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__ Research Report _____

The Impact of Offender Participation in the Restorative Opportunities Program

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The Impact of Offender Participation in the Restorative Opportunities Program

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Executive Summary

Key words: Restorative justice, revocation, victim-offender mediation.

Restorative justice (RJ) has been part of the Canadian criminal justice system for over 30 years. Today, RJ programs exist in all provinces and territories and can be accessed at multiple points in the criminal justice process from pre-charge to post-sentence. The Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) began providing victim-offender mediation (VOM) services to address serious crime on a limited basis in 1992. In 2004, VOM was provided nationally and was officially-recognized as the Restorative Opportunities (RO) program in 2006. The purpose of the current study was to compare offenders who participated in facilitated face-to-face meetings organized by RO to a sample of matched non-participants on their rates of revocation while on conditional release.

A total of 122 offenders who had taken part in RO and 122 matched offenders comprised the study sample. A facilitated face-to-face meeting could take place while incarcerated or while under conditional release in the community. Consequently, this study reported the results by time of face-to-face meeting (i.e., facilitated meeting prior to release or post-release) to account for differences between these groups and to allow for more meaningful interpretations of the findings. Survival analyses were conducted to compare rates of revocation for offenders who participated in RO to non-participants and to relate the time of revocation with the offenders' participation in RO.

Results indicated that for the participants who had their meetings while incarcerated, there was no significant difference between participants and non-participants on rates of revocation, although the trend was that RO participants did better on release. When the meetings were held in the community post-release, participants were significantly more likely to spend a longer period of time under supervision in the community and were less likely to be revoked than their matched counterparts.

The findings from the study demonstrated support for RO participation in the community. The results suggest that while participating in facilitated face-to-face meetings during incarceration may not decrease rates of revocation after release, providing offenders with mediation sessions during the period of community supervision does promote better outcomes. While our models controlled for variables associated with risk, it should be cautioned that factors not controlled in the matching procedure could have contributed to this effect. Research that employs a wait list design could control for the possible effects of self selection for participation in the program.

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Introduction

Restorative justice (RJ) programs have experienced increased growth in Canada and other jurisdictions in recent years (Hughes & Mossman, 2001), particularly as diversion programs for young offenders and remedial programs for more serious crimes committed by adults (Bazemore & Umbreit, 2001). Restorative justice (RJ) is considered the "third" option to the traditional punitive versus rehabilitation models typically employed in Western correctional systems (Leonard & Kenny, 2011; Zehr, 1990), with the goal to improve victim involvement, develop offender accountability, and potentially decrease recidivism (Latimer, Dowden, Muise, 2005; Leonard & Kenny, 2011). Rather than retribution, the relational engagement of the offender, the victim(s) and the community, is the cornerstone of the approach.

Fundamentally, restorative justice recognizes that crime is not merely the act of breaking the law; it is a violation of relationships and people (Zehr, 1990). Consequently, to appropriately address the harm caused by the actions of the offender, it stands to reason that those most closely-related to the event (i.e., the victim, the offender, the community) come together to discuss the incident and arrive at an understanding and, where possible, repair the harm caused by the crime. RJ has been developed into a comprehensive and powerful theory of justice (Roach, 2000) and it has been argued that this model is effective when addressing issues of victim and offender reintegration, particularly from a community perspective (Llewellyn & Howse, 1998).

RJ advocates have long criticized research conducted in the area of program effectiveness and have contended that the central goal of RJ is not a reduction in offender recidivism, but rather, a focus on reparation of the harms caused by the offence. Even if there is a lack of agreement on the reasons for implementing RJ programs, policy makers must have sound empirical evidence to support the application, or continued use, of RJ programs in our government institutions. Despite these debates, individual studies (see Bergseth & Bouffard, 2012; Bonta, Wallace-Capretta, & Rooney, 1998; Hayes & Daly, 2003; Hayes & Daly, 2004; Luke & Lind, 2002) along with more recent research reviews and meta-analyses (see Strang, Sherman, Mayo-Wilson, Woods, & Ariel, 2013; Sherman & Strang, 2007; Bonta, Jesseman, Rugge, & Cormier, 2006; Latimer, Dowden, & Muise, 2005; Nugent, Williams, & Umbreit, 2004; Bonta, Wallace-Capretta, Rooney, & McAnoy, 2002; Umbreit, Coates, & Vos, 2002) have

provided clear evidence in support of the efficacy of RJ programs in producing some reductions in recidivism. Moreover, recent research suggests that RJ is more effective at reducing crime in cases that involve more serious offences and crimes that involve personal victims and that it is more likely to reduce recidivism as a supplement to conventional criminal justice processes (Strang et al., 2013; Sherman & Strang 2007).

While reduced rates of re-offending may not have been the basis for traditional RJ programs, numerous other potential benefits that were central to the theory have been empirically supported, notably, high rates of compliance with restitution and restorative agreements and, most importantly, elevated rates of victim and offender satisfaction with both process and outcomes, and lower levels of posttraumatic stress symptoms (Angel et al., 2014; Bonta et al., 2006; Braithwaite, 2002; Latimer et al., 2005; Latimer & Kleinknetch, 2000; Shapland, Atkinson, Atkinson, Chapman, Dignan, Howes, Johnstone, Robinson, & Sorsby; 2007; Sherman & Strang, 2007; Strang, 2002; Umbreit, Coates, & Kalanj, 1994; Umbreit & Fercello, 1997 Umbreit, Vos, Coates, & Brown, 2003). Studies have also shown that victims who have participated in RJ are less afraid of revictimisation, have less desire for vengeance, are more satisfied with the amount of information received, better able to participate and share their views, and are more likely to feel they have been treated fairly and respectfully (Poulston, 2003; Shermand & Strang 2007; Strang, 2002; Strang et al., 2013; Umbreit et al., 2002).

Although first discussed by criminologists nearly four decades ago, RJ programs have been practiced by Aboriginal and Indigenous groups from around the world (Achtenburg, 2000) and, in some jurisdictions, have since grown to become pillars of a modern criminal justice system. Today, RJ programs play a significant role in several countries. Furthermore, though RJ has predominantly been used with young offenders and relatively minor crimes, a number of programs now work with adult offenders and/or violent crime. Research in this area suggests that RJ may actually provide better outcomes for violent crimes and with adult offenders (Strang et al. 2013) in so far as victims and offenders who participate reported high levels of satisfaction, indicated that the process was useful and had a profound and positive impact on their lives (Shapland et al., 2007; Umbreit et al., 2003). Victims of violence also reported that they felt a greater sense of safety, and less fear of victimisation (Strang et al., 2013).

In Canada, RJ has been part of the criminal justice system for over 30 years. Its use is supported by the *Criminal Code* and the *Youth Criminal Justice Act*. RJ programs exist in all

provinces and territories. These programs operate at various stages of the criminal justice system (e.g., police, crown, courts, corrections, parole; Latimer et al., 2005). With the recent creation of the *Canadian Victims Bill of Rights*, a significant piece of legislation that endeavours to establish statutory rights to information, participation, restitution, and the protection of victims (Bill C-32, 2014), RJ could provide a valid and evidence-based means of meeting the new requirements set out by law.

The Restorative Justice Approach

There are three main types of restorative justice models: 1) circles; 2) conferences; and 3) victim-offender mediation. They are all based on the principles of RJ and can be used to address all offense types. The current study focuses on victim-offender mediation in cases of serious crime, in particular, facilitated face-to-face meetings held between victims and offenders in the presence of a professional mediator.

The restorative process requires several elements to be successful. First, participation by both the victim and the offender must be voluntary. The offender must be willing to accept responsibility for his or her actions and be prepared to discuss the wrongful act. There should be open and honest dialogue regarding the offender's criminality and, if a face-to-face dialogue is deemed appropriate, the meeting must take place in a safe environment. The presence of a third party facilitator is required and discussions should meet the participants identified needs in order to address the harms caused by the crime.

Restorative Opportunities Program

RJ programs differ from penal forms of justice as they don't solely focus on the crime and the punitive consequences for the unlawful act. Instead, the focus is on who has been harmed; how can the harms be addressed; and how the needs of all those involved can be met. This can appeal to victims and communities that continue to deal with the impacts of crime. Notwithstanding, any programs being offered to offenders and vulnerable populations need to be fully evaluated to understand their impact on participants and their efficacy in meeting public safety goals. The current study aims to examine the efficacy of the Restorative Opportunities (RO) program implemented by the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) in reducing rates of revocation of conditional release for adult offenders serving a federal sentence. Furthermore, the study provides updated findings on a preliminary study conducted by CSC in 2013 on the impact of RO (Stewart, Sapers, & Wilton, 2013). Stewart and colleagues reported promising findings; however required a longer follow-up period to make stronger conclusions.

The RO program is centrally-managed by the Restorative Justice Unit at CSC's National Headquarters. The program is victim-focused and offender-sensitive and founded on the principles and values of restorative justice. Victims are given a chance to communicate, either directly or indirectly, with the offender. The program offers various victim-offender mediation (VOM) processes, suited to the needs of the participants, with the assistance of professional mediators. Some of the processes include written correspondence, video messages, face-to-face meetings, circle processes, and shuttle mediations.

Victim-initiated referrals and institutional/community referrals (whereby staff support the offender's participation) are reviewed by RJ Unit staff and initial assessments involve file review and discussions with the referral agent. Once a request is deemed appropriate, a mediator is assigned to the file and is responsible for all ongoing assessments, and ultimately decides whether the process continues, is postponed, or is cancelled. Mediators are professionally trained community-based facilitators providing specialized VOM services for CSC through a contract or as a contracted employee. Engaging mediators in this way ensures third party neutrality.

In cases where a face-to-face meeting is to occur, the other party is contacted to gauge their interest and capacity to participate in the process. If all parties agree, the mediator continues to meet with the participants separately throughout the preparation phase. Preparatory meetings engage in-depth discussions about the offence and the harms caused and explore personal issues such as trauma, accountability, victimization, and safety.

Meetings can take place in a private area of the institution or in the community with offenders on conditional release. Individual debriefings with the participants, both victims and offenders, takes place after the mediation along with any required follow-up meetings and conversations.

Present Study

The purpose of the study was to update a smaller scale study completed by CSC in 2013 (Stewart et al., 2013) and to compare offenders who participated in facilitated face-to-face meetings organized through the RO program to a sample of matched non-participants on the rate

of revocation¹ of conditional release.

¹ Revocation of conditional release can occur for several reasons, including: committing a new offence, breaching a condition of release, failure to appear, etc. The results of the study did not differentiate the types of revocations.

Method

Procedure/Analytic Approach

A list of 202 offenders who participated in RO face-to-face meetings was provided by the RJ Unit of CSC. The list included unique identifiers for each participant, the offence for which RO was being requested, the date of the offence, and the date of the face-to-face meeting. Only offenders who had been supervised in the community before the end of the study period (December 31^{st} , 2014) and who were successfully matched with a non-program participant were included (n = 122; see Figure 1). Participants in the program could have had their face-to-face meeting prior to their release (n = 81), or post-release when the offender was under community supervision (n = 41). In general, the offences were serious in nature (e.g., homicide, manslaughter, sexual assault; see Participants section) and participation in the program was more often initiated by victims rather than the offenders.

One-to-One Matching

Matching is broadly defined as a statistical technique used to assess the effectiveness (or outcomes) of a treatment group to a comparable non-treatment group in the study by "balancing" the distribution of factors related to the study's outcomes in both groups. The goal of one-to-one matching is to produce non-treatment observations similar to the group of offenders that participated in RO. Release outcome data were available for 122 participants; thus, it was determined bias could be reduced through matching.

Several variables shown to influence correctional outcomes in the context of this project were used to match offenders. These variables included: 1) release type (discretionary vs. statutory release); 2) offence type (homicide, sexual offence, other offence); 3) static risk level; 4) biological sex; 5) Aboriginal ancestry; 6) criminogenic need level; 7) sentence length; 8) motivation level; 9) reintegration potential; and 10) time spent in the community after release (only for participants with a face-to-face meeting after their release date). Demographic, sentence, and offence information on all participants were obtained from the Offender Management System (OMS)² databases. Based on the information extracted, the pool of potential matches was restricted to correspond to the limits imposed by the participants (e.g.,

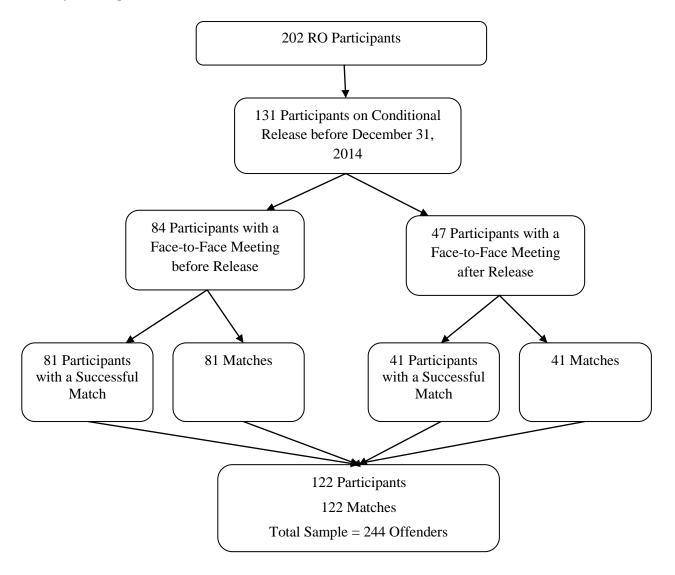
² OMS is an automated electronic database, used by CSC to manage file information of federal offenders.

offence type, age, and admission dates of matches were all within the range set by participants)³.

Data extraction and analyses were conducted separately for these two situations in order to determine whether time of meeting had an impact on release outcomes. As such, the demographic information of participants and matches and the results are divided by group.

Figure 1

Flow of Participants and Matches



³ After restricting the sample of potential matches, with regards to admission date, release date, and type of offence, 152,360 offenders formed the pool from which one-to-one matching was conducted. In cases where a potential match had served multiple terms, a term was chosen at random to further restrict the pool.

Participants

The study participants were 122 offenders who had taken part in RO and 122 matched offenders, for a total sample of 244 offenders. All participants had been, or were currently, under supervision in the community prior to December 31, 2014. The majority of participants and matches were men, single, and were assessed at high risk and high criminogenic need levels (see Appendix A). Due to matching, there were very few differences between the demographic profiles of participants and matches, the exception being when categories were collapsed for matching purposes. For example, during the matching process, Aboriginal ancestry was collapsed to form two groups – Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal offenders, whereas, the demographic information is not restricted to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ethnic categories.

A *t*-test conducted on age between groups confirmed that there was no statistically significant difference between participants and matches (34 years vs. 35 years, respectively; t = 0.49; df = 242; p > .05).

Analytic Approach

Descriptive and inferential statistics were used for the study. Frequencies, percentages, means and standard deviations are presented in the text describing the participants and in tabular form in Appendix A. Chi-square analyses were performed to assess differences between participants and non-participants on their time spent in the community before revocation. Two Kaplan-Meier survival analyses were conducted to compare rates of revocation for offenders who participated in RO to non-participants, with a face-to-face meeting with the victim either before or after release. Survival analysis is a useful statistical method for studying the occurrence of an event (revocation) during a specified time (time spent in the community between release and study end date or revocation; Allison, 1995). Finally, a Cox regression was used to relate the time of revocation with offenders' participation in RO. This method produces a hazard ratio, or an estimate of the treatment/intervention effects, after adjusting for other explanatory variables. A hazard ratio is expressed as the chance of an event (revocation) occurring in a treatment group (RO participants) as a ratio of the chance of the event occurring in the comparison group (nonparticipants; Duerden, 2009). A difference in survival time between groups is observed if the hazard ratio is less or greater than 1.0. For example, a hazard ratio of 2.0 can be expressed as one group being twice as likely as the comparison group to experience the event.

Results

In total, there were 86 returns to custody (30 revocations for RO participants and 56 revocations for matched offenders) out of 244 offenders. The RO participants had fewer revocations during the study period than the matched sample, and fewer of them returned to custody at each time point. A small number of participants (n = 5) and matches (n = 8) revoked with a new offence; the majority had their conditional release revoked without an offence. Of those with a new offence, one participant and two matches returned with a violent offence and one matched offender returned with a new sexual offence. Thus, given the low number of reoffending events, it was only possible to examine revocations of conditional release for any reason.

The median⁴ follow-up time was 487 days for participants with a facilitated face-to-face meeting before release (follow-up time ranged from 4 days to 6641 days) and 708 days for those with a meeting post-release (follow-up time ranged from 112 days to 5664 days).

Given differences between groups on the length of time spent in the community, survival analyses were selected to examine outcomes on release. When comparing the participants and matches with a face-to-face meeting before release, no differences in rate of revocation was observed ($\chi^2 = 0.08$; df = 1; p > .05). Those who had a face-to-face meeting in the community, however, were found to have much lower rates of revocation on conditional release than their matched counterparts ($\chi^2 = 21.34$; df = 1; p < .0001). More specifically, offenders matched to participants with a face-to-face meeting in the community were over 6 times more likely to experience a revocation than RO participants (see Table 2).

⁴ The median is generally the preferred measure of central tendency with survival analyses as the mean tends to be biased downward, particularly when there are a large number of cases for which the studied event (i.e., revocation) does not occur. The median also describes the time at which 50% of participants will have experienced revocation.

Table 1

Rates of Revocation for Participants and Matches

	Face-to-face b	Face-to-face before release		Face-to-face after release		
	Participants	Matches	Participants	Matches		
	% (<i>n</i>)	% (<i>n</i>)	% (<i>n</i>)	% (<i>n</i>)		
	<i>n</i> = 81	<i>n</i> = 81	<i>n</i> = 41	<i>n</i> = 41		
Within 6 months	9.9 (8)	9.9 (8)	4.9 (2)	19.5 (8)		
Within 12 months	18.5 (15)	21.0 (17)	9.8 (4)	53.7 (22)		
Within 18 months	23.5 (19)	28.4 (23)	12.2 (5)	53.7 (22)		
Within 24 months	25.9 (21)	30.9 (25)	12.2 (5)	58.5 (24)		

Table 2

Cox Regression and Hazard Ratio by Time of Face-to-Face Meeting

Group	χ^2	р	Hazard Ratio	
Face-to-face before release	0.32	0.57	1.17	
Face-to-face after release	18.46	< .0001	6.45	

Discussion

The popularity of RJ programs and recent changes to Canadian legislation pertaining to the rights of victims have increased the focus on CSC's efforts to deliver effective RJ based victim-offender mediation services. Likewise, the improved access and availability of RJ programs in the later stages of the system (i.e., correctional settings) has expanded, making the need for research in this area a necessity (Bell & Trevethan, 2003). To date, international research has suggested that RJ approaches can result in decreased rates of recidivism in diverse offender samples and at various stages of the criminal justice system, although this was not the primary goal of such programs. The present study sought to establish the relationship between offender participation in the RO program administered by CSC and rates of revocation of conditional release.

The study's main finding is the improved results for offenders who took part in RO while under conditional release. The same outcome was not found for those who had their face-to-face meeting while incarcerated. However, it should be noted that taking part in RO while in the institutions did result in improvements in revocation although this result was not statistically significant.

Restorative justice has long been promoted as a third option to traditional Western criminal proceedings and plays an important role within CSC to address the needs of victims and the community. Its primary aim is to engage victims, offenders, and the community to better understand the harms caused, and if possible, how reparation can be made. Several studies have found that reduction in recidivism could be attained through participation in RJ programs (Bergseth & Bouffard, 2012; Bonta et al., 1998; Bonta et al., 2002; Hayes & Daly, 2003, 2004; Latimer et al., 2005; Luke & Lind, 2002; Nugent et al., 2004) even if this is not a central pillar of the program. Nevertheless, reduced rates of reoffending benefit offenders and contribute to community public safety goals.

Success upon release to the community is a widely studied area of correctional research, particularly the factors that can enhance reintegration potential (Drake, Aos, & Miller, 2009; Wright & Cesar, 2013). Taxman, Young, and Byrne (2004) developed a list of principles, based on research, which can influence successful reintegration. Their first finding emphasizes "informal social control." In other words, they suggest enlisting the help of family members,

friends, and community members to preclude an offender from reoffending. Taking part in a facilitated face-to-face meeting, including all the one-on-one meetings leading up to the victim-offender mediation, provides a purpose and a goal for offenders to work towards. Furthermore, voluntarily participating in a program that requires regular and sustained contact with prosocial associates, as well as, exposure to several community organizations and services is likely to considerably assist an offender during the reintegration process.

Participation in community-level interactions is a hallmark of successful reintegration (Wright & Cesar, 2013). McAra and McVie (2007) demonstrated the inherent criminogenic nature of the justice system when they compared two groups of young offenders (matched on several variables) and found that recidivism rates were higher for youth drawn furthest into the criminal justice system. Their findings are supported by differential association theory (Cressey, 1952; Sutherland, 1974) which posits that antisocial attitudes are learned through a social learning process involving exposure to antisocial individuals. It can, therefore, be argued, by the same logic, that prosocial attitudes can be learned through positive interactions with law-abiding people in the community.

The finding that post-release mediation sessions resulted in much better outcomes than those held while the offenders were incarcerated is consistent with the results of meta-analyses examining factors related to effective correctional treatment .These studies have shown that, holding all other variables constant, therapeutic interventions offered in the community are more effective than those delivered in institutions (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990; Lipsey, 2009). By extension, it follows that diversionary programs (or restorative justice approaches) with a therapeutic component provided in the community may be expected to realize a stronger positive impact.

Additionally, face-to-face meetings in the community generally take place in a more neutral and less adversarial or punitive environment (e.g., community centre, hotel meeting room, mediation office, etc), as opposed to a visitation room within an institution, and may allow participants to feel more comfortable and may invite more open communication. Furthermore, offenders who take part in a community facilitated meeting post-release would have likely completed all required programming, as set out in their correctional plan, compared to offenders who have not yet received conditional release. Successful completion of CSC correctional programs plays an integral role in the rehabilitation of an offender and contributes significantly

to outcomes on release (Usher & Stewart, 2011).

Methodological Considerations

There were a number of methodological considerations and limitations that affect the interpretation of the results. First, all offenders were matched on several demographic and sentence variables resulting in very few differences between groups and, therefore, limited the number of findings and explanations for factors that may be related to rates of revocation and program participation. Additionally, following offenders in the community restricted the sample of RO participants to only those who had been released prior to the end of the study period. In total, 202 offenders have taken part in a facilitated face-to-face meeting within the program to date; however, only 131 participants met the inclusion criteria, reducing the overall sample size and power (i.e. ability to detect treatment effects). Although one-to-one matching was conducted, obtaining a perfect match was difficult and resulted in the exclusion of an additional nine offenders. Given the nature of the RO program, victims and offenders could initiate the process for offences that were committed decades ago. For this reason, it was not possible to obtain data on certain offender characteristics, especially for some of the newer assessment tools (e.g., Dynamic Factors Identification and Analysis-Revised of the Offender Intake Assessment process). To circumvent these issues, offenders with missing data were matched with offenders missing the same data.

Finally, when examining the profiles of participants who took part in RO before and after release, it should be noted that we found a difference between the groups on motivation level and reintegration potential. A larger proportion of institutional participants had low or moderate motivation levels and reintegration potential than those who participated in RO in the community⁵, suggesting they were less likely to succeed on release. As such, there may be a selection bias for group membership – offenders more likely to succeed upon release are those who initiate VOM or accept to participate (in instances where the victim has initiated the VOM process). Indeed, offenders willing to be involved in RO and, in particular offenders who initiated the process and were supported by a referral agent, may be different from those who do not participate in ways we did not capture in this design. These differences could contribute to better outcomes. A more rigorous design would compare participant outcomes to those of

⁵ Note that there were no differences in these factors for participants and non-participants because of the success of the matching procedure.

offenders who agreed to participate or requested participation but for administrative reasons were not able to take part in the sessions. This issue may be less of a concern for this study, however, given that we have some data indicating that the majority of the sessions were victim-initiated.

Ideally, to determine whether there is in fact a qualitative difference between facilitated face-to-face meetings before or after release, a greater number of participants, particularly in the post-release group, would be needed in the sample and the follow-up period. Likewise, there was a trend suggesting that the sessions are helpful in reducing revocation for offenders who participated in the institutions, but it was not statistically reliable. Rates of revocation were low, thereby, reducing statistical power. To produce clearer results for this aspect of the program, a larger sample followed for a longer period of time in the community would be required.

Future research should also consider the perspectives of victims and offenders and their response to the experience of participation in a VOM process and related meetings. This is important given a primary goal of RJ programs is to address the harms caused and to bring a greater sense of satisfaction and control to victims and the community at large. The current study focused on outcomes on release and, therefore, presents only one aspect, albeit a critical one, of the possible benefits that prior research indicates can be attained through RJ programs. Moreover, RJ approaches are holistic in nature and should be studied using a methodology that provides a more encompassing measure of participant and community impact, rather than recidivism or revocation rates alone. Although a key measure of offender success, they do not reflect other behaviours that are markers of rehabilitation and are of value to the community such as securing stable housing or employment and contributing to family life (Grattet, Lin, & Petersilia, 2011). Ultimately, to fully evaluate the effectiveness of the RO program, several other factors, including the voices of victims and offenders, should be taken into account.

Conclusions

The current study set out to establish the relationship between participation in the RO program and rates of revocation of conditional release. The findings suggests that while participating in a facilitated face-to-face meeting during incarceration may not significantly decrease rates of revocation, providing offenders with the opportunity to be involved in mediations sessions in the community appears to contributes to better outcomes on their release.

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Appendix A

	Face-to-face completed before release		Face-to-face completed after release	
	Participants N = 81 % (n)	Matches N = 81 % (n)	Participants N = 41 % (n)	Matches N = 41 % (n)
Ethnicity	70 (<i>n</i>)	70 (<i>n</i>)	70 (<i>n</i>)	70 (<i>n</i>)
Aboriginal	14.8 (12)	14.8 (12)	4.9 (2)	4.9 (2)
Black	14.8 (12)	2.5 (2)	4.9 (2) 2.4 (1)	4.9 (2)
White	71.6 (58)	75.3 (61)	82.9 (34)	78.1 (32)
Other	12.4 (10)	7.4 (6)	9.8 (4)	12.2 (5)
Sex	12.4 (10)	7.4 (0)	9.0 (4)	12.2 (3)
Men	96.3 (78)	96.3 (78)	97.6 (40)	97.6 (40)
Women	3.7 (3)	3.7 (3)	2.4 (1)	2.4 (1)
Marital status	5.7 (5)	5.7 (5)	2.4 (1)	2.4(1)
Single	49.4 (40)	50.6 (41)	41.5 (17)	63.4 (26)
Married/common-law	25.9 (21)	32.1 (26)	34.2 (14)	31.7 (13)
Divorced/separated/widowed	24.7 (20)	16.1 (13)	24.4 (10)	4.9 (2)
Other	0	1.2 (1)	0	(2)
Admitting institution region	0	1.2 (1)	0	0
Atlantic	2.5 (2)	13.6 (11)	4.9 (2)	7.3 (3)
Quebec	6.2 (5)	29.6 (24)	12.2 (5)	31.7 (13)
Ontario	11.1 (9)	28.4 (23)	19.5 (8)	22.0 (9)
Prairie	11.1 (9)	18.5 (15)	26.8 (11)	19.5 (8)
Pacific	69.1 (56)	9.9 (8)	36.6 (15)	19.5 (8)
Static risk level ^a	09.1 (50)).) (0)	50.0 (15)	17.5 (0)
Low	1.4 (1)	1.4 (1)	16.7 (6)	16.7 (6)
Medium	34.2 (25)	34.2 (25)	36.1 (13)	36.1 (13)
High	64.4 (47)	64.4 (47)	47.2 (17)	47.2 (17)
Criminogenic need level ^a	04.4 (47)	04.4 (47)	47.2 (17)	47.2 (17)
Low	4.1 (3)	4.1 (3)	8.3 (3)	8.3 (3)
Medium	30.1 (22)	30.1 (22)	44.4 (16)	44.4 (16)
High	65.8 (48)	65.8 (48)	47.2 (17)	47.2 (17)
Major admitting offence	05.0 (10)	00.0 (10)	17.2 (17)	17.2 (17)
Homicide and manslaughter	48.2 (39)	48.2 (39)	34.2 (14)	34.2 (14)
Robbery	0	8.6 (7)	7.3 (3)	12.2 (5)
Assault	11.1 (9)	11.1 (9)	0	2.4 (1)
Sexual offences	23.5 (19)	23.5 (19)	41.5 (17)	41.5 (17)
Property offences	2.5 (2)	3.7 (3)	4.9 (2)	2.4 (1)
Other violent offences	1.2 (1)	2.5 (2)	0	0
Other non-violent offences	13.6 (11)	2.5 (2)	12.2 (5)	7.3 (3)

Profile of Participants and Matched Offenders

Note. ^a n = 26 missing. ^b n = 31 missing. ^c n = 52 missing.

	Face-to-face completed before release		Face-to-face completed release	
	Participants $N = 81$	Matches N = 81 % (n)	Participants N = 41 % (n)	Matches <i>N</i> = 41 % (<i>n</i>)
	% (<i>n</i>)			
Security level ^b				
Minimum	60.0 (42)	41.7 (30)	52.9 (18)	51.4 (19)
Medium	31.4 (22)	52.8 (38)	47.1 (16)	48.7 (18)
Maximum	8.6 (6)	5.6 (4)	0	0
Sentence length				
Less than 5 years	33.3 (27)	33.3 (27)	56.1 (23)	56.1 (23)
5 years or more	38.3 (31)	38.3 (31)	22.0 (9)	22.0 (9)
Indeterminate sentence	28.4(23)	28.4(23)	22.0 (9)	22.0 (9)
Motivation ^c				
Low	7.9 (5)	7.9 (5)	9.1 (3)	9.1 (3)
Moderate	63.5 (40)	63.5 (40)	51.5 (17)	51.5 (17)
High	28.6 (18)	28.6 (18)	39.4 (13)	39.4 (13)
Reintegration potential ^c				
Low	27.0 (17)	27.0 (17)	15.2 (5)	15.2 (5)
Moderate	38.1 (24)	38.1 (24)	24.2 (8)	24.2 (8)
High	34.9 (22)	34.9 (22)	60.6 (20)	60.6 (20)

Appendix A (continued)

Note. ^a n = 26 missing. ^b n = 31 missing. ^c n = 52 missing.