

# **INMATE INDUSTRIES**

**JOHN HOWARD SOCIETY OF ALBERTA  
1997**

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The trend toward developing inmate industries which operate as viable businesses that compete fairly in the open market place has gained momentum over the past two decades.

The history of inmate employment in Canada plays a significant part in understanding current developments in inmate industries. The earliest recorded effort to employ offenders in Canadian penitentiaries was in 1835. In 1913, a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the state and management of several Canadian institutions regarding inmate employment. In 1938, a report from the Royal Commission called for the modernization of prison workshops, provision of trades instruction, self-sufficiency in penitentiary farm production and implementation of an inmate pay system. In 1974, a memorandum drawn up jointly by government, business and union representatives outlined a policy for the complete reorganization of correctional industrial programs. Since then, there has been a steady reorganization and expansion of inmate industries within Canadian federal corrections.

The CORCAN Corporation was created in 1980 to serve as the production and marketing arm of the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC). Currently, CORCAN programs operate in 32 institutions across Canada, employing 1800 offenders and 360 staff throughout the year (Correctional Service of Canada, 1994, p. 36). CORCAN currently operates 5 main business lines: Agribusiness, Construction, Manufacturing, Services and Textiles. Each business line is responsible for providing a service or producing products that range from the production of agriculture commodities to computer data entry and data base creation services.

In 1992, CORCAN was granted the title of Special Operating Agency (SOA) which provides certain organizations with the opportunity to become more productive, efficient and competitive. The move to SOA status does not represent the privatization of CORCAN but does allow CORCAN greater control over the creation of various work programs and the revenue they generate.

The CORCAN work program at Warkworth institution employs 65 inmates and 15 correctional staff and is the most profitable of all federal correction industries in Canada. The Warkworth program manufactures a variety of components for office furniture. Production facilities include a cabinet shop, paint shop, sheet metal shop, welding shop and an upholstery shop (Getkate, 1993). To increase inmate involvement, the Warkworth program utilizes incentive plans, inmate employment strategies and cost sharing plans.

Although there is still debate about the advantages and disadvantages of private sector involvement in inmate industries, joint venture programs between private firms and correctional institutions are proliferating as the growing inmate population and economic necessity dictate that the correctional industry be managed more like a business. Support for increased private sector involvement is based on three main assumptions. The first assumption is that the private sector is more efficient than the government. The second assumption is that private sector employment offers more to the inmate worker in that it more closely resembles employment in the free world. The last assumption is that private industry will reform the prison environment.

Proponents of inmate work programs argue that CORCAN and other inmate industry organizations offer inmates an excellent opportunity to experience "real life" work under certified professional trades people. This experience leads inmates to feel pride and satisfaction in their accomplishments. The second argument in favour of inmate work programs suggests that the re-offence rate after release for inmates who had participated in a work program is considerably lower than the reoffence rate of inmates who had not been involved in a work program.

Several concerns have been raised over the use of inmate work programs. One frequently raised question concerns the morality of profiting from the misfortune of others, particularly the disadvantaged, and inmates have been described as "the most disadvantaged of the disadvantaged" (Gandy & Hurl, 1987, p. 195). Another concern deals with the fact that CORCAN is the Correctional Service of Canada's most expensive rehabilitative program. It is estimated that between 1992 and 1995, CORCAN has had net operating losses of approximately 7.3 million (CSC, 1996b, p. 9). Issues regarding inmate wages raises another concern that must be addressed. Issues such as inmate salary deductions, wage differentials and low wages can create moral as well as security problems.

Inmate industries appear to be in a state of transition, attempting to make the shift from being solely corrections operated, make-work warehouses to professionally managed, economically viable businesses. Only time will reveal whether the future structure and operation of inmate industries will incorporate the best of history or will simply repeat it, mistakes and all.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .....	1
THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF INMATE INDUSTRIES .....	1
Warkworth Work Program .....	3
THE MOVE TOWARD PRIVATE SECTOR INVOLVEMENT .....	4
Advantages to Inmate Work Programs .....	6
Concerns with Inmate Work Programs .....	6
CONCLUSION .....	9
REFERENCES .....	10

## INTRODUCTION

How to effectively and profitably employ the growing inmate population in Canadian and American penitentiaries has become one of the major challenges facing corrections officials. While the practice of putting inmates to work is not new, the demands of economic restraint and rehabilitation-oriented corrections practices are forcing changes in the organization and operation of inmate industries. No longer is it enough to have inmates working in isolated make-work programs for the sole purpose of keeping idle hands busy. The growing trend is toward developing inmate industries which operate as viable businesses that compete fairly in the open marketplace. This paper will discuss the history and development of inmate industries and provide an overview of the types of industries and work programs operating within the Canadian correctional system. It will also explore the development and major issues facing private sector involvement in inmate industries.

## THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF INMATE INDUSTRIES

The history of inmate employment in Canada plays a significant part in understanding current developments in inmate industries. Many of the changes being made to the operation of today's inmate, or corrections, industries closely resemble inmate employment practices dated back to the 19th century. The earliest recorded effort to employ offenders in Canadian penitentiaries was in 1835, when six inmates of Kingston Penitentiary were assigned the task of cutting stone blocks to be used in the construction of the institution's perimeter wall. From this emerged a make-work policy whereby inmates were employed in a limited number of institution projects such as penitentiary construction, maintenance and food preparation. However, the amount of work provided was not sufficient to employ all inmates. By the late 1800s, a limited form of inmate industry had developed in which wardens would lease inmate labour to commercial firms operating small shops within the penitentiaries to produce goods for sale in the open market. This practice was abandoned soon after, however, due to strong criticism about using convict labour for private gain (Correctional Service of Canada (CSC), 1981, p. 1).

In 1913, a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the state and management of the Kingston Penitentiary, but the commissioners broadened their investigation to include other institutions as well. One of the observations it made was that while attempts were being made by prison officials to keep all inmates employed, "there is not a single well-equipped, well managed, continuously busy shop in the whole circle of prisons" (CSC, 1981, p. 2). To remedy this, provisions were made to employ inmates in manufacturing goods for government use and by the early 1930s, federal penitentiaries contained a small number of industrial workshops and maintained farming operations at seven of its eight institutions.

Despite these extra work opportunities, a significant number of inmates remained unemployed. It was a 1938 report from the Royal Commission to investigate the penal system which recommended completely reorganizing inmate industries in order to employ the maximum number of federal inmates. These recommendations called for the modernization of prison workshops, provision of

trades instruction, self-sufficiency in penitentiary farm production and implementation of an inmate pay system. Although a limited form of vocational training was in place by 1947, many of the Commission's recommendations were not fully implemented until the 1970s. A 1974 memorandum, drawn up jointly by government, business and union representatives, was presented to cabinet outlining a policy for the complete reorganization of correctional industrial programs. This time the federal cabinet endorsed many of the recommendations, which included giving the Correctional Service of Canada a mandate to pursue and stabilize long-term outlets for industrial products. By 1976, a pilot project was in place at an institution in Ontario to produce modular steel shelves under contract to government departments. Fifteen inmates were selected to work 7-hour days at hourly rates ranging from \$1.25 to \$2.85 (CSC, 1981, p. 4).

Since then there has been steady reorganization and expansion of inmate industries within Canadian federal corrections. The CORCAN Corporation was created in 1980 to serve as the production and marketing arm of the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC). Currently, CORCAN programs operate in 32 institutions across Canada, employing 1800 offenders and 360 staff throughout the year (Correctional Service of Canada, 1994, p. 36). Offenders can earn anywhere from \$5.25 to \$6.90 per day (Correctional Service of Canada, 1994, p. 37). CORCAN currently operates 5 main business lines. The aim of these business lines is to actively encourage and assist offenders in practising good work habits and developing marketable skills through the production of saleable goods in a structured, cost-efficient work environment comparable to that in the private sector. The first business line, Agribusiness, operates in 10 institutions across Canada (Correctional Service of Canada (CSC), 1996a, p. 8). Inmates working within Agribusiness are involved with the production of agricultural commodities, processing of meat and baked goods, forestry services and environmental services which include composting and reforestation. The second business line, Construction, was formed in 1995 to expand inmate rehabilitation programs to include on-the-job construction training and certification (CSC, 1996a, p. 10). CORCAN construction is primarily a rehabilitation program, but its goal is to operate as a profitable business line (CSC, 1996a). In 1995/96, CORCAN Construction was involved in a variety of projects in over 30 correctional institutions (CSC, 1996a, p. 11). The third CORCAN business line, Manufacturing, operates in 17 institutions across Canada (CSC, 1996a, p. 12). This program produces office furniture, storage products, shelving, dormitory furniture as well as a variety of other wood and metal products. The fourth business line, Services, operates in 6 Canadian institutions and offers printing and graphic services, data entry and data base creation services (CSC, 1996a, p. 14). The final CORCAN business line is called Textiles. Textiles operates in 14 Canadian institutions and is responsible for producing clothing, upholstery and laundry services (CSC, 1996a, p. 16).

Historically, the expansion of prison industry programs have been obstructed by the Penitentiary Act, which specified that goods and services produced by inmates may be sold only to federal, provincial and municipal governments or to charitable, religious and non-profit organizations (Griffiths & Verdun-Jones, 1994). In 1992, however, the Corrections and Conditional Release Act replaced the Penitentiary Act, thereby allowing CORCAN to supply goods and services to the private sector under competitive conditions (Griffiths & Verdun-Jones, 1994).

In 1989, the federal government introduced the concept of the Special Operating Agency (SOA), which would give certain government organizations, such as CORCAN, an opportunity to become more productive, efficient and competitive (CSC, 1992; Getkate, 1993). To qualify for SOA status, a government organization must be large enough to justify change, be wholly concerned with the delivery of goods and services, be subject to the influences of the marketplace and offer a potential for improvement. CORCAN achieved SOA status on April 1, 1992, with the transitional, implementation phase completed by the end of the 1992-93 fiscal year. The new status gives CORCAN greater flexibility to market its products, purchase goods and services, deploy staff and enter into contracts with private sector organizations. In addition, it is able to offer an expanded range of training and employment opportunities to offenders.

The move to SOA status does not represent the privatization of CORCAN; it functions as part of the CSC and its operation is guided by the CSC's Mission and Core Values. Although much of the basic role and responsibility of CORCAN under SOA remains the same, important differences are created through the granting of specific mandates, called delegations, under the terms of reference, which enables CORCAN to operate in a more businesslike manner and provide a wider range of services to inmates. One of the key delegations is the right to operate on revolving funds, which means that revenues and profits generated by CORCAN can be retained by CSC and put back into additional correctional programming, rather than going to general government revenues, as has been the case in the past. Another important delegation is the right to establish a separate inmate pay system. This is expected to enhance motivation among participating offenders and may eventually include the payment of Employment Insurance (EI) and Canada Pension Plan (CPP) benefits. Under the SOA status, CORCAN is able to expand its correctional activities by investing program revenues in certain correctional activities that support the overall CORCAN mandate. These include pre- and post-release employment counselling and job placement, job skills certification and accreditation and job-related training courses. CORCAN will be able to broaden its base of potential customers by entering into arrangements and agreements with private sector partners to encourage the employment of ex-offenders which was, until now, limited to governments and non-profit organizations. Efforts will also be made to allow inmate participants the opportunity to take over routine administrative tasks now being handled by CORCAN staff (CSC, 1992, p. 12).

### **Warkworth Work Program**

The CORCAN work program at Warkworth institution is an example of a leading prison industry in Canada. The program employs 65 inmates and 15 staff members and is the most profitable of all federal correction industries in Canada (Getkate, 1993, p. 2).

The Warkworth program manufactures a variety of components for office furniture. Production facilities include a cabinet shop, paint shop, sheet metal shop, welding shop and an upholstery shop (Getkate, 1993).

An incentive program was implemented into Warkworth to improve inmate productivity and involvement. Under this plan, inmates can earn up to three times more than they would in other

activities within the institution (Getkate, 1993). As expected, the work program has become very attractive to many inmates at Warkworth. The high demand for a position in the program has resulted in a waiting period of 12-18 months (Getkate, 1993).

Warkworth also increases inmate involvement by providing inmates with the power to make decisions regarding day-to-day operations (Getkate, 1993). Inmates can suggest solutions to a problem and, in many cases, implement the appropriate actions to solve the problem.

A third method for increasing inmate involvement involves allowing the inmates to have open access to production and financial information (Getkate, 1993). Allowing inmates access to this information enhances their perceptions of control and power within the program.

The greatest motivator at Warkworth has been the CORCAN incentive or cost sharing plan. This plan provides inmates with their standard base pay as well as a percentage of the gross revenue earned by the program (Getkate, 1993). Furthermore, it is hoped that over the course of being rewarded externally for participation, the work will eventually lead to intrinsic rewards such as feelings of accomplishment and self confidence.

A review of the Warkworth work program reveals that inmates hold positive views toward the program (Getkate, 1993). The inmates used terms such as honest, fair, trust and open to describe the program and their instructors.

## THE MOVE TOWARD PRIVATE SECTOR INVOLVEMENT

It is no longer a question of whether, or even when, there will be private sector involvement in the operation of inmate industries; it has become more a question of how to best implement it. Public/private partnerships, or joint ventures, are defined as voluntary, operational, economic relationships entered into by private firms and correctional jurisdictions in order to create a product or service. The purpose of such joint ventures is to bring immediate benefits to the offender, the corrections system, the private sector partner and, ultimately, to society as a whole (Canadian Criminal Justice Association (CCJA) & CSC, 1986, p. 9). Although there is still some debate about the advantages and disadvantages of private sector involvement in inmate industries, joint venture programs are proliferating as the growing inmate population and economic necessity dictate that correctional industry be managed more like a business. By the late 1980's, in the United States, an estimated 50,000 inmates were employed in correctional industries and generating approximately \$800 million in sales (Flanagan & Maguire, 1993, p. 125). The number of inmates employed and the sales they generate is expected to increase dramatically in the future. Under the "optimal model" of maximum inmate employment, 658,000 inmates in the U.S. could be employed yielding \$13.2 billion in sales (Flanagan & Maguire, 1993, p. 125).

While the re-involvement of the private sector in Canada is still progressing cautiously and on a relatively limited scale, the recent significant reorganization of CORCAN indicates that there is a serious government commitment to pursue the joint venture option.

Support for increased private sector involvement in corrections industries appears to be based on three main assumptions. The first assumption is that the private sector is more efficient than government. Much of this seems to be based on a pervasive belief that government is inherently inefficient. United States studies which have explored the efficiency of inmate industries reveal that the production levels of private sector prison industries do not differ substantially from those of state-run industries which use private sector concepts, such as worker incentives. Studies indicating superior performance of private sector industries may merely reflect the heightened emphasis, increased resources, expansion and modernization which accompanied privatization rather than the advantages of private participation per se. The option of retaining government-run industries appears more attractive when the costs of private sector subsidies are taken into consideration. The costs of direct and indirect subsidies required as incentives for private sector involvement are sufficiently great that they may reduce, or negate, any fiscal advantages which privately-run enterprises might offer to government (Gandy & Hurl, 1987, p. 188).

A second assumption is that private sector employment offers more to the inmate worker. Advocates of private sector involvement believe that the environment of privately-run prison industries more closely resembles the free world environment and that private industries maintain closer ties with non-corrections industries. From this it is assumed that privately-run corrections industries provide inmates with better opportunities for rehabilitation and improved chances of getting employment upon release. A high-tech rehabilitation project at Collins Bay institution in Kingston greatly improves inmates' chances of finding employment upon release (Landriault, 1997). CDI College has joined CORCAN and Collins Bay institution to provide inmates with the theoretical and practical knowledge necessary to understand and repair computer equipment. Inmates leave the institution with the ability to repair and maintain computers, work in a business environment and graduates of the program are welcome to use CDI as a reference to find employment.

The third major assumption is that private industry will reform the prison environment. This notion suggests that private sector involvement has the potential to change inmate industries from non-productive custodial institutions to institutions filled with productive, industrious workers. Accompanying this change is the expectation that the tone or climate of correctional institutions will be made more tranquil through the introduction of private sector concepts. However, the fact that poor inmate morale results from a number of factors, such as isolation from friends and family, loss of social status and loss of privacy, renders the claims about the private sector's effects on the corrections environment possibly overly optimistic (Gandy & Hurl, 1987, p. 192).

When it comes to specific ways in which the private sector can be involved in corrections industries, there is a wide range of options. These include private sector advisory boards, private vendors, inmate enterprise, private management of government-owned industries, franchising and state management of privately owned industries. There can also be privately owned and operated industries located within corrections facilities, privately owned and operated industries located outside the corrections institution and the industrial prison in which industry constitutes the core program, around which all other work programs are arranged and subordinate to the needs of the industry

(Gandy & Hurl, 1987, pp.192-195). Each of these options offers different advantages to those wishing to encourage private sector involvement in inmate industries. However, they are also accompanied by problems and unresolved issues which are inherent in the nature of corrections and the environment of correctional institutions. Some of these issues are common to all the options.

### **Advantages to Inmate Work Programs**

CORCAN programs offer inmates the opportunity to experience "real life" work under certified professional tradespeople. Inmates are treated as apprentices and, therefore, carry the responsibility of providing a service or manufacturing a product that meets international standards for quality. Due to the considerable amount of responsibility, the inmates feel a sense of pride in their accomplishments. According to CORCAN'S Construction Coordinator, Terry O'Neill:

Construction is as close to a real life situation that they will get. There are defined goals which are constantly changing and which they must meet. ...At the end, they can point to what they have built, [and] there is a feeling of accomplishment (O'Neill as cited in Laurin, 1997, p. 3).

CORCAN programs may also reduce recidivism among participants. One study of the effects of participation in a work program on post-release recidivism was conducted on 269 male offenders who had worked for CORCAN for at least six uninterrupted months (Motiuk & Belcourt, 1996, p. 15). Furthermore, the offenders had been working for CORCAN within one month of their release and had been released at least one year prior to the study.

The results of the study revealed that the return to federal custody rates for any offence was 19.2% over a 1-3 year follow-up period (Motiuk & Belcourt, 1996, p. 17). Over the same period, the national average return to federal custody for any offence was 26.6% (Motiuk & Belcourt, 1996, p. 17). The results of this study reveal that uninterrupted participation in a CORCAN work program has a positive effect on post-release recidivism.

### **Concerns with Inmate Work Programs**

A frequent question raised concerns the morality of profiting from the misfortune of others, particularly the disadvantaged, and inmates have been described as "the most disadvantaged of the disadvantaged" (Gandy & Hurl, 1987, p. 195). This viewpoint contends that while the government might use inmate labour to minimize the costs of incarceration, it is not morally justified to seek profit from it, and private employers are even less justified.

During the process of involving the private sector in inmate industries, corrections officials become wary of giving unfair advantage to the industries which they contract. Claims of unfair advantage from competitors can sabotage public-private ventures. There is also the difficult task of calculating subsidies which are both attractive and fair. Meanwhile, labour unions have concerns about private sector involvement in corrections industries. Their major concerns tend to be that:

1. the government employees currently managing industries are not made redundant;
2. private industry not exploit inmate workers, and;
3. jobs are not taken from free workers. (Gandy & Hurl, 1987, p. 196)

However, some research has shown that these concerns and any resistance resulting from them on the part of labour, and the general community in particular, may be overestimated. A Canadian survey of a wide range of community groups, including business and labour, found widespread support for paying inmates and allowing inmate-produced goods to be sold on the open market, as long as these products were not subsidized or given any other unfair advantage. Similarly, a United States survey concluded that while the public has hardened in its view of criminal offenders and feels that stringent criminal sanctions should be applied, there is widespread support for the notion that inmates should be provided with work opportunities, particularly if a portion of the monies earned by the inmates were paid to the victims in the form of restitution (Griffiths & Verdun-Jones, 1994).

Another concern deals with the fact that CORCAN is the Correctional Service of Canada's most expensive rehabilitative program (CSC, 1996b). CORCAN jobs, on average, cost \$13,000 per full-time job in 1994/95, while educational and vocational training cost approximately \$7,500 per full-time student (CSC, 1996b, p. 1). Furthermore, it is estimated that between 1992 and 1995, CORCAN has had net operating losses of approximately 7.3 million (CSC, 1996b, p. 9).

Most correction industries face conflicts between the goals of the industries and those of the wider institution. The involvement of the private sector has the potential to exacerbate many of these conflicts. For instance, profit-making or cost-reducing goals could conflict with goals of internal security and corrections rehabilitation/retraining. The goals of inmate rehabilitation are compromised when many inmates who might benefit from the opportunity for meaningful work are excluded due to lack of skills. To be efficient, industries must make the best use of a skilled and experienced work force which is devoid of "deadwood." These aims run counter to security and stability practices which have traditionally employed as many inmates as possible, also called "featherbedding" (Gandy & Hurl, 1987, p. 197).

Inmate industries have traditionally been accorded a low status in correctional institutions because they were seen to offer little in the way of either rehabilitation or cost reduction. This has meant that industrial programs have had to accommodate the demands of other corrections programs. The trend toward increased attention to industries, combined with goals of increased financial returns, may change this, particularly if private sector employers become involved. For example, counselling and education programs might have to be run outside the normal work day. It would also be important that the incentives used to attract inmates to industries not discourage their involvement in other rehabilitation programs. Without parity in incentives between programs, there is the possibility of syphoning of the best workers into industries regardless of the needs of the inmates or of the institution - a situation referred to as "creaming."

Inmate wages are the incentive most accessible to private sector employers. However, paying wages to inmate workers has its own set of problems. First, public opinion is not generally supportive of the idea of inmates receiving substantial wages for their labour. Paid labour may be seen as a benefit when, in fact, inmates are incarcerated as punishment. Secondly, it is difficult to relate wages to productivity standards of the free world when many of the conditions which limit inmate productivity are beyond the control of workers, such as call outs, lock downs, security checks and transfers. Thirdly, there are problems associated with wage differentials. Higher wages offered to attract inmates to work in corrections industries may, as mentioned earlier, discourage inmates from participating in other corrections programs which they need. Wage disparities also have the potential for creating unrest among inmates. A fourth problem related to wages concerns salary deductions. It has been the practice when inmates are receiving more than the nominal wage, they make some contribution toward the cost of room and board, the support of family members, restitution to victims and agree to some form of enforced savings. However, problems could arise over assessing reasonable deductions for these items and ensuring that sufficient funds are left to serve as incentives to work (Gandy & Hurl, 1987, pp. 198-199).

Maximum security institutions could be attractive to private sector involvement industry because of high productivity associated with low inmate turnover. However, the security requirements place too many restrictions on productivity. Minimum security institutions experience the opposite problem. Because they house the least dangerous inmates, most of whom are serving comparatively short sentences, these institutions experience high inmate turnover and, on that basis, could be expected to have limited productivity. Medium security institutions have been identified as being most likely to have profitable industries and be the most attractive to private industry and to governments wishing to minimize operator subsidies. Such institutions, housing relatively long term, moderate risk inmates, appear to offer conditions most conducive to productivity and profitability (Gandy & Hurl, 1987, p. 200).

Research into whether smaller or larger industrial ventures would be better is not extensive. However, there are indications that the training and scheduling problems imposed by the inherent instability of the inmate workforce favour smaller industries. Small industries would be less likely to disrupt corrections programs by laying off many workers at one time and they may be more likely to exhibit commitment to and personal involvement with inmate employees (Gandy & Hurl, 1987, p. 201).

## CONCLUSION

The history of inmate industries has featured several distinct stages of significant restructuring of goals and operations, followed by lengthy periods of unmet expectations and diminishing effectiveness. In the 1990s, inmate industries appear to be in a state of transition; attempting to make the shift from being solely corrections operated, make-work warehouses to professionally managed, economically viable businesses capable of competing fairly in the open market. The re-emergence of the idea of encouraging private sector involvement also suggests that the development of corrections industries has travelled a circle back to the earliest days when inmate labour was leased to local employers. Only time will reveal whether the future structure and operation of inmate industries will incorporate

the best of this history or will simply repeat it, mistakes and all. However, what can be said with some assurance is that, for better or for worse, correctional industries are here to stay. Indications are that there may also be some benefit to having private sector involvement in corrections industries. Nonetheless, the joint venture approach is not a “quick fix” for what ails inmate industries, nor for what ails the correctional system. There are still highly complex issues to be considered and problems to overcome.

## REFERENCES

- Canadian Criminal Justice Association & Correctional Service of Canada. (1986). Public/private partnerships - "joint ventures" a definition. In Proceedings of a national seminar, public/private partnerships in prison industries: The Canadian challenge (pp. 9-11). Winnipeg, Manitoba: Ministry of Supply and Services.
- Correctional Service of Canada. (1996a). CORCAN Annual Report (1995/96). Quebec: La Macaza.
- Correctional Service of Canada. (1996b). Rehabilitation programs for offenders. Ottawa: Report of the Auditor General.
- Correctional Service of Canada. (1994). Basic facts about corrections in Canada. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.
- Correctional Service of Canada. (1992, 1992). CORCAN - occupational development programs. Let's Talk, 17, 7-8.
- Correctional Service of Canada. (1981). Historical look at inmate employment. Ottawa: Communications Branch.
- Flanagan, T., & Maguire, K. (1993). A full employment policy for prisons in the United States: Some arguments, estimates, and implications. Journal of Criminal Justice, 21, 117-130.
- Gandy, J., & Hurl, L. (1987). Private sector involvement in prison industries: Options and issues. Canadian Journal of Criminology, 29, 185-204.
- Getkate, M. (1993). Insights into innovative correctional industry: A case study of CORCAN at Warkworth institution. Correctional Service of Canada: Ottawa.
- Griffiths, C., & Verdun-Jones, S. (1994). Canadian criminal justice. Toronto: Harcourt Brace.
- Landriault, G. (1997). High tech rehab helps Collins Bay cons. Silicon Valley North.
- Laurin, C. (1997). CORCAN Construction: Proves successful in more ways than one. CORCAN Express, 6(1).
- Motiuk, L., & Belcourt, R. (1996). CORCAN participation and post-release recidivism. Forum, 8(1).