosed by this study could then bring us to two final reflections of a broader scope :

- a) that *we should* perhaps *stop talking about such a "deadlock issue" as "penal philosophy"*, and
- b) that *we should* rather *speak of "cost-benefit and efficiency" in a "business administrative way"*.

In effect, as Dr. Denis Szabo once mentioned ¹, on the subject of crime and punishment we find a great disparity between empirical and scientific knowledge on the one hand and the weight of public opinion on the other. The result is a real paralysis of the organizations and services which are responsible for the prevention of crime and for sustaining the fear of punishment.

The principle of rehabilitation is to be served simultaneously with the principles of the prevention of crime by intimidation and of the protection of society by segregation of its criminal members. One wonders, therefore, if under present circumstances the three principles are not in essence contradictory ; if their effects are not, in fact, mutually exclusive ; and if, in the long run, the three sets of requirements made can all be entirely satisfied.

Thus the confusion which reigns in public opinion concerning the role of punishment and the relative ineffectiveness of criminal justice administration is the result of the contradictions in penal philosophy. It is due not so much to the penal institutions as to the reflection of contradictions existing within society itself in regard to these problems. Summing up, we find, on the one side, almost complete agreement among professionals, administrators and persons responsible for the security of society at large, and on the other, the weight of tradition, of the structures inherited from the past, of inertia or bureaucratic resistance ; and, above all, the confusion in public opinion which exists in regard to these problems. Pertinent scientific literature on this subject is abundant, contradictions are clearly revealed, and all possibilities for progress have been investigated and demonstrated.

We are dealing with a characteristic of civilization and we realize that the dynamics of its evolution are governed by complex laws. The survival, in individual minds and in the culture, of archaic ideas and magical concepts has often been discussed. They are rooted not merely in history but also in man's unconscious. In times of upheaval in the political and socio-economic structure (wars, revolutions, catastrophes) we see terrifying examples of

¹ Denis Szabo, "Do Prisons Have a Future", *Key Issues*, volume II, 1965, pp. 69-80.

this. Yet we note the slow acquisition and generalization of certain values which tend to emancipate man, to acknowledge human worth, to extend this attribute with all its implications to a growing portion of humanity. It is clear that our present attitudes toward criminals are characterized by a refusal to grant them the benefit of possessing human qualities. They belong to a set of categories which include slaves, the contagiously diseased (such as lepers), the mentally ill and non-white peoples. All such categories of persons are now gradually freeing themselves from their "extra-legal" and "sub-human" status, and all of them are coming to be viewed as persons for whom society must accept responsibility and to whom society must extend her solidarity and the protection of her laws. Incessant flare-ups of violence and the powerful manifestations of prejudice, however, teach us extreme caution and remind us that in social matters nothing, or almost nothing, is ever definitively acquired and that the balance between opposing forces which we call "civilization" and its "progress" is extremely precarious.

What would happen if we were to change our perspective and our principles? Inspired by the Italian positivists, and by Enrico Ferri in particular, we would use the principle of social responsibility as the basis for action of society toward its criminals. We would admit that individuals are very largely dependent in their existence, in their mentality and their personality, on the society which formed them; that their morality, their sensitivity, their 'character' is due largely to their families and to many other social groups. Their liberty to act "badly" or "well" cannot be understood without taking into account the experiences they underwent during the decisive years of their socialization. Society, whose courts, police and penal institutions are the organs of its protection, is *responsible* for its criminal citizens as well as for the others. In other words, society must accept a sense of solidarity with them.

What are the consequences of this principle? If the State is responsible for the security of its citizens, it must act in such a way that their moral and physical integrity is preserved and that their possessions are protected. If it cannot succeed, it must reimburse the victims for the failure of the protection it owes to each of its members.

One should not minimize the tremendous problems which the acceptance of the principle of social responsibility would arouse. Without going into details let us note the following points: a) Two categories of crimes have to be distinguished: those in which the victim is chosen by chance (e.g. auto theft) and those in which the victim maintains some relationship with the criminal (e.g., blackmail and sexual acts); b) There are crimes the effects of which cannot be evaluated (e.g., murder and rape); c) "White collar" criminals could be particularly affected by measures related to the principle of social responsibility.

Given the principle of compensation of the victim, the State should look for the most efficient means to reach this goal. Steps for social crime prevention should be taken to reduce the criminal potential which results from tensions in the social structure (e.g., dealing with unemployment, assimilation of immigrants or of ethnic minorities, professional training of youth, etc.). The efficiency of the police should be greatly increased ; a total success rate of 15 percent in dealing with criminals should not be supported by the budget of the State and the tax payers should no longer tolerate such a state of affairs. The percentage of recidivists (80 percent) should be reduced to a proportion compatible with the laws of probability. The measures of control and treatment applied by probation personnel should be comparable to the caseload of a practitioner with private agencies who has to assure the best treatment to the clientele for whom he is morally and materially responsible.

The creation of new images for man and the law is not only a radical departure, but goes to the root of our penal, and even social, philosophy. Our pre-occupation is with the establishment of an agreement between the principle of rational action and the appropriate means to bring it about. Human conduct can be oriented toward rational action if this condition is respected.

For obvious reasons criminality will, no doubt, be the last area to which this new social philosophy will be applied.

Nevertheless, a rational beginning could be made if public administrators in the criminal justice field would open their minds to operational research applications in criminology¹.

Application of operational analysis to the field of public administration is a relatively recent phenomenon although the planning, programming and budgeting system has been extensively used in private enterprise². It is obvious that cost-benefit analysis is interested in choice, i.e. in the ranking of alternatives in sectors of the economy where allocation of resources is not decided in the market. It is impossible to operate in the context of a choice between a theoretically infinite number of possible alternatives, and the first problem is, therefore, to limit this number. This applies not only to the alternative practical outcomes, but also to alternative bases of assessment.

¹ See A. Normandeau, D. Szabo and G. Tardif, "Criminal Justice 2000 A.D. Operational Research Applications in Criminology", mimeo, pp. 25, to be published in *The Canadian Journal of Public Administration*, (1969).

² Lawrence, J.R., *Operational Research in the Social Sciences* (London, Tavistock, 1966).

Two prerequisites to operational research — data and common goals — seem lacking in the criminal justice system. As far as data are concerned, we may quote the report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia (p. 56): "Nearly every agency involved in law enforcement and the administration of justice is impaired by lack of facts pertinent to daily operations and long-range planning. Information is either non-existent, incomplete, unassembled or incompatible at every stage of the criminal process — from offence to arrest, trial, conviction, sentencing, incarceration, release and aftercare". As far as goals are concerned, the present scattering and fractioning of the systems of law enforcement and criminal justice leads to conflicting definitions of goals. The police tend to arrest the maximum number of criminals, the courts sentence them to the highest periods of incarceration, and the parole board releases the maximum number of prisoners. This, of course, is a caricatured presentation of the problem, but it describes the issues quite well. A final example: the whole penal sanction system is based on the assumption of the preventive effect of these sanctions. There is no available research or validated experience to support this assumption. On the contrary, several major examples make it doubtful. Yet it is the basis of the whole system.

To make better and more acceptable decisions in the public sector, operational researchers and social scientists could make mutual contributions by the use of cost-benefit analysis. Public decision-making is unsatisfactory and badly needs constructive assistance. The public sector is increasing in most countries and it is desirable that people should know why certain decisions are made — if only to achieve more satisfactory public relations between public bodies and the citizens. A proper cost-benefit analysis can improve decision-making in a number of ways. It can force the consideration of alternatives and a more detailed analysis of objectives; it can direct decision makers to think in terms of systems and so avoid the temptation to consider segments only. Since decisions in the public sector are not simply efficiency decisions but are concerned with the distribution of effects, it is difficult, without cost-benefit analysis, to discover the weight assigned to each group interest when decisions are reached. Cost-benefit analysis, therefore, exposes the value preferences of the decision-maker. Light can be thrown on political decisions by means of "after-the-event" evaluation using cost-benefit and can reveal that the cost of preserving some "sacred cows" has been very great. Examples of the latter are numerous in the field of criminal justice.

In conclusion, it may be suggested that, if the systems approach stresses the development of alternatives in order to achieve the best balance between value and cost, yet the concept alone is no panacea. The systems approach requires competent personnel to apply its discipline effectively. At

the same time the discipline of the systems approach permits competent personnel to ask the questions that need asking, to evaluate the answers and, if necessary, to rephrase the questions without losing sight of the objectives.

In criminal justice this is a must if we, as North Americans, are to make significant progress in the reduction of crime.

« ET TOUT LE RESTE N'EST QUE LITTÉRATURE » (VERLAINE)

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Note : The translation of the questionnaire used is reproduced here. For the original English formulation, the reader should refer to the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training's publication : *The Public Looks at Crime and Corrections*, 1968.

**QUESTIONNAIRE AUPRÈS DU PUBLIC MONTRÉALAIS
AU SUJET DE LA
CRIMINALITÉ ET DES MESURES CORRECTIONNELLES**

1. Depuis un an, pensez-vous que le taux de la criminalité dans votre quartier :

— A augmenté	1
— A diminué	2
— Est resté le même	3

2. Pourquoi pensez-vous que le taux de criminalité a augmenté dans votre quartier ?

... (Voir carte A)	1
...	2
...	3

3. Quelles sont les principales raisons qui font que des gens deviennent criminels ?

... (Voir carte B)	1
...	2
...	3

4. Est-ce que la police réussit à décourager les gens qui sont portés au crime ?

— Oui, elle réussit réellement	1
— Elle ne décourage personne	2
— Elle les encourage même	3

5. Diriez-vous que le travail de la police est :

a) Police de votre ville	
— Positif	1
— Négatif	2
b) Police Provinciale	
— Positif	1
— Négatif	2

c) La « Police Montée » ou Gendarmerie Royale

- Positif 1
- Négatif 2

6. Est-ce que la plupart des arrestations sont :

- Justes 1
- Injustes 2

7. Est-ce que les gens qui attendent leur procès en prison sont traités :

- D'une façon juste 1
- D'une façon injuste 2

8. Vis-à-vis des criminels, les cours de justice sont-elles :

- Pas assez sévères 1
- Trop sévères 2
- Quelquefois pas assez, quelquefois trop 3
- Juste correct 4

9. Diriez-vous que, dans l'ensemble, le travail que l'on fait en prison est :

- Positif 1
- Négatif 2

10a Selon vous, les prisons d'aujourd'hui sont surtout là pour :

- Punir 1
- Réhabiliter 2
- Protéger la société 3

10b Selon vous, les prisons, idéalement, devraient être là pour :

- Punir 1
- Réhabiliter 2
- Protéger la société 3

11. Diriez-vous que,

Dans l'ensemble, les prisons ont réussi
à réhabiliter les criminels :

- Avec beaucoup de succès 1
- Avec un peu de succès 2
- Avec presque pas de succès 3
- Sans aucun succès 4

12. Quels genres de prisons, selon vous, sont les plus intéressés à la réhabilitation :

- Fédérales 1
- Provinciales 2
- Municipales 3

13a Quelles sont les phrases qui, selon vous, décrivent le mieux
ce qu'est la vie en prison :

- Vivre derrière des barreaux 1
- Se réhabiliter 2
- Apprendre un métier 3
- Petites cellules 4
- Des psychologues qui conseillent 5
- Des gardiens durs 6
- ... (Voir carte C) 7

13b Diriez-vous, oui ou non, que les "racketeers" et les gens
qui ont des « connections » reçoivent un traitement spécial
en prison ?

- Oui 1
- Non 2

13c Diriez-vous, oui ou non, que la prison change quelqu'un
en le faisant devenir pire qu'avant ?

- Oui 1
- Non 2

14. Qui a le plus de chances d'influencer quelqu'un à sa sortie
de prison ?

- Les autorisés 1
- Les gens du crime organisé 2

15. Est-ce que la libération conditionnelle devrait être employée :
- Plus souvent 1
 - Moins souvent 2
 - C'est juste correct tel que c'est présentement 3
16. Est-ce qu'on aide assez ceux qui sortent de prison sur les sujets suivants :
- Aide psychologique oui non 1 2
 - Se trouver un endroit pour
vivre oui non 1 2
 - À rester « clair » oui non 1 2
 - À se « recycler » oui non 1 2
 - Se trouver un bon
emploi oui non 1 2
17. Où aimeriez-vous surtout que les dépenses du gouvernement augmentent ?
- Aide aux écoles 1
 - Délinquance juvénile 2
 - Police et forces de l'ordre 3
 - Programmes pour lutter contre la pauvreté 4
 - Programmes pour s'occuper de réhabiliter les
criminels 5
 - Construire des routes 6
 - ... (Voir carte D) 7
18. Est-ce que le gouvernement devrait mettre plus d'argent pour les prisons et la réhabilitation des criminels ?
- Dépenser plus 1
 - Pas nécessaire 2
19. Accepteriez-vous que le gouvernement augmente les taxes afin de payer pour les programmes de réhabilitation des criminels ?
- D'accord 1
 - Pas d'accord 2

20. Quelle est la meilleure façon de s'occuper des criminels adultes suivants :

— Un cambrioleur de 25 ans			
— Probation			1
— Un peu de prison et libération conditionnelle			2
— Une longue sentence en prison			3
— Un voleur à main armée			
...	1	2	3
— Prostitution			
...	1	2	3
— Meurtre			
...	1	2	3
— Un jeune homme de 22 ans qui pille un magasin durant une émeute			
...	1	2	3
— Un comptable qui détourne des fonds			
...	1	2	3
— Un homme qui vend des narcotiques à des mineurs			
...	1	2	3

21. Quelle est la meilleure façon de s'occuper des jeunes criminels suivants :

— Un jeune voleur de 17 ans qui commet un vol à l'étalage pour la première fois			
— Probation			1
— Un peu d'école de réforme			2
— Une longue sentence en institution			3
— Un jeune de 15 ans qui attaque et vole un vieil homme			
...	1	2	3

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| — Un jeune de 16 ans qui vole une auto | | | |
| ... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| — Un jeune de 14 ans qui pille un magasin
durant une émeute | | | |
| ... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| — Un jeune de 16 ans qui brise des fenêtres
à l'école | | | |
| ... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 22a Comment devrait-on traiter un alcoolique qui est arrêté
pour vagabondage ? | | | |
| — Probation | 1 | | |
| — Prison | 2 | | |
| — Hôpital | 3 | | |
| 22b Comment devrait-on traiter un adulte qui prend des narco-
tiques et qui arrête parce qu'il en utilise précisément ? | | | |
| — Probation | 1 | | |
| — Prison | 2 | | |
| — Hôpital | 3 | | |
| 22c Comment devrait-on traiter un jeune de 16 ans qui prend
des narcotiques et qui est arrêté parce qu'il en utilise
précisément ? | | | |
| — Probation | 1 | | |
| — Prison | 2 | | |
| — Hôpital | 3 | | |
| 23. Quels sont les problèmes que les ex-prisonniers doivent
affronter pour se réajuster à la société ? | | | |
| — Trouver de l'emploi | 1 | | |
| — À être accepté par la communauté | 2 | | |
| — Trouver de nouveaux amis | 3 | | |
| — Les gens vont le regarder de haut | 4 | | |
| — ... (Voir carte E) | | | |

24. Vous sentiriez-vous mal à l'aise pour travailler avec un criminel qu'on vient de libérer conditionnellement et qui avait été condamné :

- Pour avoir tué quelqu'un dans un vol à main armée
 - Mal à l'aise 1
 - Pas mal à l'aise 2
- Pour avoir détourné des fonds d'une organisation de charité
 - ... 1 2
- Pour avoir volé une auto
 - ... 1 2
- Pour avoir passé des faux chèques
 - ... 1 2
- Pour avoir volé à l'étalage à l'âge de 16 ans
 - ... 1 2
- Pour avoir triché l'impôt
 - ... 1 2

25. Hésiteriez-vous à embaucher un ex-prisonnier pour les ouvrages suivants :

- Janissaire
 - Hésiterais 1
 - N'hésiterais pas 2
- Un ouvrier de production
 - ... 1 2
- Un commis qui encaisse des chèques
 - ... 1 2
- Un vendeur
 - ... 1 2
- Un chef de service
 - ... 1 2

26. Est-ce que vous vous sentiriez mal à l'aise à avoir des contacts avec un adulte qui a déjà été en prison pour un vol à main armée :

— Si cet adulte travaillait avec vous pour une organisation civique ou un club quelconque

— Mal à l'aise 1

— Pas mal à l'aise 2

— S'il était votre agent d'assurance

... 1 2

— S'il était votre employeur ou patron

... 1 2

— S'il était le meilleur ami de votre fils

... 1 2

— S'il était un nouvel ami intime

... 1 2

27. Est-ce que vous vous sentiriez mal à l'aise de voir votre fils s'associer avec un autre jeune qui a déjà été en institution pour avoir commis un vol à main armée :

— Si ce jeune en question était dans la même classe que votre fils au collège

— Mal à l'aise 1

— Pas mal à l'aise 2

— S'il côtoyait votre fils dans un club social

... 1 2

— S'il était un ami intime de votre fils

... 1 2

— Si c'était le garçon qui sort avec votre jeune fille

... 1 2

28. Ce que les anglais appellent des « Halfway Houses » ou maisons de transition sont des endroits où ceux qui sortent de prison peuvent aller temporairement. Ils travaillent alors à l'extérieur mais reviennent dormir à la maison de transition. Ces maisons sont tenues par des conseillers et des professionnels qui peuvent les aider à résoudre leurs problèmes. Trouvez-vous que ces maisons de transition, c'est une bonne idée ?
- Oui 1
 - Non 2
29. Seriez-vous personnellement en faveur de l'établissement d'une maison de transition dans votre quartier ?
- En faveur 1
 - Pas une bonne idée 2
30. Comment la majorité des gens de votre quartier réagirait-il face à l'établissement d'une maison de transition dans le quartier ?
- La plupart s'y opposerait 1
 - La plupart l'accepterait 2
 - La plupart ne serait ni pour ni contre 3
32. Il y a des hôpitaux qui emploient des volontaires de temps en temps. Pensez-vous que des volontaires pourraient aider à réhabiliter les criminels ?
- Pourrait aider 1
 - Ça devrait être laissé aux professionnels 2
33. Accepteriez-vous personnellement de vous porter volontaire pour :
- Être une sorte de police civile auxiliaire
 - Certainement 1
 - Probablement 2
 - Vous occuper des délinquants juvéniles
 - ... 1 2

— Vous occuper des gens minoritaires comme certaines races étrangères	
...	1 2
— Faire partie d'un comité qui combat le crime organisé	
...	1 2
— Assister ceux qui prennent la décision de libérer un prisonnier conditionnellement	
...	1 2
— Aider un agence de placement pour ex-criminels	
...	1 2

34. Quel est votre degré de confiance dans les gens qui pratiquent les métiers suivants :

— Prêtre	
— Beaucoup	1
— Un peu seulement	2
— Médecin	
...	1 2
— Hommes de science	
...	1 2
— Policiers	
...	1 2
— Ceux qui s'occupent de réhabiliter les criminels	
...	1 2
— ... (Voir carte F)	

35a Qu'est-ce que c'est pour vous qu'un criminologue ?

.....
.....

35b Quel est votre degré de confiance dans les gens qui s'occupent des criminels en tant que :

— Criminologues

— Beaucoup 1

— Un peu seulement 2

— Policiers

... 1 2

— Travailleurs sociaux qui s'occupent des criminels

... 1 2

— Officiers de probation

... 1 2

— Officiers de libération conditionnelle

... 1 2

— ... (Voir carte G)

37. Laquelle parmi les descriptions suivantes est la plus proche de l'image que vous vous faites de ceux qui s'occupent des criminels ?

— Intéressé à aider ses semblables 1

— Dur travailleur 2

...

— Conservateur 1

— Paresseux 2

... (Voir carte H)

38. Quelles sont, selon vous, les positions les plus enrichissantes dans le domaine de ceux qui s'occupent des criminels :

- Le professionnel qui s'occupe des délinquants juvéniles 1
- Le travailleur social 2
- L'aumônier 3
- Celui qui enseigne un métier 4
- Le professeur 5
- L'officier de probation 6
- L'officier de libération conditionnelle 7
- Le psychiatre qui traite le criminel 8
- Le gouverneur d'une prison 9
- Le gardien de prison 10

39. Quelle est la carrière, parmi les suivantes, que vous recommanderiez à un jeune homme :

- Les affaires 1
- L'enseignement 2
- Médecine 3
- Police 4
- Une branche qui prépare à réhabiliter les criminels 5
- ... (Voir carte I)

40. Quelles sont les carrières, parmi les suivantes, que vous avez personnellement considéré à un moment donné :

- Les affaires 1
- L'enseignement 2
- Médecine 3
- Police 4
- Une branche qui prépare à réhabiliter les criminels 5
- ... (Voir carte J)

42. Pourquoi n'avez-vous pas songé sérieusement à une carrière où vous vous occuperiez des criminels ?

- Parce qu'il faut être d'un caractère spécial 1
- Trop dangereux 2
- Salaire pas assez élevé 3
- .. (Voir carte K)

43. Quels sont les avantages et les désavantages d'une carrière où l'on s'occupe des criminels ?

.....

.....

A. Âge :

B. Sexe : M F

C. Éducation :

D. Occupation :

E. Revenu ,

F. Langue parlée le plus fréquemment à la maison :

.....

G. État civil :

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