

What if all the inmate reintegration programs were helpless?

Philippe Bensimon

Summary

Canada stands out as a model in the Western world for correctional rehabilitation and recidivism control programs. At the expense of in-depth criminological and psychological analyses, both of which have now been relegated to the lowest rank, these correctional programs are presented as *the* key to success in the efforts dedicated to control recidivism. However, it is first and foremost a belief based on a naive vision of human plasticity. But so far, no independent external investigations have yet been carried out on the actual costs and benefits of these programs. And even worse, the scientific literature provides all the evidence to help conclude that these behavioural programs have no overall effectiveness on an inmate population often plagued with hard-core criminals who have learned to provide the answers a case worker will want to hear. Using these funds to provide those convicts with the real educational and vocational training they often lack would be a much more efficient use of public funds and would be of a much safer assistance to them when they really decide to take charge.

Meet the Author

A Ph.D. in criminology, Philippe Bensimon has worked for 27 years in the correctional area, including 15 years in several Canadian penitentiaries and 12 in operational research at the core of the State machinery. He has published over forty articles and seven books and has been a part-time lecturer at the University of Ottawa since 1997 and in Montreal since 1999.

Contact: bensimonph@sympatico.ca

To Quote this Article

Bensimon, P. (2017). "What if all the inmate reintegration programs were helpless?"

Délinquance, justice et autres questions de société, June 16, 2017 [online]. URL: <http://laurent-mucchielli.org/index.php?post/2017/06/16/What-if-all-the-inmate-reintegration-programs-were-helpless>

Introduction

In Canada—a country considered as a leader in the area of correctional environments in the Western world—, the impartial studies on the effectiveness of correctional programs are rather scarce. Directly connected to power within a highly politicized hierarchy, those who create these programs are the same ones who implement them and incense their own results with multiple publications while being careful not to disclose what cannot be said, whereas no *external* and *totally independent* investigation has been carried out so far on the actual costs and benefits of recidivism control. The risk would be far too great. As measured through censorship, figures are sometimes inflated and used as a scarecrow, and sometimes deflated to congratulate oneself on the work accomplished. These figures are released from the same inaccessible and opaque source: the State¹. Adding to this gag inherent to the public service, university research is subsidized and filtered by these same government agencies². In the background of this mass conditioning built around each program, recidivism is the great unknown that many believe they will eventually be able to control. This notion is much too vague and has a legal meaning only if anyone who has already been convicted in the past is convicted once more, regardless of the nature of the sentence or the type of offence. Results are obtained simply by subtracting the number of offenders who have or have not participated in a XY program from those who have or have not "reoffended" within two to three years further to their release³. This suggests that all those who were on day parole, to name only this form of statutory release, were able to carry it out smoothly. The absence of any new convictions is the equivalent of success for a correctional administration. As for the one who commits a criminal act ignored by the enforcement agencies while he also has a criminal record, the measure of success is still the same. This is an oversimplistic assertion when one knows that the cessation of a criminal behaviour, whether a program is implemented or not, depends only on a single individual—its initiator—and rarely on the case worker.

And if these programs are truly meant to transform the *Others* into law-abiding citizens, when each approach is based on the *alleged* malleability of the individual and thereby improves his quality of life, what types of individuals are they addressing? Mafiosi in their late fifties arrested and condemned haphazardly? The members of a cartel? Gangs of bikers or criminal gangs who only want to build a reputation by giving some examples that will be remembered forever⁴? The

¹ Lowenkamp et al., 2010; Public Administration Select Committee, 2014; Staats, 2013; Taylor, 2015.

² Any external request is restricted by two pieces of legislation: the Access to Information Act and the Privacy Act. After an agreement, the signatures of the parties involved and the right of inspection, the content no longer belongs to the researcher. At the slightest criticism of the Department, the report ends on a shelf, bringing any subsequent request to a possible refusal (Editor's Note).

³ Officially: "*The majority of federal day paroles are successfully completed*" (Public Safety Canada, 2016) while the individual is still under control in the community until legal expiration. The prognosis rarely extends beyond (Editor's Note).

⁴ Approximately 700 criminal groups identified in Canada, whose ramifications affect all economic activities in the country (Criminal Intelligence Service Canada, 2014). Based on police information, there are over 2,000 groups in

mob who is used to corrupt the highest levels of governments that are just passing by? Professional fraudsters who are always very friendly⁵? Those labelled as psychopaths who stare at you and greet you when just called up to an interview in your office⁶? All those who just enter and leave even after thirty years behind bars?

But then, what are we trying to change? A behaviour? Or any inability to lead a balanced social life? Values? Or choices as one would make with a turbulent child to whom a doctor will prescribe Ritalin to keep him quiet? All this is not new and is undoubtedly one of the reasons why a correctional institution is bombarded with these everlasting criticisms in its eternally futuristic project designed to rehabilitate at all costs those referred by the justice system⁷. We would tend to believe that where the family cell has failed, the prison cell remains the last remedy capable of "curing", within a few weeks or even a few months, those that Justice has locked up behind bars. We should certainly not look for answers from the thousands of people who are cloistered between four walls, as the solution is not within their hands, but rather in the core of our drifting cities. After all, the worst criminals are only our cities' children weighing less than three kilos at birth.

When we think it over, the challenge is perhaps not so much the efficacy of the treatment itself, but rather the perception we get from it in the ideological debate⁸. We will now explore this issue.

A first splash in the pond

Released in the United States in the mid-1970s, a 32-page article drove a tidal wave while the ideal of rehabilitation was in full swing in North America. This article became almost mythical, not to say cursed in view of the many populist interpretations and reinterpretations that were made through the media. It all began with a study written by three researchers—Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks⁹—on some 231 programs of psychotherapeutic interventions. The results, far from those expected by the New York State Administration to be able to undertake a thorough rehabilitation, were banned from publication as is often the case. Martinson then entered the scene when he published his famous report¹⁰, which, in less than a decade and very reluctantly, will result in the complete collapse of the rehabilitative model¹¹ in favour of a repression that is not at all commensurate with reality¹².

the United States, who are mostly responsible for trafficking in synthetic drugs, casinos, prostitution, extortions, arms trafficking and murders (Parker, 2015).

⁵ Perri, 2011.

⁶ Cima, Tonnaer and Hauser, 2010; Lambert, 2010.

⁷ Jackson and Stewart, 2009.

⁸ François (1979).

⁹ The effectiveness of correctional treatment: A survey of treatment evaluation studies (1975).

¹⁰ What Works? – Questions and Answers about Prison Reform (Martinson, 1974).

¹¹ Read the excellent article by Lalande, 2006.

¹² Zimring, Kamin, and Hawkins, 2003.

Unlike our American counterparts, who follow the law of retaliation¹³ and have a budget twelve times higher¹⁴, such a title, deliberately provocative but nonetheless tempered, is likely to prompt many to see in it only pessimistic intents in the footsteps of the late author, and—who knows—to get some of them to the battlements for the sake of self-justification by failing to see clearly the dead end in which the word *reintegration* has been stuck for the last three decades. As this is a double-edged sword for those who, like Martinson, dare challenge this accumulation of programs, the reverse approach is very likely to be interpreted as a derogation to any form of hope, to any ability for anyone to improve oneself. This is pointless.

It is far from that, as few actions are as rewarding as trying to help *Others* on their journey, mostly in conditions such as those found in confinement, whereas these conditions are not systematic, narrow, leaving no room for maneuver to the clinical staff dealing with statutory quantitative deadlines without any right of action as to the form and content of these programs heralded as the key to success. It is somewhat as if, with a few exceptions, we were all designed from the same template, and the criminal gesture would be merely an accidental occurrence which could be remediated through therapeutic redemption¹⁵! However, and as far back as human history can show, crime perfectly fits with the nature of man, and claiming to be able to eradicate it from the walls of a prison based on small numbered grids and infantilizing questionnaires is more a result of election-oriented promises driven and maintained by a massive use of public funds whereas for many case workers versed in what is now only the forced learning of repentance, it is a matter of obeying a mission: change *Others* into honest citizens¹⁶.

As this is a massive disenchantment in a democracy that is meant to give lessons, many other ways remain to be explored, and we have no intention here to prejudice a belief that generates jobs, goods and services, but rather to put in perspective what continues to be hammered as *the* solution to control widespread crime and tackle recidivism through this belief. To relativize and denounce this leaden scroll surrounding the result of all these therapeutic trials and errors, the absence of any reflection nailed by censorship down to the last comma, there is this ongoing determination to indiscriminately impose these programs on entire populations of inmates in the name of an ideology which is not philanthropic at all, each approach being based on the *presumed* inmate's malleability without which nothing else is possible. For a therapeutic intervention to take place and retain all its credibility and strength, the case worker must assume that the *Others* exhibit a certain plasticity from which it will be easy for him to exercise a form of behavioural manipulation. This presumption is conditional upon any form of release based on the standardization of social behaviours¹⁷. A commitment with adverse effects towards those who

¹³ In 2015, in proportional terms, the inmate population in the United States was estimated at 2.3 million individuals (including adults of both genders and minors). What is missing, however, is that as part of this extensive confinement, 636,000 of them are released every year (Wagner and Rabuy, 2016).

¹⁴ The National Association of States Budget Officers, 2013.

¹⁵ Reid and Dawes, 2010.

¹⁶ Autes, 1999; Rudes, Viglione, and Taxman, 2013.

¹⁷ Quirion, 2008.

should do everything and the opposite in such a dark and unreal environment¹⁸ should at least challenge us on how it works, as we know for a fact that the least refusal, abandonment, failure or resistance will result in the immediate denial of any application for a release.

What researchers have to say

While for some individuals serving a prison sentence, the programs—and I cannot over-emphasize this—can and will have a real long-term impact on their behaviour, although nobody knows for how long, believing that these programs can change the decision of whether or not they will commit a criminal act is more a matter of state propaganda than advertising for a consumer product¹⁹. Although alcoholism, as any other form of addiction with or without substances, cannot be cured, it can be controlled with all the consequences it involves in terms of possible relapses. The same holds true for a majority of sex offenders or for those “happy triggers” who are only trying to prove themselves in a criminal organization²⁰. Even with the best intentions in the world, there is no cure for this. It is not an illness like prostate cancer or a brain anomaly that, in itself, would certainly be much more acceptable to the average person, irrespective of what many experts will have to say on the subject²¹.

The research environment in its broadest meaning often refers to vast laboratories where intermingling flasks and algorithms help understand and decipher all sorts of problems each one more complicated than the others and find what has never been found, whenever feasible. In the area of behavioural sciences, it is not so simple. Everything cannot be measured with mice or monkeys, even if our chromosomes, subject to a few variations, are the same. As shown through bibliometrics and scholarship grants, less than 3% of all published materials still remain as meaningful, and this is even true, in the area of social sciences, more than in any other field²². With respect to sexual delinquency, a subject that looks exciting to so many researchers, dozens of dedicated journals are released on the issue. Several thousand articles are published each year to a point where organized crime and money laundering for billions of dollars are mere general news. It must be recognized that behind this apparent malleability of contrition and purely circumstantial docility, on which the overall literature dedicated to sexual delinquency is based, a sexual offender belongs specifically to a category of prisoners compromised by the ostracism he will be subject to when in jail²³ and therefore, he becomes much easier to approach than a biker who is a member of a criminal gang! But behind this morbid fantasy for the Ogre in the fable, the

¹⁸ A reference made here to the famous "zero tolerance" policy launched in 1994 by the former New York Mayor, Rudolph Giuliani (Editor's Note).

¹⁹ Dawes, 1994; Jones, 2000.

²⁰ Browne, 2015; Jacobs and Dondlinger-Wyman, 2014; Melde and Finn-Aage, 2014; O'Brien et al., 2013; Spano, Pridemore and Bolland, 2012.

²¹ Anderson, Lunnen, and Ogles, 2010; Blasko and Jeglic, 2014; Braun et al., 2009; Daly, 2016; DeFife, 2010; Downen, 2012; Latour, Woolgar, and Biezunski, 1979; Latessa, 2012a; Olver, Stockdale, and Wormith, 2011; Witteman and Bercken, 2007.

²² Higgins and Green, 2011.

²³ Ware and Mann, 2012.

character of the tales of Perrault has now become a serial killer, and research on sexual offences has not yielded any results.

In 1989, Furby, Weinrott, and Blackshaw²⁴, in a still authoritative classic publication, concluded there was no evidence that treatment programs had any real impact on the reoffending rate. Twenty years later, Griffiths, Dandurand, and Murdoch²⁵ drafted a complete list of these programs—all failures. Across the border, the findings are the same after reviewing nine meta-analyses conducted by Brooks-Gordon, Bilby, and Wells²⁶, and then by Kenworthy, Adams, Bilby, Brooks-Gordon, and Fenton²⁷. Beyond the many methodological or sampling manipulation gaps, these programs are based not only on the presumed elasticity of the convicts, but also on the disclosure of their actions and, unless he has before him an examination expert (a discipline that cannot be taught), a convict will tell what he wants²⁸. After all, he has already been convicted based on what the court understands. And under these conditions, why would he go any further? What benefits, if any, would he get from disclosing what the Other is unaware of, when it could be much more harmful to him in front of a case worker who is too often only there for a short while? All the program iterations avoid getting tangled in these linguistic subtleties. As for the researchers who work for the government, when facing political realities where they do not have a complete overview, whereas more than 48% of federal scientists are witnessing situations where data was deliberately removed from official documents, therefore providing incomplete, inaccurate or misleading information, they will never bite the hand that feeds them. More than 90% believe they are muzzled in their work²⁹. And then, after working for years behind so-called fault-proof research protocols and building a reputation, they end up feeling they are totally bias-proofed³⁰? This is what power does.

Like tuna nets used to catch sardine schools, it should be remembered that all the criminal behaviour research around which these programs are built is based on a single pool of behaviours: those resulting in a conviction. In other words, this is the tip of the iceberg versus everything we are unaware of and which surpasses us in its scope, when considering that the overall justice system, the costs for the victims and third parties and the impacts due to the loss of national productivity amount to \$99.6 billion annually for a population of 36 million. This amount, as astronomical as it seems, is only an underestimation according to the author of the report³¹. In the United States, a proportional estimate amounts to \$3,200 billion (for a population of 323 million)³². While the cost of crime cannot be estimated when it comes to maintaining

²⁴ Furby, Weinrott, and Blackshaw, 1989.

²⁵ Griffiths, Dandurand, and Murdoch, 2007.

²⁶ Brooks-Gordon, Bilby and Wells, 2006.

²⁷ Kenworthy et al., 2008.

²⁸ Brinke, Stimson, and Carney, 2014; Dandurand et al., 2008.

²⁹ The Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada, 2015.

³⁰ Chalmers, 1990; Hopewell et al., 2009.

³¹ Zhang, 2008 : The Canadian population as at January 1, 2008, i.e. the Zhang's report date, was 33 million (Editor's Note).

³² Wickramasekera et al., 2015.

public order and security, it is all too expensive. How many hospitals, schools, homes or highways could we build with such amounts? Clearly, crime is thriving, no matter what side of the fence you are on.

Programs to tackle recidivism

The basis for this so-called efficacy, which is still spearheaded by the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC), is based mostly on a few figures surrounding recidivism. These figures are proportional to the number of arrested individuals who are then convicted when they already had to deal with justice³³, which is an understatement since we know that in the Western world, 18% to 20% of women and 8% of men would have been sexually abused before age 18³⁴. So the question is: How many aggressors are actually behind bars?

In Canada, 3 out of every 1,000 sexual assaults result in a conviction³⁵. In the Statistics Canada General Social Survey (GSS) on Victimization conducted in 2014, 633,000 sexual assaults were reported by Canadians aged 15 and over (excluding children). Only 20,735 complaints were filed, with 12,663 recorded by the police, i.e. 1 out of 20. Of these, 1,814 led to aggressors' convictions, mostly for less than 6 months (4% to 2 years' convictions or more)³⁶. When considering murder attempts for 2012, three quarters of them were stayed, withdrawn, dismissed or discharged³⁷. In 2009, only 28% of the victims of domestic violence filed a complaint with law enforcement agencies³⁸. In 2014, of the 323,600 victims of violent crimes, nearly 85,000 were victims of family-related crimes, including 53,647 under age 18³⁹. As in the early days of settlement, when compared with offences for violent crimes, property crimes in Canada seem to outweigh sentencing⁴⁰.

Given these few figures, what do we really know about delinquency, and through it, about recidivism when the 2014 official data reflect a 6% increase in sexual assaults against children, 16% in extortion offences, +39% in terrorism, +4% in kidnappings, +41% for child pornography or +8% for identity fraud⁴¹? Considering our aging population, disillusionment with the police and legal system as to the decline in the number of complaints and non-transparency in the way statistical data is released, going as far as writing that crime is declining all over the world, and

³³ Newark, 2013.

³⁴ Långström et al., 2013; Stoltenborgh et al., 2011.

³⁵ In the United States and in England, of 100,000 sexual assaults, 1,000 aggressors are convicted (Morris, 2013); Ehrenfreund, 2014; Lisak and Miller, 2002; Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network, 2012; Truman, Langton, and Planty, 2013.

³⁶ Perreault, 2015; Boyce, 2013.

³⁷ Boyce, 2013.

³⁸ Statistics Canada, 2011.

³⁹ Ibrahim and Burczycka, 2016.

⁴⁰ In 2011-2012, of 54,561 property crimes, 61% of court cases led to a guilty verdict versus 46,255 acts of violence (from homicide to various types of assaults), 50% resulted in a guilty verdict and 41% for the termination of proceedings or withdrawal (Boyce, 2013).

⁴¹ Boyce, 2015.

quoting high-level statements without any other form of verification boils down to making a clean slate of emerging criminality flourishing with impunity⁴², over which poorly equipped law enforcement agencies are virtually powerless: human trafficking⁴³, organ trafficking⁴⁴, disappearances, terrorism, animal trafficking⁴⁵, wild burial or dumping of waste highly hazardous to the future of humanity⁴⁶, organized fraud on a global scale, corruption at the highest government levels, drug trafficking⁴⁷, tax havens⁴⁸, identity thefts⁴⁹, cybercrime, industrial counterfeiting⁵⁰, plundering of historical sites, etc. Those responsible for these crimes are rarely convicted to the point where all the others even end up bearing a strong resemblance...

Before going any further, for the reader unfamiliar with the Canadian system, a distinction dating back to 1867 must be made here between prisons and penitentiaries. Prisons are for individuals sentenced to less than 2 years (about 13,650 convicts) and are administered by a jurisdiction specific to each province or territory⁵¹. Penitentiaries, which come under federal jurisdiction, are for all individuals sentenced to terms from 2 years to life⁵², for a total of 22,935 inmates, including 14,856 convicts and 8,070 under community supervision as of March 31, 2015⁵³. The following is some data surrounding recidivism:

- 1) In 2012 and 2013, 47% of inmates under federal jurisdiction were reincarcerated within the 2 years following their release (stay for breaches of conditions, revocation and, to a lesser degree, for re-offense's when known to police authorities)⁵⁴.

⁴² Cassara, 2016; Harris, 2016; United Nations Office on Drug and Crime, 2011.

⁴³ In 2015, human trafficking accounted for more than \$150 billion in annual profits, including \$99 billion in the sex trade business. Behind these figures are 21 million victims in the world, 14 million of them linked to economic exploitation and 4.5 million victims of sexual exploitation (International Labour Organization, 2016, United Nations Development Programme, 2015).

⁴⁴ More than 10% of organ transplants worldwide have illegal origins (Nahavandi, 2016; Rainhorn and Boudamoussi, 2015).

⁴⁵ As the third largest trade behind drugs and weapons, animal trafficking is estimated annually at over \$19 billion (International Fund for Animal Welfare, 2013).

⁴⁶ Although it is difficult to establish a figure, this type of traffic would have generated \$213 billion in 2014 (Decryptnewsonline, 2014; United Nations Environment Programme, 2015).

⁴⁷ More than \$400 billion a year is the amount estimated by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2016).

⁴⁸ Amounts estimated between 20,000 and 30,000 billion in 2013 throughout the world (La Tribune, 2013). Canada is no exception, considering that many Canadian businesses in 2014 hid nearly \$200 billion in tax havens (Tencer, 2015).

⁴⁹ 24% of credit cards issued and outstanding worldwide, including more than 9% in Canada (Holmes, 2015).

⁵⁰ Nearly 500 billion a year (Le Monde, 2016).

⁵¹ Reitano, 2016.

⁵² The *determined* sentences, as the name implies, have a legal expiration. *Indeterminate* sentences are those where the individual is sentenced to life imprisonment. His status remains that of an inmate even upon conditional release after 10, 15 or 25 years, until his death. His file is then placed in the archives.

⁵³ Not including those on bail (waiting for trial), fugitives, individuals temporary placed in a provincial prison after an agreement, individuals unlawfully at large, expelled or detained by immigration authorities (Public Safety Canada, 2016).

⁵⁴ Parole Board of Canada, 2013.

- 2) As of March 31, 2013, the rate of releases increased to 25% from 10 to 15 years after expiration of their sentence term between 1997 and 1998, and then between 2001 and 2002⁵⁵, i.e. over 2 years. With respect to the re-offense rate with serious and violent crimes committed within 3 years from a release (*before* or *after* legal expiration of a sentence), it *officially* reached 10.4%⁵⁶.
- These figures prove to be well below official tables since no statistical graph considers those who were rearrested and convicted for sentences of less than 2 years⁵⁷ (a prison sentence, and therefore under provincial jurisdiction, which are *never* reflected in the data on federal inmates). In a study conducted in 2015 on the recidivism rate, of the 9,423 inmates released in 2007-2008, 5,149 (or 55%) were newly convicted within 2 years from their release, including 4,088 (43%) sentenced to a new term of imprisonment⁵⁸. The figures are substantially the same as in the United States⁵⁹.
 - Data is recorded and compiled only if there is a conviction (which, if a convict is acquitted⁶⁰, offsets the act which was perpetrated)⁶¹;
 - Date is interpreted only based on violations *reported* to law enforcement agencies and on their resolution rate, a rate which varies depending on the type of crimes, on the current political priorities⁶², and for this purpose, on the crimes deemed to be less significant in terms of media exposure⁶³.
 - In Canada, 31% of crimes are reported to the police on average⁶⁴.
 - From 2000 to 2010, 42% of homicides perpetrated by criminal gangs resulted in a conviction. Over the last forty years, less than half of those criminals were imprisoned and then convicted.

⁵⁵ Reitano, 2016; Report of the Correctional Service of Canada Review Panel, 2007.

⁵⁶ Crocker et al., 2013.

⁵⁷ In 2007, the recidivism for the extended inmate population in 2 years was 75% (North Shore News, 2008).

⁵⁸ Lalande, Pelletier and Dolmaire, 2015.

⁵⁹ When tracked over 8 years, almost half (49.3%) of the 25,431 federal inmates released from 2005 onwards, 31.7% were convicted again and 24.6% were re-incarcerated. For those who were released from a state prison, 52.5% were re-imprisoned. The median for these two groups of inmates is 2 years (21 months) (Hunt and Dumville, 2016).

⁶⁰ Not to be confused with the individual who was cleared as innocent (Editor's Note).

⁶¹ Dandurand et al., 2008.

⁶² Historical data that would allow for meaningful comparisons of crime rates across time is eliminated; as for the data on the number of crimes, they have been amended, without any explanation, repeatedly and retroactively (Newark, 2011).

⁶³ In 2009, for Quebec only, 260,628 property crimes (theft, fraud, breaking and entering, and mischiefs) were reported and resulted in a resolution rate of 16% (Quebec Ministry of Public Safety, 2011).

⁶⁴ Brennan, 2011; Newark, 2013.

- In 2010, when a complaint was *recorded*, the resolution rate was 64% for sexual assaults and 40% for robberies⁶⁵.

At the Correctional Service of Canada, as of March 31, 2015, with a total of 17,559 permanent employees⁶⁶ for 22,935 convicts placed behind bars or under community supervision⁶⁷, there is really nothing to boast about with respect to planning purely political objectives and their unlikely results when everything is built to reduce recidivism—and who knows, to be able one day to eradicate it...

A question then arises: What kind of work are we doing behind bars in Canada? What is this calendar determined by a judge and known as a jail term?

Academic and vocational training overwhelmed by programs

Originating in a relatively recent past, the debate surrounding incarceration was mostly centred on the convict's education. As the convict had to be released sooner or later, those who had this responsibility would make sure he would rehabilitate and get his life back on the right track. Regardless of their current direction at the time, these professionals would legitimate the institution behind proven reintegration practices by gradually preparing the individual for release. For almost half a century, every convict had to learn how to read, write, and count before being able to follow some usually manual training (mason, carpenter, cook, tiler, construction painter, mechanic, plumber, electrician, etc.). This is a mere distant memory which ended in the early eighties:

- 1) In the 177 prisons in Canada—these overcrowded and unhealthy stalls with a 127% occupancy rate and a critical shortage of duly qualified staff⁶⁸—, for anything in connection with support relationship, education or vocational training, the question does not even arise⁶⁹. Prisons in Europe, often rightfully criticized, compare favourably with Canadian provincial detention centres. In 2015, on a population of 24,014 adults⁷⁰, 10,364 (36%) were in sentenced custody, 56% on average were sentenced to terms of one month or less, including 28% to sentences of one week or less... Their average age upon admission was 35 years, with

⁶⁵ Mahony and Turner, 2010.

⁶⁶ I.e. 77% of the workforce in institutions. Data excluding casual employees, trainees and students hired for summer vacations (Public Safety, 2016).

⁶⁷ Figures not including psychologists, casuals, trainees, vacation students or 7,000 volunteers (Public Safety Canada, 2016; Correctional Service of Canada, 2012).

⁶⁸ Blais, 2015; Hachey, 2013; Kusch, 2015; Marcoux and Barghout, 2015; Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services of Ontario, 2015; Quebec Ministry of Public Safety, 2015; Owen, 2014; Piché, 2014; Public Services Foundation of Canada, 2015; Saillant, 2015.

⁶⁹ This excludes Canadian prisons for the remainder of this article in order to be exclusively limited to penitentiaries (Editor's Note).

⁷⁰ Including 13,650 in pre-trial detention, pending trial or sentencing (See Reitano, 2016).

a profile similar to that found in penitentiaries (addictions, mental health, dysfunctional environment, intrafamily violence, lack of qualifications, education below the minimum required by OECD⁷¹, criminogenic peer associations, etc.)⁷², and everything has to be rebuilt. But in the light of what types of sentences⁷³? With a criminal record as a stamped passport, which cannot be used as an extenuating circumstance before a judge, re-offense becomes a strong temptation when there is a monetary purpose⁷⁴.

- 2) Concerning also the 54 penitentiaries, 16 community correctional centres and 92 parole offices, overseeing a total of 22,935 federal (intra and extramural) inmates, more than half of them are sentenced from 2 to 4 years, including 23% from 2 to 3 years⁷⁵. This also leaves little room for any form of training, even once released. Other issues are added, such as the existing waiting lists⁷⁶, the staff assigned based on a budget dedicated to each institution, the high turnover rate (3 parole officers on average⁷⁷ per inmate in a single year) and the resulting lack of follow-up maintained over time by a case worker with a full knowledge of the file⁷⁸. With respect to the reintegration agenda, the deadlines are set in advance in the statutes (day parole after serving 1/6 of the sentence, parole at 1/3 of the sentence and statutory release at 2/3 of the sentence)⁷⁹.
- 3) Behind this humanism surrounding parole, which many would like to replicate or imitate, inmate release policies are primarily concerned with prison cell management. This is a real puzzle for each correctional facility director, who will not hesitate, if necessary, to impose quotas to relieve an overcrowded place⁸⁰. If the number of released inmates decreases due to new criminal policies, this will necessarily result in a shortage of available cells and, in turn, in an overcrowding effect⁸¹. As the number of cells is lower than the number of cells

⁷¹ See *supra* note 86.

⁷² Average unchanged since 2009-2010 (Reitano, 2016).

⁷³ Several initiatives were well received, but they remain localized (Lafortune and Blanchard, 2010).

⁷⁴ Davis et al., 2013; Geest et al., 2016; Hanrahan, Gibbs, and Zimmerman, 2005; Moses, 2012; Nathan, 2015; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2013; Urban Institute, 2013; Visser, Winterfield, and Coggeshall, 2005.

⁷⁵ Public Safety Canada, 2016; Office of the Correctional Investigator of Canada, 2015.

⁷⁶ In 2014, about 65% still would not complete their programs before being eligible for their first parole (Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2015).

⁷⁷ We should remember that the Correctional Service of Canada's training is very diverse considering that a university degree (criminology, psychology, addiction, social work or related field experience, without any specific specialization) remains a "privileged asset" and not an obligation in a competition for an institutional or supervisory position in the community (Government of Canada, 2015).

⁷⁸ For year 2013-14, only 20% of inmates were prepared on time for their first parole eligibility date and 65% had not completed their programs prior to their first date of eligibility for parole (Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2015).

⁷⁹ Parole Board of Canada, 2015a.

⁸⁰ It is 70% less costly to maintain an inmate in the community than to keep him incarcerated: \$34,432 per year versus \$115,310 (Public Safety, 2016).

⁸¹ Grandpré, 2013.

dedicated to the imposed sentences⁸², the flow of admissions needs to be managed, often without any connections with the content of criminological and psychological assessments.

- 4) Even for long-term sentences (sentences from 10 years to life⁸³), there is not strictly any vocational training, while three quarters of inmates have no trade upon admission⁸⁴ and more than 60% are either persistently underemployed or unemployed before their admission⁸⁵.
- 5) In terms of education⁸⁶, almost two thirds have a level below grade 8 (functional illiteracy)⁸⁷;
- 6) Another muted reality, while there are here and there some workshops dedicated to the manufacturing sector for the manufacture of furniture intended for administration, no certification or equivalence recognized by the Ministry of Education is issued⁸⁸. Adding to this dismal vacuum, the work schedules cannot be compared to a trainee's working day in everyday life⁸⁹. An unskilled individual upon admission, who will be released after 5, 10 or 20 years, will have nothing more to assert in an environment where job insecurity means millions of unemployed⁹⁰.
- 7) While the inmate is required to do *everything*, from pushing him to make use of his own resources and thereby magnify any outcome to the benefit of year-end statistics, in 2015, The Office of the Auditor General of Canada sounded the alarm: "... *There is a total lack of organizational vision and strategic objectives in terms of employability within the Correctional Service of Canada and absolutely no governance structure or policy specific to employment*"⁹¹.
- 8) Overcrowding projections from 2018 will only aggravate this already alarming situation. As the ongoing unit enlargements are made from the outside to the inside, and not the other way

⁸² In 2013, 14,807 cells for 15,224 inmates, hence the current double occupancy rates (Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2014).

⁸³ All life sentences in Canada are entitled to a conditional release of 10 to 25 years and a 3-day parole release (Editor's Note).

⁸⁴ Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2015.

⁸⁵ Office of the Correctional Investigator of Canada, 2015.

⁸⁶ As a societal reflection, in 2015, 70% of the unemployed in Canada had difficulty reading and writing (Vailles, 2016). For the Canadian population as a whole, according to data from OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) for 2012, 12 million or 48% of those over age 16 did not reach Level 3 of Literacy (difficulties in assuming new skills presupposed by any modern society) (Langlois, 2012). Taking this time the example of Quebec in 2014, one in five people had major or very important difficulties in reading and writing, a level below literacy level 1 (Dignard, 2014).

⁸⁷ Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2015.

⁸⁸ This was current until the early eighties (Editor's Note).

⁸⁹ Not more than four hours per day, even if it refers to eight paid hours directly charged to the canteen fund (Editor's Note).

⁹⁰ Another societal reflection in Canada for year 2015 was that 4.7 million (or 13.8%) of households lived on low income and 1.34 million (or 19%) of children under the poverty line (Heisz, Notten, and Situ, 2016).

⁹¹ Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2015.

around, they nibble some already greatly reduced space and increase a most explosive promiscuity. Consequently, cells of 5 m² are double-bunked. This was a temporary measure in 1981, but it became widespread throughout the country⁹².

- 9) As is often the case, the maintenance, laundry, cooking services and the manufacturing sector are used to keep inmates busy, close the door to idleness as “the devil’s playground”, provide them with a seemingly normal life, but this will certainly not help them when they are released.

Is Canada really a model for others to follow? Faced with this lack of education and vocational training, and before addressing the content of these programs and mostly the curriculum of those in charge of their administration, we should provide an overview of the evolution of clinical analysis, now tied hand and foot to serving computerized objectives.

Clinical analysis

It all started in the late eighties. Faced with the rise of an increasingly violent criminality, combined with an increase in the prison population, and taking over a little too much confidently the succession of a very expensive and long overcome psychiatry business, criminologists and psychologists were in turn eventually lost in the labyrinth of interpretation, resulting in 10 different assessments from 10 randomly selected case workers, including at least 4 totally opposed assessments. These differences amount to risks for the safety of the general public, and mostly for the reputation of an organization. Therefore, a way had to be found to reduce the disparity and implement a more consistent way of thinking and doing. This was a *mea culpa* that few professionals, as they were surprised, would admit in the heat of the moment. To dilute these blunders based on an unavoidable subjectivity, as speculations and other judgments overestimating or underestimating the risk would sometimes appear in the headlines, new policies that came to the rescue would give rise to mass conditioning through scales and actuarial tools to determine their degree of intensity. In Canada, everyone would follow in at the same pace and in a single direction⁹³.

- 1) In 2015-2016, although this was not always the case⁹⁴, with a ratio of 16 inmates per parole officer (community facilities and offices)⁹⁵, the administrative case load and the timetables as set by the laws have become so cumbersome that no one dares take a stand when it comes to refer an inmate, to the point where many are wondering whether there is still a true analytical

⁹² Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2014; Buzzetti, 2014; Kennedy, 2014.

⁹³ Bensimon, 2012; Kalmbach and Lyons, 2006.

⁹⁴ Until the very end of the 1990s, it was not uncommon to see a parole officer in charge of some forty inmates versus about 15 in the community (Editor’s Note).

⁹⁵ 1,351 parole officers for a total of 22,935 inmates. Figures not including casuals, trainees or students hired during the vacation period (Public Safety Canada, 2016).

content. How can a fair and informed position be taken when an inmate has been met only once or twice in a year?

- 2) With the implementation of these programs placed at the very top of the social reintegration agenda, criminological analysis has retreated behind a list of actuarial automatisms⁹⁶. As a result, the documents required to assess the risk are neither wholly white nor black⁹⁷, often poorly written by authors who have no other status than a parole officer position (inconsistent training from province to province)⁹⁸.
- 3) Engaged in this capacity and at a lower cost than a psychiatrist compared with the situation in France, the parole officer remains the key player for the overall analyses and the management of each case, from admission to the sentence legal expiration. So far, however, there is a single professional criminology association in Canada⁹⁹. The latter is not recognized by the federal authorities, whereas most parole officers, at least for the Quebec administrative region, are licensed in this discipline (three years of university education). Recognizing the special status of a professional criminologist for a province at the expense of another province where no education is provided in the field could not only force the federal department to raise salaries for this type of graduates, but also create a specificity that does not exist anywhere else, which would amount to opening a Pandora's box. This is a very unlikely decision, as the same level would be required in each parole officer's position competition across the five administrative regions¹⁰⁰. For the central administration, the "completion" of documents as carried out from coast to coast by a young graduate in criminology, literature or botany is largely sufficient for the task.
- 4) Based on the analyses and recommendations made by the parole officer on duty, decisions made in hearings are under the purview of decision-makers appointed and supported for services rendered to a political party¹⁰¹. Their authority rests primarily on the verification of criteria surrounding the completed correctional treatment plan and the results from actuarial scales. Has the inmate completed (*yes* or *no*) his plan and, if so, what does he have to say about his understanding of the actions that led to his conviction? It should be noted that the Correctional Service of Canada remains under the control of the Parole Board of Canada (PBC), which is itself under the authority of Public Safety Canada.

⁹⁶ Reports and files are formatted according to a predefined framework, leaving no room for maneuver. This is compounded by the use of actuarial scales whereby the case worker can no longer make a decision and is limited to clerical work (Editor's Note).

⁹⁷ Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2015.

⁹⁸ See *supra* note 77. As required, each competition is different. Certain positions are awarded without even going through this route; others require equivalence (Editor's Note).

⁹⁹ The Ordre professionnel des criminologues du Québec (OPCQ) was established on July 22, 2015 (Editor's Note).

¹⁰⁰ Pacific, Prairie, Ontario, Quebec and Atlantic Administrative Regions (Editor's Note).

¹⁰¹ Similar to political appointments, to become a member of the Senate and a representative of the general public, position holders with the Parole Board of Canada (PBC) do not have any field training or even university education, subject to exceptions (Editor's Note).

- 5) Faced with these criminal policies, which have completely relegated clinical judgment to the background, thus negating any criminological specificity in connection with the objectives linked to the magic of the programs, to the benefit of engineered contents built on predefined empirical data free from any reflection to help target and prioritize the needs according to a set of indicators by simply clicking *yes* or *no* to develop a correctional treatment plan¹⁰², many seasoned parole officers should be able to respond, ask questions, and challenge the validity of some instruments. Since absolute obedience is required in the ranks subject to major and immediate sanctions, no one speaks.

Behind the seemingly open-door policies carefully crafted by some departments, no one can or is even entitled in Canada to criticize the relevance of implemented policies whereas every four years, a complete cabinet reshuffle is carried out following the appointment of a new government¹⁰³. Similar to the Department of National Defence and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police¹⁰⁴, Public Safety Canada is in the front row, and under its command, the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC)¹⁰⁵ is recognized for its lack of transparency, as evidenced by the results of each survey conducted since 1999¹⁰⁶. As for the correctional services in general, which is a very costly and unprofitable organization, their very survival is also compromised even when the poor results surrounding these emphatically called "therapeutic" programs are far from enlightening, without interfering with their exportation, irrespective of the culture and history of the ordering countries¹⁰⁷.

- 6) For more than 15 years, all the referrals and decisions made for inmate release purposes involve the active participation of the individual in what has been planned *with* or *without* his consent upon admission. Generally speaking, all this occurs within three hours of interviewing and for the heaviest cases¹⁰⁸... Again, this raises serious questions about the international reputation intended for the Correctional Service of Canada.
- 7) As mentioned above, although an inmate has an obligation whatsoever to get involved in or attend any treatment in connection with the identification of his computerized needs, should

¹⁰² A total of 233 static and dynamic indicators (Correctional Service Canada, 2016b).

¹⁰³ Government of Canada, 2011a; 2011b.

¹⁰⁴ Macdonald and Gillis, 2015; Perkel, 2016; La Presse, 2013.

¹⁰⁵ Orfali, 2013.

¹⁰⁶ Distributed to more than 300,000 federal public servants representing 93 departments and agencies, this survey is conducted every three years on a voluntary basis on a number of workplace-related issues (Government of Canada, 2014).

¹⁰⁷ Correctional Service Canada, 2013.

¹⁰⁸ Upon conviction and issuance of the warrant of committal, whereby the accused becomes an *inmate* and is admitted to an admission facility, he is assessed and placed in a regular penitentiary according to the nature of the offences, the length of the sentence, the needs identified and the security level matching his profile. The receiving institution will then follow up with subsequent recommendations for any transfer and release according to the individual's progression or regression (Editor's Note).

he refuse, this will keep him behind bars until his sentence has legally expired¹⁰⁹. As a survival instinct, whether he hardly or barely feels the necessity of it, his interest will be to play the game without wasting time. Well used to question and answer periods ever since his early placements in secure centres for juvenile offenders¹¹⁰, this individual will eventually say what the other wants to hear, mostly when this *Me Myself and I* repeated word combination remains as his only escape¹¹¹. Therefore, this requires a character and a personality well versed in all forms of manipulation to be able to measure the degree of responsiveness¹¹², which cannot be acquired through a university education, however prestigious the institution might be, but through the reality of a very hazardous journey in the field.

- 8) Staffs is too often left to themselves, far from being sufficiently qualified¹¹³ and supervised to deal with various criminal typologies let alone able to counterbalance in front of inmates who are generally older¹¹⁴ and with life histories that are not commensurate with their sworn interviewers. A clinical assessment cannot be designed as an assembly line, but this *Other* who carries a number is perceived only through the eyes of the organization, and the situation could hardly be otherwise¹¹⁵. There is no possible balance between the statements of the experienced or unexperienced parole officer and the individual in front of him, especially when it comes to major crimes.
- 9) To protect himself from what he hears and attempts to analyze versus his education and skills, the parole officer will carry out many assessments only superficially. Due to a lack of time and support, production and compliance with the statutory deadlines¹¹⁶ prevail over the quality of the content.
- 10) Mood or personality disorders, obsessions, addictions with or without substances, anxiety states... criminologists and psychologists will try to have the offender respond, to the best of their knowledge, not to mention anything to be more or less disclosed in interviews provided they devote a lot of time. Due to a mad rush caused by multiple schedules, there is no more

¹⁰⁹ At least for so-called *determinate* sentences (*indeterminate* sentences being those where in Canada, the individual is sentenced to life imprisonment). His status remains that of an inmate even upon conditional release after 10, 15 or 25 years, until his death. His file is then placed in the archives (Editor's Note).

¹¹⁰ Bacon and Regan, 2016; Cornelius, 2010; Gregory et al., 2015; Harris et al., 2011; Jupe et al., 2016; Lee, Klaver, and Hart, 2008; Moore and Pierce, 2016; Porter et al., 2008; Wojciechowski, Stolarski, and Matthews, 2014.

¹¹¹ Blagden et al., 2014; Brown and Tully, 2014; Craissati, 2015; Glaser, 2003; Harkins, 2015; Hasselrot and Fielding, 2010.

¹¹² Day et al., 2006; Maggioncalda, 2013; Miller, 2012b; Rose, 2013.

¹¹³ An undergraduate degree, often unrelated to the field reality, becomes obsolete after only a few months on the field (Editor's Note).

¹¹⁴ In 2014-15, for a total federal population of 22,935 inmates (including 14,865 incarcerated and 8,070 under community supervision), the median age was 33; the percentage is similar for the 40-70 and over (MacKenzie, 2015, Public Safety Canada, 2016).

¹¹⁵ Zarra and Farrington, 2016.

¹¹⁶ Parole Board of Canada (2015b).

time left to carry out worthwhile assessments, and trying to interpret what the *Others* thought or felt *before, during* and *after* a robbery, murder, rape, drug deal or assault, hoping for a hypothetical change in perceptions and behaviours, is far from being easy for just anyone. This requires far more than a power of understanding and empathy spread over a simple 37.5-hour schedule.

- 11) The involvement of the parole officer in front of the inmate also has its limitations. Empathy cannot be displayed in a piecemeal approach, but rather over time and in a straightforward, direct, honest, human, seamless relationship, which most case workers are no longer able to assume because of the appalling turnover rate.
- 12) Many boundaries in the understanding of any criminal behaviour will never, ever be overcome. Few parole officers dare to venture onto the spongy lands of attraction, pleasure and fascination surrounding the preparation of the criminal act. As a vicarious effect, for those who make the effort, no one emerges unscathed and no one will receive more merit¹¹⁷.
- 13) For the parole officer, the line between a so-called normal state and an abnormal state is never as clear as some would like to believe. Beyond the nature of the act and its recurrence in the form of cycles, nothing can really distinguish an offender from a non-offender¹¹⁸. Very often developed on the basis of criteria that determine antisocial behaviour (to take only this example in almost all assessment reports), the therapeutic intervention will collapse when confronted with free will. Hence this inextricable maze which combines deterrents surrounding any custodial sentence, a relationship of makeshift support depending on specific cases and blackmailing in the event of a denial.
- 14) Assessments take place as part of interviews that are only learned on the job. Their quality depends on the personality of the parole officers, their experience, their motivation to go down to the bottom of the well and to go back to the top¹¹⁹, their ability to listen and to hear what this Other is saying or what he does not say. Their assessments are based on a continuous upgrading of their knowledge (which is rare, again due to lack of time and loss of interest in view of accumulated backlogs), the genre, their persuasion skills, whether or not there has been media coverage of the case, their ability to keep their distance without being invaded (transfers and counter-transfers)¹²⁰, accumulated backlogs that leave no room for interviews, political pressure through intermediate authorities at the top of the pyramid to force the parole officers to produce a report including a recommendation that has sometimes been dictated¹²¹, in addition to the overwhelming influence of the correctional subculture

¹¹⁷ Bensimon, 2012; 2014.

¹¹⁸ See Porter et al., *supra* note 110.

¹¹⁹ Bensimon, 2010; Bensimon, 2012.

¹²⁰ Casoni, 2007.

¹²¹ Bernick and Larkin, 2014; Iglesias, 2016; Jacobs, 2016; Schwartz and Wiggins, 2005; Szasz, 2008.

(inmates and staff), as well as the condition of the premises, notably the conditions under which this information is collected to manage entire lives.

- 15) Since the therapeutic intervention goes in circles, as evidenced with the myth-generating machine and its catalogue of ready-made recipes, which have already started to crash ever since it is now *only the offender* (often a functional illiterate), and no longer the parole officer or the psychologist, as was the case a few years ago, who now has the burden to demonstrate that he is no longer a danger in order to deserve to be released¹²²? This is a strange shift, to conclude these few statements around the clinical analysis.

The toolbox and the worker on the assembly line: the Program Officer (PO)¹²³

Cognitive Behavioural Therapies (CBTs) are paramount in the Correctional Service of Canada Toolkit. Criminal conduct would result from "shortfalls" or "cognitive gaps" requiring prompt correction, nothing less.

- 1) The Program Officer continues to rely endlessly on the alleged malleability of the inmate and follows standardized protocols designed to replace negative ideas and inadequate behaviours with thoughts and responses in line with reality¹²⁴.
- 2) While programs are directed indiscriminately at whole populations, these piecemeal results refer to very specific subcategories of offenders who have been involved in a particular program over a given period¹²⁵.
- 3) Often without any specific training or diploma (which is not required for this type of job), the Program Officer¹²⁶ is more like a group facilitator, no matter how lively he is.
- 4) The Program Officer, regardless of the criminal typologies assigned to him, is bound by a tacit agreement to predict the outcomes set out in his Terms of Reference. In order to ensure a smooth operation, he has to implement the strictest procedure, knowing very well that he will have to deal with a non-standard clientele, and that the unexpected should always be expected and will remain unachieved.

¹²² Government of Canada, 2012a (revised 2016.05.19).

¹²³ Not to be confused with those who assess and follow up the inmate throughout a sentence (Editor's Note).

¹²⁴ Integrated Correctional Program Model (ICPM).

¹²⁵ Bensimon, 2014.

¹²⁶ The permanent staff includes are 1,168 program officers, including 888 in institutions and 280 in the community, with a ratio of 28 inmates per officer (data excluding casuals, trainees and students) (Public Safety, 2016).

- 5) His daily life is not amenable to any empirical calculation or precise measurement, and any personal initiative remains banned considering the number of participants and waiting lists. His interventions to complete the XY program are based on *here* and *now*.
- 6) Whether working in a correctional setting or in the community, the Program Officer does not have to judge, let alone interpret, each phase framing a specific group of inmates versus another. Standardization remains the rule, and what he needs to know to be able to implement it can be learned after only a few days of training¹²⁷.
- 7) Policing interventions surrounding a versatile criminality focus on the most serious offence, and not on a set of criminogenic factors. The individual sentenced to 2 years and 8 months for about 60 breaking and entering events¹²⁸, possession of weapons, drug dealings, assaults and sexual assaults with a dozen years of background experience or so over a period of several years will have a treatment plan to emphasize sexual assaults, even though this is, officially at least, a first occurrence on the record.
- 8) The risk of recidivism, which is the cornerstone of any correctional treatment plan, is too often associated with the time length of a sentence while a judge will rely on the nature and severity of the offence, and not on the risk of recidivism¹²⁹.
- 9) There is no consistency in sentence terms. The prognosis extends over a limited period (2 to 3 years following the individual's release *before* or *after* the sentence legal expiration), whereas some predatory behaviours require much more meaningful and longer-term results. There is some ambiguity to be resolved if we consider that a sentence invalidates its "therapeutic" outcome as it infringes on the treatment term¹³⁰.
- 10) The following is difficult to admit: in some categories, offenders cannot be treated¹³¹. In these categories, only the sentence terms and criteria surrounding the notions of *dangerous offenders*, *Long Term Supervision Order (LTSO)*¹³², *National Criminal Offender Registry Subjects* as per the Criminal Code¹³³, or *Detention*¹³⁴ can strengthen prevention and

¹²⁷ Correctional Service Canada, 2015a; 2015b.

¹²⁸ The offence is generally trivialized in the assessments, whereas breaking and entering (section 348a) is punishable by life imprisonment (Editor's Note). In Canada, in 2014, 151,900 breaking and entering events were *officially* reported to the police (Boyce, 2015).

¹²⁹ Andrews and Bonta, 2016.

¹³⁰ Quirion, 2008.

¹³¹ Barbaree, Langton, and Peacock, 2006; Fox, 2005; Ho, 2015; Kendall, 2004; Kim, Benekos, and Merlo, 2016; Lowenkamp, Latessa, and Holsinger, 2006; Shand and Le Grand, 2012.

¹³² Imposed by a judge at the time of sentencing and only for determined sentences, the period of supervision under a LTSO may extend from 1 to 10 years after the legal expiration of the sentence (Editor's Note).

¹³³ Government of Canada, 1988.

¹³⁴ Any inmate with a determined sentence in Canada may be released under supervision in the community at 2/3 of his sentence unless he meets one of the three criteria for permanent detention, namely: an offence causing death

deterrence where the case worker's interventions and programs give way to coercion. In 2015, out of 781 offenders subjected to LTSOs, only 113 could complete "successfully" their supervision period¹³⁵.

- 11) Reported results are disproportionate and supervision costs are prohibitive in the programs designed for sex offenders, who account for only 15% of all federal inmates.
- 12) In a single therapeutic group, whether the intensity has been assessed as *moderate* or *high*, learning cannot be consistent from one inmate to another. For some, the shock of incarceration is not related to the time length of their sentence, but rather to their environment and the artificiality of the places they have not chosen¹³⁶. For an individual to be able to learn and interact appropriately with his environment, he should evolve in a world balanced with its opposite—a linear, predictable, controllable world¹³⁷. This has never been the case when in jail.
- 13) Depending on the *moderate* or *high* intensity, any program will vary from 3 to 6 months¹³⁸. With such a schedule, expectations cannot be realized when considering the requirements and time period allotted at the rate of a few hours a week.
- 14) The inmate's commitment is based on the relationship established between himself and the case worker. As with the parole officer, a relationship depends on experience, maturity, interest, listening ability and openness in a climate of trust and mutual respect. This cannot be achieved overnight, given the very short duration of programs, and the turnover rate of inmates and staff involved. Any meaningful relationship remains virtually impossible¹³⁹.
- 15) There is no individualized handling, but rather a model, a framework imposed between the first day and the last day. Same subject, same tirelessly repeated sentences. Each inmate will understand what has been transmitted according to his own scheme of interpretation. Again, interpretation is subject to an infinite variety of factors not taken into account by the case worker, such as age, individual personality traits, ability to learn, responsiveness, personal problems increased tenfold by confinement, location, circumstances of the information circulation, and expectations¹⁴⁰. It is somewhat like watching TV with a single channel, without any button on the set and with a remote control located in another room. Some are

or serious harm to another person, a sexual offence against a child or a serious drug offence (Government of Canada, 2012b).

¹³⁵ Public Safety Canada, 2016.

¹³⁶ Quirion, 2006; Sperber, Latessa, and Makarios, 2013.

¹³⁷ Quirion, 2008.

¹³⁸ Crewe, Liebling, and Hulley, 2015; Correctional Service Canada, 2015a; 2015b.

¹³⁹ Andrew and Bonta, 2016; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2010.

¹⁴⁰ Andrew and Dowden, 2006.

watching the screen, and others are directing their thoughts until all this process ends as soon as possible. The act of attendance is a proxy to involvement.

16) Asking an inmate to understand the source of his troubles, the reasons for his obsessions and addictions, his anxieties that led him to a pre-offence situation is demanding a lot from an individual in the national average bordering on functional illiteracy! After a few weeks, or even months, the results are indeed phenomenal: as a true caricature peculiar to the Canadian correctional world, thousands of individuals are barely able to read and write, but are capable of reciting entire sections of the DSM-5.

17) In conclusion to these few considerations, which are far from being comprehensive, there is no survey carried out by an outside organization with the correctional population, would it be only to know how strongly they believe in the benefits, and above all, in the promise of a better quality of life, all imposed subject to a denial of any form of release...

In a world where social values are far from being acquired by all

Killing, assaulting, stealing, defrauding or trafficking all stem, indeed, from a deliberate and rational choice which, once fully matured, depends on the circumstances surrounding the target, places, timing and interpretation specific to each offender's reasoning¹⁴¹. Offenders make their decisions with the intimate conviction that it will remain unpunished forever. The opposite would be pointless. Because of this determination to override the prohibitions, of the risks incurred and of their physical, moral and material consequences, the convict is deemed to be fit for trial. Otherwise, for those who would have been guided by a voice from beyond the grave, the benevolent auspices of medical practice and its medicine box—psychiatry—are there to watch over, without being successful, since Pinel¹⁴², in healing anyone, even less when a criminal behaviour is involved¹⁴³. The psychiatric jargon is often only the hidden face of morality matters¹⁴⁴. Even assuming a psychiatric disorder can be caused by an anomaly of a biological nature, this would not give more weight to a diagnosis, simply because such a finding would defeat the notion of mental illness and consequently, it would no longer be a mental illness matter. Medical research itself has never been able to demonstrate the biological nature of any criminal disorder¹⁴⁵.

Beyond all expectations, many events, unrelated to any so-called therapeutic approach, can prompt an offender to quit his criminal behaviour to find a rewarding job, to start a family, to

¹⁴¹ Cornish and Clarke, 2014; Gelder, 2014; Guls, 2009; Pickard, 2015; Reid and Dawes, 2010; Seipel, 2010; Snook, Mandeep, and Kavanagh, 2011.

¹⁴² Philippe Pinel, forerunner of psychiatry (1745-1826).

¹⁴³ Cooper, 2014; Gori, 2013; Breggin, 2009; Lane, 2009; Valenstein, 2002.

¹⁴⁴ Kirk and Kutchins, 2003; McCann, Shindler, and Hammond, 2004.

¹⁴⁵ Bachand, 2013; Ronel, 2011; Tiihoner et al., 2015.

meet a soul mate, or to awaken suddenly when struck by a serious illness, by the impossibility of going to gather on the grave of a loved one because he is incarcerated, by the loss of libido due to his age, by a new environment far from his peers, by God, etc. Learning is central to mankind, and yet it is necessary to want and feel the need for it; however, all this cannot be negotiated as long as the individual has not decided otherwise or reached the bottom of the barrel. The change, if there is any will to change, can only take place after so many years, driven to the vagaries of life and to testing oneself once in the midst of a crowd. Not before¹⁴⁶.

In this world where social values are far from being vested, accepted or shared by all, it is no longer reasonable to induce the *Others* to become "empathic" towards the word "victim", to become accountable for their actions without always seeking to take refuge behind all sorts of pretexts, to remind them, in case they did not know..., that *killing, raping, stealing, drug-dealing, defrauding* and *extortion* are not the sort of things that should be done and to avoid a return to square one¹⁴⁷, which is our common purpose, as clinical criminologists and psychologists. In the core of a city, prison is only a tool like the courts or the police, and not a solution; it is not *the* final answer to crimes either, but it is rather constructed in the hope that those who *temporarily* live there will never be back again. The implementation of these engineered programs is there only—I repeat—to legitimate this rationale of confinement beyond an aspect that would be purely punitive, even if a prison is nothing more than a prison, however modern it may be. But enough with the theory: in fact, it is futile to believe that these programs will lead these individuals to never again break the law where too often delinquency has permeated them from their early childhood, when gains, power, the appeal of notoriety switch to action, pleasure and immediate satisfaction and that this is the last time they will get caught... All this has nothing to do with the hope or the ability for a man to become better.

- 1) Of all our evils, and they are numerous, would there be nothing but crime and their perpetrators to interfere with our quest for happiness?
- 2) Between what we are and what we would like to become, who do we believe to persuade by displaying this forced involvement: those who are already convicted or would it be rather our inability to counter all our evils when nearly half of the planet lives on less than two dollars a day¹⁴⁸? When before the age of five, more than 3.1 million children die each year from malnutrition¹⁴⁹? When men looking to escape the reality and since the dawn of time fall into a thousand and one addictions¹⁵⁰ when they do not make war?

¹⁴⁶ Bensimon, 2012a; Latessa, 2012b; Van Voorhis and Salisbury, 2016.

¹⁴⁷ For valuable consideration since it is considered as a job with a few hours a week, staggered over 3 and 6 months depending on the target program (Correctional Service Canada, 2016a).

¹⁴⁸ Courrier international, 2014.

¹⁴⁹ World Food Programme, 2016.

¹⁵⁰ Estimates of the number of illicit drug users in 2013 were 246 million, one in twenty between the ages 15 and 64, including nearly 25 million drug addicts, including 13 million by injection (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2016). For alcohol, among men aged 15 and over, the number of consumers is estimated at 47.7% and 28% for women, i.e. 6.2 litres of pure alcohol per year (it should be noted that 25% of worldwide consumption is not included in this data, as it is not reported by the authorities, mostly in South-East Asia). As another

- 3) What is humbly called "group therapy" has no other purpose than to divert our insight by giving ourselves a good conscience; this has also transformed the *Others* who, in many respects, are so much like us.
- 4) In a world where all is only temptations exacerbated by social inequalities and scandals at the highest level, who would still dare carry the torch and become *the* outstanding model—a purely theoretical view which changes so much in each century?
- 5) How can we believe that treating this tiny minority of convicted people can respond to the predatory behaviour of men, wherever they are and come from¹⁵¹?
- 6) Beyond these endless debates, do we not idealize man by granting him a perfection that he never had to a point where we want to transform a delinquent into a flower dealer?
- 7) But upon reflection... what if the programs surrounding the reintegration of our inmates served no purpose other than to hide our faces for fear of seeing the beast¹⁵²?

Permanently subjected to a thousand temptations, criminals still have those same desires from the dawn of time. Fleeing routine, boredom and, if need be, by force and cunning, by spending without counting, juggling with all kinds of excesses, by loudly proclaiming their omnipotence, alone or with others. Something unachievable, wearing a factory one-piece¹⁵³. The prisons? There are several of them. If you refer to these blocks surrounded by high grey walls and barbed wire, this one is reserved for the unwary, and then each trade has its own risks, right? The prison with its bars is also designed to frighten, to curb the ardour of all those who would be driven by the same hunger, the same temptations while they are part of the herd working for a paycheck. What a miserable destiny all this is! Is there really nothing more festive on earth, more playful there, right now and not tomorrow, because tomorrow, it will be already too late? A lock, a door, breaking and entering a house or an apartment at the risk of falling face to face with its occupants, for the novice burglar or the one who has already proved himself, is to experience many adventures all more thrilling the one than other before recommencing two blocks away. When responding blissfully to the customs officer that he has nothing to declare while carrying 10 kilos of cocaine in his luggage, what a crappy job could secrete as much adrenaline, as much pleasure and profits in such a short period of time? Making the law by sowing terror in organized gangs or using poverty as a breeding ground for human trafficking, what is more profitable for the pimp or smuggler in a market where the supply has to meet the demand of the average citizen? For the pedophile and all that fuels his distortions¹⁵⁴, nothing is worth the mouth or vagina of a girl whose cries will only reinforce his feeling of impunity preceding the gesture and that we meet with all those who do not care about bans written by and for others. As I have often heard from many robbers or burglars

characteristic directly related to alcohol, 3.3 million deaths, or 6% of the mortality rate in the world (World Health Organization, 2015).

¹⁵¹ Reference made to the concept of anomie of Durkheim, 1883.

¹⁵² Allusion to Bertolt Brecht: "The belly is still fertile that gave birth to the vile beast."

¹⁵³ Mackenzie, 2016

¹⁵⁴ Bensimon, 2007; Ciardha and Ward, 2013; Kingston, 2015; Merdian et al., 2014; Nunes and Jung, 2013; Seto, 2008; Cheregi, Pintea, and David, 2012; Ware and Mann, *supra* note 23.

when I asked them: "Why a loaded 9 mm, with a bullet in the barrel?" the answer would be: "It is to defend myself better!"

No, it is hardly easy for the average citizen who uses the pedestrian crossing to cross the street, to recognize that their neighbours may have experienced a real pleasure to do wrong and especially to enjoy it. An example with a strong media connotation: the body of a girl found in a ditch and a few days later, to the great displeasure of the neighborhood, the photo of her attacker on the headlines. – "It is not possible! Such a kind, good, courteous, hard-working man!" Later, in prison, subjected to a battery of tests and treatments, he will have to learn to live behind bars, his gaze lost on a calendar imposed by a judge while waiting for his release. Is he still driven by his fantasies when the light goes out and the heavy door closes at night? What does he see that we will never see when we believe we know?

Learning to answer what the other wants to hear

The term *rehabilitation*, used in the medical vocabulary, is intended to bring the patient closer to his original state prior to his illness, before a trauma or following an accident. In the field which we are concerned with, the word has something puzzling... What kind of original state is it when the end justifies the means and that delinquency has taken root from adolescence, or even from pre-adolescence?

Rehabilitate, re-socialize, reinstate, reintegrate, readapt, re-educate, reform... these are all synonyms reminding us of the religiosity of a long-gone period for these modern-day priests with wishful thinking based solely on discovering the individual who broke the rules. As being convicted has no preventive effect, the "regrets" are learned by heart and recited when the time comes. This is one of the first things you learn in group therapy. Hollow formulas are used by those who drag their victims whereas the vast majority of inmates were never whatsoever enabled, socialized, inserted, integrated, adapted or even educated to any skills whatsoever¹⁵⁵; very often, they have neither the words nor the intellectual capacity and even less the will to change anything¹⁵⁶. As a modern-day priest, each participant has the duty to bring back the lost among the flock. In the presence of a judge, is the individual who is convicted already half forgiven when he makes an act of contrition? And when he goes as far as appearing and apologizing to victims under the fond umbrella of restorative justice? All this can be learned by heart through the dialectics of programs.

Let us take a very simplified example demonstrating the whole difficulty when struggling against so destructive a pleasure: tobacco-smoking. Despite the countless advertising campaigns

¹⁵⁵ Bensimon, 2014; Blackburn, 2007; Freeman, 2012; Jones, 2013; Samenow, 2014.

¹⁵⁶ British Medical Journal, 2015; Clark, 2011; DeLisi, 2016; Farabee, 2006; Freeman, 2012; Latessa, 2008; Miller, 2012a; Maggioncalda, 2007; Petersilia, 2004; Rose, 2013; Visher, 2006; Walters, 2015.

surrounding the danger of cigarette-smoking, despite tons of documents released by the highest medical authorities for the past three decades, the thousands of deaths caused by cancer, aversive advertising displayed on every cigarette package and constantly rising prices, deciding to quit smoking is one thing. Keeping away from cigarettes is quite different. The pleasure outweighs the consequences, no matter how tragic they are¹⁵⁷. The same situation can be found with alcohol¹⁵⁸. Any form of dependence is a choice even though it should lead to the grave¹⁵⁹. Criminal behaviour rests exactly on the same principle, on the same perception between risk experience no one is supposed to ignore and the concept of a pleasure which is always ephemeral, because it is continually unsatisfied and therefore has to be repeated¹⁶⁰.

True fail-safe programs for those who find themselves between four walls and are more often than not unknown to the law enforcement agencies will, if they are eventually discovered, generate much larger benefits than excitement and pleasure of action; better also than cashing in easily and illegally what any salary could buy. Nothing is actually worth this carelessness, easiness, playful whim there is to steal, traffic, defraud and rob a bank, venting frustrations with violence or ejaculating on a little girl's face¹⁶¹. Actually, such programs can only reflect some ideals, at least for the time being, because the (...)logists are no longer the only holders of this mass conditioning. Some others are seriously concerned about the issue¹⁶²... provided obviously this does not become a second storage track for a non-liability case under a medical prescription¹⁶³ and for the gobbledygook of defence attorneys with a lack of inspiration for their misunderstood clients¹⁶⁴.

¹⁵⁷ Tobacco is consumed every day by 1.3 billion people worldwide and causes annually 5 million deaths, more than AIDS and malaria combined; 5,500 billion cigarettes are smoked each year. One person dies every six seconds. Estimate: 100 million people died from tobacco in the 20th century, i.e. twice the number recorded during the Second World War. At this rate, according to WHO, it will kill 1 billion individuals in the 21st century. Consumption leads to huge health spending and reduces the productivity of companies everywhere, as they must allow their employees to pause to legally poison themselves. Yet, our leaders allow the production, advertising and sale of this plague throughout the world (Kirchner, 2015).

¹⁵⁸ In 2013, 11% (3.1 million) of Canadians reported using at least one of the six illicit drugs in the past 12 months (cannabis, cocaine or crack, amphetamines, ecstasy, hallucinogens and heroin). This figure is similar to that reported in 2012 (11% or 2.9 million). The rate of consumption among men (14% or 2.0 million) was higher than among women (8% or 1.0 million), while the rate of drinking among youth aged 15 to 19 (23 % or 473,000) and young adults aged 20-24 (27% or 651,000) was about three times higher than the rate reported for adults (8% or 2.0 million) (Government of Canada, 2016a). For the same year, at least 3.1 million Canadians ingested enough alcohol to present an immediate risk of harm and injury, and at least 4.4 million were exposed to chronic health effects (cirrhosis and various forms of cancer) (Government of Canada, 2016b).

¹⁵⁹ Schaler, 2000.

¹⁶⁰ Bensimon, 2005.

¹⁶¹ Bensimon, 2012b; Chen, 2012; Farabee, 2005; Gottschalk and Karlsen, 2009; Gross, 2014; Mills, Skodbo, and Blyth, 2013; Samenow, 2014.

¹⁶² Aharoni et al., 2013; Churchland, 2011; Farahany, 2016; Meixner, 2015; Morse, 2015; Raine, 2013; Zavatta, 2015.

¹⁶³ In Canada, 63% of cases pleaded under a mental disorder-related non-criminal liability involve crimes against the person (Miladinovic and Lukassen, 2014).

¹⁶⁴ Azizli, 2016; Frances, 2013; Quinn and Simpson, 2013.

Conclusion

In a society governed by laws, there is no such thing as zero risk and, failing any other criminal proceedings alternative surrounding the issue of recidivism, correctional treatments merely serve as a pretext for a confinement that has no other purpose than a punitive dimension. It also has a public dimension as, when confronted with the media or in front of a weeping family, the authorities will affirm, with a hand on their heart, to have tried everything to prevent such a tragedy from happening again. This sentence will release the prison administration from any responsibility towards the victims¹⁶⁵.

If prison is hardly a solution to crime, should not all these inmate release policies be reviewed and the system of revolving doors be reduced between freedom too often granted automatically to any conformist individual and his return behind bars for the umpteenth time? The punishment is in itself the basic program since it allows the individual to deserve to be released, but on condition that its time length is significant and not fragmented for economic reasons that bring absolutely nothing, to the individual or the general public. Many other avenues can be used without industrial training, since not everyone is near, but at least, and for the most part, we should give them access to education and training to help them get what they do not have. Unlike programs, learning to read and write is easily measurable. Sports activities in a gym or on a sports field should no longer be the property of a few proud-to-arms as has been the case in Canada since the end of the 19th century¹⁶⁶, but a place of effort and self-esteem, discipline and hygiene in the respect of laws and human dignity¹⁶⁷.

What I have been emphasizing for years, to the clinical staff, the uniformed officers and all my students, is to always consider the reality of the environment, a reality comparable to no other. We should never become accustomed to the silence which seems to reign there, which reflects violence in a latent state; we should have the capacity to respond to all kinds of unforeseen circumstances, to the most urgent demands, while very often they are not, but can quickly become so for all those who are held captive. We should never lose sight of the suffering that no case worker is able to really understand. Working there only makes our knowledge more fragmentary, since life behind bars does not start from 8 to 4, but rather in the evening, at night, during the weekends and the holidays that will never be holidays. It is the reality we should cope with, between the possibility where everything might have started over again the next day and the expectations going far beyond what the individual is able to accomplish. Imposing oneself is not done through a rushed calendar and even less on a computer screen, but rather when two individuals meet: a coach and the one who cannot erase the past.

¹⁶⁵ Except if there is a professional mistake (Editor's Note)

¹⁶⁶ As with recreation, sports are not practised in the federal or provincial institutions in Canada (Editor's Note).

¹⁶⁷ Ekholm, 2013; Gallant, Sherry and Nicholson, 2014; Ginneken, 2014; Joseph, 2015; Nuytiens, 2012.

Built less than two centuries ago, the *Eastern State Penitentiary*¹⁶⁸, a key institution at the time and for the rest of the world, is nothing but a heap of ruins where it is hard to imagine that generations of men have left their souls there. Times have changed since then, and yet, we should know that tomorrow, some others will look at you, as a vestige of a bygone era. It is now up to you, as future professionals, to stand out and distinguish yourself through your outstanding work, to create new avenues, to be innovative without fearing those policies which are only temporary.

References

- Aharoni, E., Vincent, G. M., Harenski, C. L., Calhoun V. D., Sinnott-Armstrong, W., Gazzaniga, M. S., & Kiehl, K. A. (2013). Neuroprediction of future rearrest. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 110(15), 6223-6228.
- Anderson, T., Lunnen, K. M., & Ogles, B. (2010). "Putting models and techniques in context", in *The heart & soul of change: Delivering what works in therapy*, 2th ed., Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 143-166.
- Andresen, M. A. (2014). "Crime measurement", in *Environmental Criminology: Evolution, Theory, and Practice*, New York: Routledge, 121-147.
- Andrews, D. A. & Bonta, J. (2016). *The psychology of criminal conduct*, 6th ed., New York: Routledge.
- Andrews, D. A. & Dowden, C. (2006). Risk principle of case classification in correctional treatment: A meta-analytic investigation. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 50(1), 88-100.
- Autes, M. (1999). *Les paradoxes du travail social*. Paris. Dunod.
- Azizli, N., Baughman, H. M., Chin, K., Vernon, P. A., Harris, E., & Veselka, L. (2016). Lies and crimes: Dark Triad, misconduct, and high-stakes deception. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 89, 34-39.
- Bachand, A. (2013). *L'imposture de la maladie mentale. Critique du discours psychiatrique*. Montréal. Éditions Liber.
- Bacon, A. M. & Regan, L. (2016). Manipulative relational behaviour and delinquency: sex differences and links with emotional intelligence. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 27(3), 331-348.
- Barbaree, H., Langton, C., & Peacock, E. (2006). "Sexual treatment for psychopaths: Is it harmful?", in *Sexual offender treatment: Controversial issues*, Chichester, NH: John Wiley & Sons, 159-171.
- Bensimon, P. (2014). Les programmes correctionnels au Canada : entre mythe et réalité. *Revue française de criminologie et de droit pénal*, 3, 1-37.

¹⁶⁸ A Philadelphia institution, 1829-1971 (Editor's Note).

- Bensimon, P. (2012a). « Un phénomène encore peu exploré : la désistance », in *Insertion et désistance des personnes placées sous-main de justice*, Paris. L'Harmattan, 123-136.
- Bensimon, P. (2012b). *Profession : criminologue. Analyse clinique et relation d'aide en milieu carcéral*, 2th ed., Montréal, Québec. Éditions Guérin.
- Bensimon, P. (2010). *Wellness at Work: A Choice for a Better Future*. Correctional Service Canada. Ottawa, ON: R-219. Available online at: <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/research/005008-0219-01-eng.shtml>
- Bensimon, P. (2007). The Role of Pornography in Sexual Offending. *Sexual Addiction & Compulsivity*, 14(2), 245-259.
- Bensimon, P. (2005). Gradation de l'agir criminel et imagerie mentale des armes de poing chez le meurtrier. *Perspectives Psychiatriques*, 44(3), 200-213.
- Bernick, E. & Larkin, P. (2014). Reconsidering Mandatory Minimum Sentences: The Arguments for and against Potential Reforms. *The Heritage Foundation*. Available online at: <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2014/02/reconsidering-mandatory-minimum-sentences-the-arguments-for-and-against-potential-reforms>
- Blagden, N., Winder, B., Gregson M., & Thorne, K. (2014). Making Sense of Denial in Sexual Offenders: A Qualitative Phenomenological and Repertory Grid Analysis. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 29(9), 1698-1731.
- Blackburn, R. (2007). Personality disorder and antisocial deviance: Comments on the debates on the structure of the psychopathy checklist-revised. *Journal of Personality Disorders*, 21(2), 142-159.
- Blais, A. (2015). Surpopulation carcérale : des agents inquiets malgré des améliorations. *La Presse*. Available online at: <http://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/justice-et-affaires-criminelles/actualites-judiciaires/201508/02/01-4889813-surpopulation-carcerale-des-agents-inquiets-malgre-des-ameliorations.php>
- Blasko, B. L. & Jeglic, E. L. (2014). Clinician Ratings of Client Progress in a Therapeutic Community Treatment Setting: Do Ratings Predict Outcomes? *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of research and Treatment*, 53(4), 253-272.
- Boyce, J. (2015). *Police-reported crime statistics in Canada, 2014*. Statistics Canada. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2015001/article/14211-eng.htm>
- Boyce, J. (2013). *Adult criminal court statistics in Canada, 2011/2012*. Juristat 85-002-X. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2013001/article/11804-eng.pdf>
- Braun, M. R., Gurrera, R., Karel, M., Armesto, J., & Moye, J. (2009). Are clinician's ever biased in their judgments of the capacity of older adult's to make medical decisions? *Generations*, 33(1), 78-91.
- Breggin, P. R. (2009). *Medication madness: The role of psychiatric drugs in cases of violence, suicide, and crime*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Brennan, S. (2012). *Police-reported crime statistics in Canada, 2011*. Juristat 85-002-X. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2012001/article/11692-eng.pdf>

- Brinke, L.T., Stimson, D., & Carney, D. R. (2014). Some evidence for unconscious lie detection. *Psychological Sciences*, 25(5), 1098-1105.
- British Medical Journal. (2015). Sexual offending treatment programs in prisons, hospitals are ineffective. *ScienceDaily*. Available online at:
<https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2015/01/150127212341.htm>
- Brooks-Gordon, B., Bilby, C., & Wells, H. (2006). A systematic review of psychological interventions for sexual offenders I: Randomized control trials. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry and Psychology*, 17(3), 442-466.
- Brown, S. J. & Tully, R. J. (2014). Components underlying sex offender treatment refusal: An exploratory analysis of the Treatment Refusal Scale-Sex Offender version. *Journal of Sexual Aggression: An international, interdisciplinary forum for research, theory and practice*, 20(1), 69-84.
- Browne, J. (2015). *2010 to 2015 government policy: knife, gun and gang crime*. Home Office: Gov.UK. Available online at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/2010-to-2015-government-policy-knife-gun-and-gang-crime/2010-to-2015-government-policy-knife-gun-and-gang-crime>
- Buzzetti, H. (2014). Les prisons provinciales écopent. *Le Devoir*. Available online at:
<http://www.ledevoir.com/politique/canada/424232/hausse-nombre-prisonniers-c10>
- Casoni, D. (2007). Enjeux contre-transférentiels dans le traitement du délinquant. *Topique*, 2(99), 79-86.
- Cassara, J. A. (2016). *Trade-Based Money Laundering: The Next Frontier in International Money Laundering*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Chalmers, I. (1990). Underreporting research is scientific misconduct. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 263(10), 1405-1408.
- Chen, M. K. (2007). Do harsher prison conditions reduce recidivism? A discontinuity-based approach. *American Law and Economics Review*, 9(1), 1-29;
- Cheregi, S.V., Pinteá, S., & David, D. (2012). *The European Journal of Psychology Applied to Legal Context*, 4(1), 59-77.
- Churchland, P. S. (2011). *Brain trust: What neuroscience tells us about morality?* Princetown, NJ: Princetown University Press.
- Ciardha, C.Ò. & Ward, T. (2013). Theories of Cognitive Distortions in Sexual Offending: What the Current Research Tells Us. *Trauma, Violence & Abuse*, 14(1), 5-21.
- Cima, M., Tonnaer, F., & Hauser, M. D. (2010). Psychopaths knows right from wrong but don't care. *Sociological Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience*, 5(1), 59-67.
- Clark, M. (2011). Exploring the criminal lifestyle: A grounded theory study of Maltese male habitual offenders. *International Journal of Criminology and Sociological Theory*, 4(1), 563-583.
- Cooper, R. (2014). *Diagnosing the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. London, UK: Karnak Books.

- Cornelius, G. F. (2010). *The Art of the Con: Avoiding Offender Manipulation*. Alexandria, VA: American Correctional Association
- Cornish, D. B. & Clarke, V. R. (2014). *The Reasoning Criminal: rational Choice Perspectives on Offending*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Correctional Investigator Canada. (2015). *Annual Report of the Office of the Correctional Investigator*. Ottawa. Available online at: <http://www.oci-bec.gc.ca/cnt/rpt/pdf/annrpt/annrpt20142015-eng.pdf>
- Correctional Service Canada. (2016a). *Offender Program Assignments and Inmate Payments*. CD 730 (last amended 2016-06-06). Available online at: <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/politiques-et-lois/730-cd-fra.shtml>
- Correctional Service Canada. (2016b). *Correctional Planning and Criminal Profile*. CD 705-6 (last amended 2016-05-09). Available online at: <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/policy-and-legislation/705-6-cd-eng.shtml>
- Correctional Service Canada. (2015a). *Correctional Interventions*. CD 700. Available online at: <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/policy-and-legislation/700-cd-eng.shtml>
- Correctional Service Canada. (2015b). *Correctional Programs*. CD 726. Available online at: <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/acts-and-regulations/726-cd-eng.shtml>
- Correctional Service Canada. (2013). *Technical Assistance Projects*. Available online at: <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/dans-le-monde/004002-0001-eng.shtml>
- Correctional Service Canada. (2012). *Commissioner's Thank you*. Available online at: <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/volunteers/003008-0001-eng.shtml>
- Correctional Service Canada. (2007). *A Roadmap to Strengthening Public Safety*. PS84-14/2007E. Available online at: <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/cntrng-crm/csc-scc-rvw-pnl/report-rapport/cscrprprt-eng.pdf>
- Courrier international. (2014). *La fin de la pauvreté*. Available online at: <http://www.courrierinternational.com/article/2014/01/09/la-fin-de-la-pauvrete>
- Craissati, J. (2015). Should we worry about sex offenders who deny their offences? *Probation Journal*, 62(4), 395-405.
- Crewe, B., Liebling, A., & Hulley, S. (2015). Staff-Prisoner Relationships, Staff Professionalism, and the Use of Authority in Public and Private-Sector Prisons *Law & Social Inquiry*, 40(2), 309-344.
- Criminal Intelligence Service Canada. (2014). *Organized Crime in Canada - Background*. Available online at: <http://www.cisc.gc.ca/media/2014/2014-08-22-eng.htm>
- Crocker, A. G. Seto, M. C., Nicholls, T. L., & Côté, G. (2013). *Description and processing of individuals found not criminally responsible on account of mental disorder accused of "serious violent offences"*. Ottawa. Available online at: https://ntp-ptn.org/NCRMD-SVO-NTPteam_March_2013.pdf

- Daly, K. N. (2016). "The Best Intentions: Flaws in Sexually Violent Predator Laws", in *Treatment of Sex Offenders: Strengths and Weaknesses in Assessment and Intervention*, Victoria, BC: Springer, 243-260.
- Dandurand, Y., Griffiths, C. T., Murdoch, D., & Brown, R. E. (2008). *Failed social reentry: Factors behind Conditional Release Violations, Suspensions and Revocations*. Vancouver, BC: The International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy. Available online at: <http://curtgriffiths.com/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/failed-social-reentry.pdf>
- David, K. O. (2015). Ineffective treatment of sex offenders fails victims. *British Medical Journal*, 1-2.
- Davis, L. M., Bozick, R., Steele, J. L., Saunders, J., & Miles, N. V. (2013). *Evaluating the Effectiveness of Correctional Education: A Meta-Analysis of Programs That Provide Education to Incarcerated Adults*. Bureau of Justice Assistance to the RAND Corporation. Available online at: http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR200/RR266/RAND_RR266.sum.pdf
- Dawes, R. B. (1994). *House of cards: Psychology and psychotherapy built on myth*. New York: Free Press.
- Day, A., Bryan, J., Davey, L., & Casey, S. (2006). The process of change in offender rehabilitation programmes. *Psychology, Crime, & Law*, 12(5), 473- 487.
- Decryptnewsonline. (2014). *Déchets toxiques, pollution et crime organisé*. Available online at: <http://www.decryptnewsonline.com/2014/08/dechets-toxiques-pollution-et-crime-organise.html>
- DeFife, J. A., Drill, R., Nakash, O., & Western, D. (2010). Agreement between clinician and patient ratings of adaptive functioning and developmental history. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 167(12), 1-7;
- DeLisi, M., Caropreso, D. E., Drury, A. J., Elbert, M. J., Evans, J. L., Heinrichs, T., & Tahja, K. M. (2016). The dark figure of sexual offending: new evidence from federal sex offenders. *Journal of Criminal Psychology*, 6(1), 3-15.
- Dignard, H. (2014). *Des clés pour une juste compréhension des résultats du PEICA en matière de littératie*. Institut de coopération pour l'éducation des adultes. Available online at: <http://www.icea.qc.ca/site/fr/actualites/des-cl%C3%A9s-pour-une-juste-compr%C3%A9hension-des-r%C3%A9sultats-du-peica-en-mati%C3%A8re-de-litt%C3%A9ratie>
- Downen, D. P. (2012). The failure of correctional counseling and reentry. *Correction.com*. Available online at: <http://www.corrections.com/news/article/27027-the-failure-of-correctional-counseling-and-reentry>.
- Durkheim, E. (1997). *The Division of Labor in Society*, 1th ed., 1887. New York: Free Press.
- Ehrenfreund, M. (2014). Rapist are rarely prosecuted and almost never convicted. *Washington Post*. Available online at: <http://knowmore.washingtonpost.com/2014/02/13/rapists-are-rarely-prosecuted-and-almost-never-convicted/>
- Ekholm, D. (2013). Sport and crime prevention: Individuality and transferability in research. *Journal of Sport for Development*, 1(2), 26-28.

- Farabee, D. (2006). Reinventing criminal justice. *The Washington Post*. Available online at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2006/02/10/AR2006021001699.html>
- Farabee, D. (2005). *Rethinking rehabilitation. Why can't we reform our criminals?* Washington D.C.: National Research Initiative.
- Farahany, N. A. (2016). Neuroscience and behavioral genetics in US criminal law: an empirical analysis. *Journal of Law and the Biosciences*, 3(1), 1-25.
- Fox, K. J. (2005). Coercing change: How institutions induce correction in the culture of self-change. *Ethnographies of Law and Social Control (Sociology of Crime Law and Deviance)*, 6, 105-119.
- Frances, A. (2013). *Saving normal: An insider's revolt against out-of-control psychiatric diagnosis, DSM-5, big pharma, and the medicalization of ordinary life*. New York: William Morrow.
- François, J. (1979). Pour une clinique alternative en milieu carcéral. *Déviance et société*, 3(2), 169-178.
- Freeman, J. (2012). The relationship between lower intelligence, crime and custodial outcomes: a brief literary review of a vulnerable group. *Vulnerable Groups & Inclusion*, 3. Available online at: <http://www.vulnerablegroupsandinclusion.net/index.php/vgi/article/view/14834/22691>
- Furby, L. Weinrott, M. R., & Blackshaw, L. (1989). Sex offender recidivism: A review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 105(1), 3-30.
- Gallant, D., Sherry, E., & Nicholson, M. (2014). Recreation or rehabilitation? Managing sport for development programs with prison populations. *Sport Management Review*, 18(1), 45-56.
- Garb, H. N. & Boyle, P. A. (2014). "Understanding why some clinicians use pseudo-scientific methods: Finding from research on clinical judgment", in *Science and pseudoscience in clinical psychology*, New York: Guilford Press, 2th ed., 17-38.
- Geest, van, V. R., Bijleveld, C. J. H., Blokland, A. A. J., & Nagin, D. S. (2016). The Effects of Incarceration on Longitudinal Trajectories of Employment: A Follow-Up in High-Risk Youth from Ages 23 to 32. *Crime & Delinquency*, 62(1), 107-140.
- Gelder, van, J. L., Elffers, H., Reynaud, D., & Nagin, D. (2014). "Affect and cognition in criminal decision making: Between rational choices and lapses of self-control", in *Affect and cognition in criminal decision making*, New York: Routledge, 1-19.
- Ginneken, van E. F. (2014). Sport in Prison: Exploring the Role of Physical Activity in Correctional Settings. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 53(5), 545-546.
- Glaser, B. (2003). Therapeutic jurisprudence: an ethical paradigm for therapists in sex offender treatment programs. *Western Criminology Review*, 4(2), 143-154.
- Gori, R. (2013). *La fabrique des imposteurs*. Paris : Éditions Les liens qui libèrent.
- Gottschalk, P. & Karlsen, J. T. (2009). Entrepreneurship in organised crime: Career stages in gangs. *International Journal of Innovation and Learning*, 6(4), 448-460.

- Government of Canada. (2016a). *Canadian Tobacco Alcohol and Drugs (CTADS): 2013 summary*. Available online at: <https://www.canada.ca/en/health-canada/services/canadian-tobacco-alcohol-drugs-survey/2013-summary.html>
- Government of Canada. (2016b). *The Chief Public Health Officer's Report on the State of Public Health in Canada, 2015: Alcohol Consumption in Canada*. Available online at: <https://www.canada.ca/en/public-health/services/publications/chief-public-health-officer-reports-state-public-health-canada/2015-alcohol-consumption-canada.html>
- Government of Canada. (2015). *Qualification standards for the core public administration by occupational group or classification*. Available online at: <https://www.canada.ca/en/treasury-board-secretariat/services/staffing/qualification-standards/core.html#wp>
- Government of Canada. (2014). *Public Service Employee Surveys*. Available online at: <https://www.canada.ca/en/treasury-board-secretariat/services/innovation/public-service-employee-survey.html>
- Government of Canada. (2012a). *Safe Streets and Communities Act* (last amended 2016.05.19). Available online at: http://lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/AnnualStatutes/2012_1/index.html
- Government of Canada. (2012b). *Corrections and Conditional Release Act* (last amended on 2016-06-17). Available online at: <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-44.6/>
- Government of Canada. (2011a). *Values and Ethics Code for the Public Sector*. Treasury Board of Canada. Available online at: <https://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/pol/doc-eng.aspx?id=25049>
- Government of Canada. (2011b). *Code of Discipline*. CD 60. Correctional Service Canada. Available online at: <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/acts-and-regulations/060-cd-eng.shtml>
- Government of Canada. (1988). *Criminal Code* (last amended on 2016-06-17). Available online at: <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/fra/lois/c-46/>
- Grandpré, de, H. (2013). Danger de sécurité « imminent » in les pénitenciers fédéraux. *La Presse*. Available online at: <http://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/politique/politique-canadienne/201305/22/01-4653023-danger-de-securite-imminent-dans-les-penitenciers-federaux.php>
- Gregory, A., Blair, J. F., Fyche, D., Simmons, A., Kumari, V., Hodgins, S., & Blackwood, N. (2015). Punishment and psychopathy: a case-control functional MRI investigation of reinforcement learning in violent antisocial personality disordered men. *The Lancet Psychiatry*, 2(2), 153-160.
- Griffiths, C. T., Dandurand, Y., & Murdoch, D. (2007). *The Social Reintegration of Offenders and Crime Prevention*. Public Safety Canada. N° PS4-49/2007E. Available online at: <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/scl-rntgrtn/scl-rntgrtn-eng.pdf>
- Gross, M. (2014). Paraphilia or perversion? *Current Biology*, 24(17), 777-780.
- Gul, S. (2009). An evaluation of rational choice theory in criminology. *Sociology and applied science*, 4(8), 36-44.

- Hachey, I. (2013). Prisons pleines : les prisonniers deviennent itinérants. *La Presse*. Available online at: <http://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/national/201301/17/01-4612200-prisons-pleines-les-prisonniers-deviennent-itinerants.php>
- Hanrahan, K., Gibbs, J. J., & Zimmerman, S. E. (2005). Parole and revocation: Perspectives on young adult offenders. *The Prison Journal*, 85(3), 251-269.
- Harkins, L., Howard, P., Barnett, G., Wakeling, H., & Miles, C. (2015). Relationships between denial, risk, and recidivism in sexual offenders. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 44(1), 157-166.
- Harris, M. (2016). How bad is Canada's recidivism problem? Nobody knows. *Ipolitics*, 1-4. Available online at: <http://ipolitics.ca/2016/12/22/how-bad-is-canadas-recidivism-problem-nobody-knows/>
- Harris, P. W., Lockwood, B., Mengers, L. & Stoodley, B. H. (2011). Measuring recidivism in juvenile corrections. *Journal of Juvenile Justice*, 1(1), 1-10.
- Hasselrot, B. & Fielding, C. (2010). Enabling environment for sexual offenders in Swedish prisons? *Sexual Offender Treatment*, 5(2), sp. Available online at: <http://www.sexual-offender-treatment.org/88.html>
- Higgins, J. P. T. & Green, S. (2011). "Assessing risk of bias in included studies", in *Cochrane Handbook for Systematic Reviews of Interventions*. The Cochrane Collaboration, 8(1), 8-53.
- Ho, D. K. (2015). Ineffective treatment of sex offenders fails victims. *The British Medical Journal*, 350, H199. Available online at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/271522876_Ineffective_treatment_of_sex_offenders_fails_victims
- Holmes, T. E. (2015). Credit card fraud and ID theft statistics. *Nasdaq*. Available online at: <http://www.nasdaq.com/article/credit-card-fraud-and-id-theft-statistics-cm520388>
- Hopewell, S., Loudon, K., Clarke, M. J., Oxman, A. D., & Dickersin, K. (2009). Publication bias in clinical trials due to statistical significance or direction of trial results. *Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews*, 1. N° MR000006.
- Heisz, A., Notten, G. & Situ, J. (2016). *Insights on Canadian Society. The association between skills and low income*. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/75-006-x/2016001/article/14322-fra.htm>
- Hunt, K. S. & Dumville, R. (2016). *Recidivism among Federal Offenders: A Comprehensive Overview*. United States Commission Sentencing. Washington DC. Available online at: http://www.ussc.gov/sites/default/files/pdf/research-and-publications/research-publications/2016/recidivism_overview.pdf
- Ibrahim, D. & Burczycka, M. (2016). *Family violence in Canada: A statistical profile, 2014*. Juristat 85-002-X. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2016001/article/14303-eng.pdf>
- Iglesias, M. (2016). The real reason mass incarceration happened. *Vox Policy & Politics*. Available online at: <http://www.vox.com/2016/4/11/11399870/mass-incarceration-cause>

- International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW). (2013). *Criminal Nature: The Global Security Implications of Illegal Wildlife Trade 2013*. Available online at: <http://www.ifaw.org/sites/default/files/ifaw-criminal-nature-UK.pdf>
- International Labour Organization (ILO). (2016). *Forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking*. Available online at: <http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/lang--en/index.htm>
- Jackson, M. & Stewart, G. (2009). *A Flawed Compass: A Human Rights Analysis of the Roadmap to Strengthening Public Safety*. Available online at: http://www.justicebehindthewalls.net/resources/news/flawed_Compass.pdf
- Jacobs, D. H. (2014). "American medical psychiatry: A contemporary case of Lysenkoism", in *Power and the psychiatric apparatus*, Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 287-296.
- Jacobs, J. & Dondlinger-Wyman, E. (2014). "Organized Crime Control in the United States of America", in *The Oxford Handbook of Organized Crime*, New York: Oxford University Press, 529-544.
- Jones, P. A. (2013). *The myth of rehabilitation*. Potomac, MD: Scripta Humanistica.
- Joseph, J. (2015). "Physical Culture and Alternative rehabilitation: Qualitative Insights from a Martial Arts Intervention Program", in *Alternative Offender rehabilitation and Social Justice*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 53-77.
- Jupe, L., Akehurst Vernham, Z. & Allen, J. (2016). Teenage Offenders' Ability to Detect Deception in Their Peers. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 30(3), 401-408.
- Kalmbach, K. C. & Lyons, M. P. (2006). Unique nature of forensic mental health practice. *Applied Psychology in Criminal Justice*, 2(3), 261-290.
- Kendall, K. (2004). "Dangerous thinking: A critical history of correctional cognitive behaviouralism", in *What matters in probation*, Cullompton, UK: Willan Publishing, 90-121.
- Kennedy, M. (2014). Canadian prison overcrowding going to get worse in long-term, auditor general reports. *The National Post*. Available online at: <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/canadian-prison-overcrowding-going-to-get-worse-in-long-term-auditor-general-reports>
- Kenworthy, Adams, C. E., T., Bilby, C., Brooks-Gordon, B., & Fenton, M. (2008). Psychological interventions for those who have sexually offended or are at risk of offending. *Cochrane Library*, 8(4), sp.
- Kim, B., Benekos, P. J. & Merlo, A. V. (2016). Sex Offender Recidivism Revisited: Review of Recent Meta-analyses on the Effects of Sex Offender Treatment. *Trauma, Abuse & Violence*, 17(1), 105-117.
- Kingston, D. A. (2015). "Hypersexuality Disorders and Sexual Offenses", in *Sexual Offending: Predisposing Antecedents, Assessments and Management*, Morro Bay, CA: Springer, 102-118.
- Kirchner, J. (2015). Le système économique mondial et le trafic de drogue. *Wikistrike*. Available online at: <http://www.wikistrike.com/2015/11/le-systeme-economique-mondial-et-le-traffic-de-drogue.html>
- Kirk, S. A. & Kutchins, H. (2003). "Diagnosing the psychiatric bible", in *Making us crazy: The psychiatric bible and the creation of mental disorders*, New York: Free Press (2th ed.), 238-265.

- Kruglanski, A. & Gigerenzer, G. (2011). Intuitive and deliberate judgments are based on common principles. *Psychological Review*, 118(1), 97-109.
- Kusch, L. (2015). Province tackles worrisome rates of incarceration 70 per cent of provincial inmates awaiting trial. *The Winnipeg Free Press*. Available online at: <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/local/Province-tackles-worrisome-rates-of-incarceration-340025902.html>
- Lafortune, D. & Blanchard, B. (2010). Parcours : un programme correctionnel adapté aux courtes peines. *Criminologie*, 43(2), 329-349.
- Lalande, P. (2006). « Punir ou réhabiliter les contrevenants ? Du « Nothing Works » au « What Works » (Montée, déclin et retour de l'idéal de réhabilitation) », in *La sévérité pénale à l'heure du populisme*, Gouvernement du Québec. Direction du développement et du conseil en services correctionnels, 30-77. Available online at: http://infoprisons.ch/bulletin_13/severite_penale-pierre_lalande.pdf
- Lalande, P., Pelletier, Y. & Dolmaire, P. (2015). *La récidive/reprise des sortants de prison de 2007-2008 en fin de peine continue*. Ministère de la Sécurité publique du Québec. Available online at: http://www.securitepublique.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/Documents/services_correctionnels/publications/enquete-recidive-reprise/rapport-recidive-1.pdf
- Lambert, M. J. (2010). "Yes, it is time for clinicians to routinely monitor treatment outcomes", in *The heart and soul of change: Delivering what works in therapy*, Washington, DC: American Psychology Association, 2th ed., 239-266.
- Lane, C. (2009). *Shyness, how normal behavior became a sickness*. Binghamton: New York. Vail-Ballou Press.
- Lange, N. D., Thomas, R. P., Dana, J., & Dawes, R. M. (2011). Contextual biases in the interpretation of auditory evidence. *Law and Human Behavior*, 35(3), 178-187.
- Langlois, M. C. (2012). *Analphabétisme et littératie au Canada*. Ottawa. Bibliothèque du Parlement du Canada. Note de la Colline n° 2012-46-F. Available online at: <http://www.bdp.parl.gc.ca/content/lop/ResearchPublications/2012-46-f.htm>
- Långström, N., Enebrink, P., Laurén, Lindblom, J., Werkö, S., & Hanson, K. (2013). Preventing sexual abusers of children from reoffending: systematic review of medical and psychological interventions. *The British Medical Journal*, 347, f4630. Available online at: <http://www.bmj.com/content/347/bmj.f4630>
- Latessa, E. J. (2012a). Why work is important, and how to improve the effectiveness of correctional re-entry programs that target employment. *Criminology and Public Policy*, 11(1), 87-91.
- Latessa, E. J. (2012b). Evaluating correctional programs. *Ressource Material Series*, 88, 64-76.
- Latessa, E. J. (2008). What science says about designing effective prisoner reentry programs. *Wisconsin Family Impact Seminars*, 26, 13-20.
- Latour, B., Woolgar, S., & Biezunski, M. (1979). *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Lee, Z., Klaver, J. R., & Hart, S. D. (2008). Psychopathy and verbal indicators of deception in offenders. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 14(1), 73-84.
- Lipton, D., Martinson R., & Wilks, J. (1975). *The effectiveness of correctional treatment: A survey of treatment evaluation studies*. New York: Praeger Press.
- Lisak, D. & Miller, P. M. (2002). Repeat rape and multiple offending among undetected rapists. *Violence and Victims*, 17(1), 73-84.
- Lowenkamp, C. T., Flores, A. W., Holsinger, A. M., Makarios, M., & Latessa, E. J. (2010). Intensive supervision programs: Does program philosophy and the principles of effective intervention matter? *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38(4), 368-375.
- Lowenkamp, C. T., Latessa, E. J., & Holsinger, A. (2006). The risk principle in action: What have we learned from 13,676 cases and 97 correctional programs? *Crime and Delinquency*, 52(1), 77-93.
- Lyman, M. (2011). *Criminal investigation: The art and science*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.
- Lynes, P. (2007). *Le besoin de l'impossible*. Montréal: Liber.
- Macdonald, N. & Gillis, C. (2015). Inside the RCMP's biggest crisis. *Maclean's*. Available online at: <http://www.macleans.ca/society/inside-the-rcmps-biggest-crisis/>
- Mackenzie, H. (2016). *Staying Power CEO Pay in Canada*. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA). Available online at: https://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/National%20Office/2016/01/Staying_Power_CEO_Pay.pdf
- MacKenzie, J. (2015). *Psychopath Free: Recovering from Emotionally Abusive Relationships with Narcissists, Sociopaths, and Other Toxic People*. New York: Penguin Random House.
- Maggioncalda, E. C. (2007). *Inmate motivations to participate in prison programs: Are they related to actual participation?* Ann-Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Mahony, T. H. & Turner, J. (2010). *Police-reported clearance rates in Canada, 2010*. Juristat 85-002-X. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2012001/article/11647-eng.htm>
- Mann, R. E., Webster, S. D., & Wakeling, H. C. (2013). Why do sexual offenders refuse treatment? *Journal of Sexual Aggression: An international, interdisciplinary forum for research, theory and practice*, 19(2), 191-206.
- Marcoux, J. & Barghout, C. (2015). Manitoba jails bursting at the seams even though crime rates continue to fall. *CBC News*. Available online at: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/manitoba-jails-busting-crime-rate-falling-1.3293068>
- Martinson, R. (1974). What Works? Questions and Answers about Prison reform. *Public Interest*, 35, 22-54.
- McCann, J. T., Shindler, K. L., & Hammond, T. R. (2004). "The science and pseudoscience of expert testimony", in *Science and pseudoscience in clinical psychology*, New York: Guilford Publications, 77-108.

- Meixner, J. B. (2015). Applications of neuroscience in criminal law: legal and methodological issues. *Current Neurology and Neuroscience Reports*, 15(2), 1-10
- Melde, C. & Finn-Aage, E. (2014). The Relative Impact of Gang Status Transitions. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 51(3), 349-376.
- Merdian, H. L., Curtis, C., Thakker, J., Wilson, N., & Boer, D. (2014). *The endorsement of cognitive distortions: comparing child pornography offenders and contact sex offenders*. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 20(10), 971-993.
- Miladinovic, Z. & Lukassen, J. (2014). *Verdicts of not criminally responsible on account of mental disorder in adult criminal courts, 2005/2006-2011/2012*. Statistics Canada. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2014001/article/14085-eng.htm>
- Miller, S. (2012a). *Non-Engagement in Offender Behaviour Programmes*. Edinburgh, Scottish Prison Service.
- Miller, S. (2012b). *Sex offender lack of engagement*. Edinburgh, Scottish Prison Service. Available online at: [file:///C:/Users/Philippe%20Bensimon/Downloads/Sexual%20Offender%20NonEngagement%20%2020124836_1057%20\(2\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/Philippe%20Bensimon/Downloads/Sexual%20Offender%20NonEngagement%20%2020124836_1057%20(2).pdf)
- Mills, H., Skodbo, S., & Blyth, P. (2013). *Understanding organised crime: estimating the scale and the social and economic costs*. London: Home Office. Available online at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/246390/horr73.pdf
- Ministère de la Sécurité publique du Québec. (2015). *Rapport de l'Ombudsman correctionnel du Québec*. Direction générale des services correctionnels. Available online at: <http://www.myvirtualpaper.com/doc/protecteur-du-citoyen/rapport-annuel-2015/2015090301/#4>
- Ministère de la Sécurité publique du Québec. (2011). *Statistique 2009 sur la criminalité au Québec*. Available online at: http://www.securitepublique.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/Documents/police/statistiques/criminalite/2009/statistiques_criminalite_2009.pdf
- Monde, Le. (2016). *La contrefaçon, un marché de près de 500 milliards par an*. Available online at: http://www.lemonde.fr/economie/article/2016/04/18/la-contrefacon-un-marche-de-pres-de-500-milliards-de-dollars_4904439_3234.html
- Moore, C. & Pierce, L. (2016). Reactance to Transgressors: Why Authorities Deliver Harsher Penalties When the Social Context Elicits Expectations of Leniency. *Frontiers in Psychology*. Available online at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.00550>
- Morris, N. (2013). 100,000 assaults: 1,000 rapists sentenced. Shockingly low conviction rates revealed. *The Independent*. Available online at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/100000-assaults-1000-rapists-sentenced-shockingly-low-conviction-rates-revealed-8446058.html>
- Morse, S. J. (2015). *Neuroscience, Free Will, and Criminal Responsibility*. Faculty Scholarship. Available online at: Paper1604. http://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/faculty_scholarship/1604
- Moses, M. C. (2012). Ex-offender job placement programs do not reduce recidivism. *Corrections Today*, 74(4), 106-108.

- Nahavandi, F. (2016). *Commodification of Body Parts in the Global South: Transnational Inequalities and Development Challenges*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nathan, J. (2015). *Offender Reentry: Correctional Statistics, Reintegration into the Community, and Recidivism*. Congressional Research Service. N° RL34287. Available online at: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/RL34287.pdf>
- Newark, S. (2013). *Police-reported crime statistics in Canada still more questions than answers*. MacDonald-Laurier Institute. Available online at: <http://www.macdonaldlaurier.ca/files/pdf/Police-reported-Crime-Statistics-in-Canada-February-2013.pdf>
- Newark, S. (2011). *Why Canadian crime statistics don't add up: Not the whole truth*. MacDonald-Laurier Institute. Available online at: http://macdonaldlaurier.ca/files/pdf/MLI-Crime_Statistics_Review-Web.pdf
- North Shore News. (2008). *Canada's prison statistics are sobering problems facing correctional services of Canada and provincial jails are definitely in need of correction*. Available online at: <http://www.canada.com/northshorenews/news/viewpoint/story.html?id=75599e4a-1bfc-4bdf-9203-0e9d79021b13>
- Nunes, K. L. & Jung, S. (2013). Are Cognitive Distortions Associated With Denial and Minimization Among Sex Offenders? *Sex Abuse*, 25(2), 166-188.
- Nuytiens, A. (2012). *Sport, science and art in the prevention among children and youth*. Bruxelles. European Crime Prevention Network, Thematic paper 1, 1-17.
- O'Brien, B. (2009). Prime suspect: An examination of factors that aggravate and counteract confirmation bias in criminal investigations. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 15(4), 315–334.
- O'brien, K. Daffern, M., Meng, C. C., & Stuart, T. D. M. (2013). Youth gang affiliation, violence, and criminal activities: A review of motivational, risk, and protective factors. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 18(4), 417-425.
- Office of the Auditor General of Canada. (2015). *Report 6 - Preparing Male Offenders for Release- Correctional Service Canada*. Available online at: http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201504_06_e_40352.html
- Office of the Auditor General of Canada. (2014). *Chapter 4 - Expanding the Capacity of Penitentiaries - Correctional Service Canada*. Available online at: http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/Francais/parl_oag_201405_04_f_39335.html#ex1
- Olver, M. E., Stockdale, K. C., & Wormith, J. S. (2011). A meta-analysis of predictors of offender treatment attrition and its relationship to recidivism. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 79(1), 6-21.
- Ontario Ministry of Community Safety & Correctional Services. (2015). *Community Advisory Board Annual Report*. Available online at: http://www.mcscs.jus.gov.on.ca/english/corr_serv/CABs/OCDC/CAB_OCDC.html

- Orfali, P. (2013). Rien ne va à Service correctionnel Canada (SCC). *La Presse*. Available online at: <http://www.lapresse.ca/le-droit/politique/fonction-publique/201306/02/01-4656946-environnement-toxique-pour-les-employes-des-penitenciers-federaux.php>
- Owen, B. (2014). Slapping cuffs on corrections system: Report blasts poor planning for future growth. *Winnipeg Free Press*. Available online at: <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/local/slapping-cuffs-on-corrections-system-251361841.html>
- Parker, P. (2015). *North American Criminal Gangs: Mexico, United States, and Canada* (2th ed.). Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- Parole Board of Canada. (2015a). *Decision-Making Policy Manual for Board Members*. Available online at: <https://www.canada.ca/en/parole-board/corporate/publications-and-forms/decision-making-policy-manual-for-board-members.html>
- Parole Board of Canada. (2015b). *Acts and Regulations*. Available online at: <https://www.canada.ca/en/parole-board/corporate/acts-and-regulations.html>
- Parole Board of Canada. (2013). *2012-2013 Performance Monitoring Report*. Available online at: <https://www.canada.ca/en/parole-board/corporate/transparency/reporting-to-canadians/performance-monitoring-report/2012-2013.html>
- Perri, F. S. (2011). White-collar criminals: The 'kinder, gentler' offender? *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*, 8(3), 217-241.
- Perkel, C. (2016). Media freedom not absolute, court told as RCMP seeks Vice reporter's materials. *Canadian Press*. Available online at: <http://www.680news.com/2016/03/01/media-freedom-not-absolute-court-told-as-rcmp-seeks-vice-reporters-materials/>
- Perreault, S. (2015). *Criminal victimization in Canada, 2014*. Juristat 85-002. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2015001/article/14241-eng.htm>
- Petersilia, J. (2004). What works in prisoner reentry: Reviewing and questioning the evidence. *Federal Probation*, 68(2), 4-8.
- Piché, J. (2014). A Contradictory and Finishing State Explaining Recent Prison Capacity Expansion in Canada's Provinces and Territories. *Champ pénal*, XI, 2-26. Available online at: <http://champpenal.revues.org/8797>
- Pickard, H. (2015). Choice, deliberation, violence: Mental capacity and criminal responsibility in personality disorder. *International Journal of Psychiatry*, 40, 15-24.
- Porter, S., Doucette, N. L., Woodworth, M., Earle, J., & MacNeil, B. (2008). Halfe the world knowes not how the other halfe lies: Investigation of verbal and non-verbal signs of deception exhibited by criminal offenders and non-offenders. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 13, 27-38.
- Presse, La. (2013). *Harcèlement : un agent de la GRC crie à la censure*. Available online at: <http://ici.radio-canada.ca/regions/colombie-britannique/2013/05/07/001-roland-beaulieu-temoignage-comite-senatorial-harcelem.shtml>

- Public Administration Select Committee. (2014). *Caught red-handed: Why we can't count on Police recorded crime statistics*. London: House of Commons. Available online at: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmpubadm/760/760.pdf>
- Public Safety Canada. (2016). *Corrections and Conditional Release Statistical Overview- 2015 Annual report*. N° PS1-3E-PDF. Available online at: <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/ccrso-2015/ccrso-2015-en.pdf>
- Public Services Fondation of Canada. (2015). *Crisis in Correctional Services: Overcrowding and inmates with mental health problems in provincial correctional facilities*. Available online at: <http://www.bcgeu.ca/sites/default/files/page/attachments/Crisis%20in%20Correctional%20Services%20April%202015%5B2%5D.pdf>
- Quinn, J. & Simpson, A. (2013). How can forensic systems improve justice for victims of offenders found not criminally responsible? *American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law*, 41(4), 568-74.
- Quirion, B. (2008). Les transformations de l'intervention thérapeutique en milieu correctionnel : pérennité de la logique dominante ou innovations pénales ? *Champ pénal*, Available online at: <http://champpenal.revues.org/1471>
- Quirion, B. (2006). Traiter les délinquants ou contrôler les conduites : le dispositif thérapeutique à l'ère de la nouvelle pénologie. *Criminologie*, 39(2), 137-164.
- Raine, A. (2013). *The anatomy of violence: The biological roots of crime*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Rainhorn, J. D. & Boudamoussi, S. E. (2015). *New Cannibal Markets: Globalization and Commodification of the Human Body*. Paris. Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme.
- Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network. (2012). *Reporting rates: Why will only 3 out of every 100 rapists serve time?* Available online at: <https://www.rainn.org/get-information/statistics/reporting-rates>
- Reid, H. & Dawes, R. H. (2010). *Rational choice in an uncertain world. The psychology of judgement and decision making*, 2th ed., Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Reitano, J. (2016). *Adult correctional statistics in Canada, 2014/2015*. Statistics Canada. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2016001/article/14318-eng.htm>
- Reynolds, C. (2013). Implicit bias and the problem of certainty in the criminal standard of proof. *Journal of Law and Psychology Review*, 37, 229-248,
- Ronel, N. (2011). Criminal behavior, criminal mind: Being caught in a criminal spin. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 55(8), 1208-1233.
- Rose, G. (2013). 100 sex offenders say no to rehabilitation. *Scotland on Sunday*, 2013. Available online at: <http://www.scotsman.com/news/politics/top-stories/100-sex-offenders-say-no-to-rehabilitation-1-3018629>
- Rossmo, D. K. (2008). "Errors in probability: Chance and randomness in forensic and profiling", in *Criminal Investigative Failures*, Boca Raton, FL: Taylor Francis Group, 35-52.

- Rudes, S. S., Viglione, J., & Taxman, F. S. (2013). "Professional ideology in United States probation and parole", in *Understanding penal practices*, New York: Routledge, 11-29.
- Saillant, N. (2015). La surpopulation règne dans la moitié des prisons québécoises. *Le Journal de Québec*. Available online at: <http://www.journaldequebec.com/2015/05/30/la-surpopulation-regne-dans-la-moitie-des-prisons-quebecoises>
- Samenow, S. E. (2014). The criminal as entrepreneur. *Psychology Today*. Available online at: <http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/inside-the-criminal-mind/201402/the-criminal-entrepreneur>.
- Samenow, S. E. (2010). *The myth of the out of character crime*. New York: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.
- Schaler, J. A. (2000). *Addiction is a choice*. Chicago, IL: Open Court Publishing.
- Shand, A. & Le Grand, C. (2012). Billions failing to stem jail drug flow. *The Australian*. Available online at: <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/state-politics/billions-failing-to-stem-jail-drug-flow/story-e6frgczx-1226459364005>
- Schwartz, M. A. & Wiggins, O. P. (2005). Psychiatry fraud and force? A commentary on E. Fuller Torrey & Thomas Szasz. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 45(3), 403-415.
- Seipel, C. (2010). Opportunities, Rational Choice, and Self-Control: On the Interaction of Person and Situation in a General Theory of Crime. *Crime & Delinquency*, 55(2), 167-197.
- Seto, M. C. (2008). *Pedophilia and Sexual Offending Against Children. Theory, Assessment, and Intervention*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Snook, B., Mandeep D. K., & Kavanagh, J. M. (2011). Simply criminal: Predicting burglars' occupancy decisions with a simple heuristic. *Law and Human Behavior*, 35(4), 316-326.
- Spano, R., Pridemore, W. A., & Bolland, J. (2012). Specifying the Role of Exposure to Violence and Violent Behavior on Initiation of Gun Carrying. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 27(1), 158-176.
- Sperber, K. G., Latessa, E. J., & Makarios, M. D. (2013). Examining the interaction between level of risk and dosage of treatment. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 40(3), 338-348.
- Staats, C. (2013). *State of the science. Implicit bias review*. Columbus, OH: Kirwan Institute. Available online at: http://kirwaninstitute.osu.edu/docs/SOTS-Implicit_Bias.pdf
- Statistics Canada. (2011). *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile*. N°85-224-X. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-224-x/85-224-x2010000-eng.pdf>
- Stoltenborgh, M., Van Ijzendoorn, Euser, E. M., & Bakermans-Kraneburg, M. J. (2011). A global perspective on child sexual abuse: meta-analysis of prevalence around the world. *Child Maltreat*, 16(2), 79-101.
- Szasz, T. S. (2008). *Psychiatry: The science of lies*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Taylor, S. (2015). "Concepts in crime definition influencing crime classification", in *Crime and Criminality: A multidisciplinary approach*. New York: Routledge, 70-120.

- Tencer, D. (2015). Canadian Corporations Had \$200 Billion In World's Top Tax Havens Last Year: Report. *The Huffington Post Canada*. Available online at: http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2015/05/16/corporate-tax-havens-canada_n_7293410.html
- The Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada. (2015). *Most Federal Scientists Feel They Can't Speak Out, Even If Public Health and Safety at Risk, Says New Survey*. Available online at: <http://www.pipsc.ca/portal/page/portal/website/issues/science/bigchill>
- Tiihoner, J., Lehti, M., Aaltonen, M., Kivivuori, J., Kautiainen H., Virta, L. J. Hoti, F., Tanskanen A., & Korhonen, P. (2015). Psychotropic drugs and homicide: A prospective cohort study from Finland. *World Psychiatry*, 14(2), 245-247.
- Tribune, La. (2013). *Entre 20 et 30.000 milliards de dollars cachés dans les paradis fiscaux*. Available online at: <http://www.latribune.fr/opinions/tribunes/20130404trib000757615/entre-20-et-30.000-milliards-de-dollars-caches-dans-les-paradis-fiscaux.html>
- Truman, J. L., Langton, L., & Planty, M. (2013). *National Crime Victimization Survey 2012*. Bureau of Justice, 3-16. Available online at: <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv12.pdf>
- United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) (2015). *Waste Crime - Waste Risks Gaps in Meeting the Global Waste Challenge*. Available online at: <http://www.unep.org/delc/Portals/119/publications/rra-wastecrime.pdf>
- United Nations (UN). (2015). *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2015*. New York. Available online at: http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20%28July%201%29.pdf
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2015). *Human Development Report 2015*. Available online at: http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2015_human_development_report.pdf
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). (2016). *World Drug report 2015*. Available online at: https://www.unodc.org/documents/wdr2015/World_Drug_Report_2015.pdf
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). (2012). *Introductory Handbook on the Prevention of Recidivism and the Social Reintegration of Offenders*. Available online at: https://www.unodc.org/documents/justice-and-prison-reform/crimeprevention/Prevention_of_Recidivism_and_Social_Reintegration_12-55107_Ebook.pdf
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). (2011). *Estimating illicit financial flows resulting from drug trafficking and others transnational organized crimes*. Available online at: http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/Studies/Illicit_financial_flows_2011_web.pdf
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). (2010). *International standards and norms*. Available online at: http://www.unodc.org/documents/justice-and-prison-reform/UNODC_Handbook_for_Prison_Leaders.pdf
- Urban Institute. (2013). *The choice is yours: Early implantation of a diversion program for felony offenders*. Washington DC: Justice Policy Center. Available online at: <http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412919-The-Choice-is-Yours.pdf>

- Vailles, F. (2016). Analphabètes, les chômeurs ? *La Presse*. Available online at: <http://affaires.lapresse.ca/opinions/chroniques/francis-vailles/201601/07/01-4937427-analphabetes-les-chomeurs.php>
- Van Voorhis, P. & Salisbury, E. J. (2016). "Correctional Treatment: Accomplishments and Realities", in *Correctional Counseling and Rehabilitation* (9th ed.), New York: Routledge, 311-320.
- Valenstein, E. S. (2002). *Blaming the brain: The truth about drugs and mental health*. New York: The Free Press.
- Visher, C. A. (2006). Effective reentry programs. *Criminology and Public Policy*, 5(2), 299-302.
- Visher, C. A., Winterfield, L., & Coggeshall, M. B. (2005). Ex-offender employment programs and recidivism: A meta-analysis. *Journal of experimental Criminology*, 1(3), 295-315.
- Wagner, P. & Rabuy, B. (2016). *Mass Incarceration: The Whole Pie 2015*. Prison Policy Initiative. Northampton: MA. Available online at: <http://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/pie2015.html>
- Walters, G. D. (2015). The Decision to Commit Crime: Rational or Nonrational? *Criminology, Criminal Justice Law, & Society*, 6(3), 1-18.
- Ware, J. & Mann, R. E. (2012). How should "acceptance of responsibility" be addressed in sexual offending treatment programs? *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 17(4), 279-288.
- Wickramasekera, N., Wright, J., Elsey, H., Murray, J.Y., & Tubeuf, S. (2015). Cost of Crime: A systematic review. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 43(3), 218-228.
- Witteman, C. L. M. & van den Bercken, J. H. L. (2007). Intermediate effects in psychodiagnostic classification. *European Journal of Psychological Assessment*, 23(1), 56-61.
- Wojciechowski, J., Stolarski, M., & Matthews, G. (2014). Emotional intelligence and mismatching expressive and verbal messages: A contribution to detection of deception. *Plos ONE*, 9(3), 1-13.
- World Food Programme (WFP). (2016). *Nutrition*. Available online at: <http://www1.wfp.org/nutrition>
- World Health Organization (WHO). (2015). *Global Status Report on Alcohol and Health 2014*. Available online at: http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/112736/1/9789240692763_eng.pdf?ua=1
- Zarra, G. & Farrington, D. P. (2016). "Criminal Careers, recidivists and chronic offenders", in *Criminal Recidivism: Explanation, prediction and prevention*. New York: Routledge, 30-66.
- Zavatta, L. (2015). Neuroscience as Revival on Lombroso's Theories. *Journal of Law and Criminal Justice*, 3(1), 109-119. Available online at: http://jlcjnet.com/journals/jlcj/Vol_3_No_1_June_2015/8.pdf
- Zhang, T. (2008). *Costs of Crime in Canada, 2008*. Department of Justice Canada. N° rr10-05e. Available online at: http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/csj-sjc/crime/rr10_5/rr10_5.pdf
- Zimring, F. E., Kamin, S., & Hawkins, G. (2003). *Punishment and Democracy: Three Strickes and Your're out in California*. New York: Oxford University Press.