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# Living in the Aftermath: the Impact of Lengthy Incarceration on Post-Carceral Success

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*Abstract: There is literature which considers the challenges of prisoner release and re-entry but little research which addresses the successful resettlement of formerly-incarcerated individuals in the years, not months, after release from prison. This article attempts to partially fill this void by focusing on the intersection of two temporal issues: duration of incarceration and the impact of this time on long-term resettlement. Using data from an ethnomethodological study of successful former long-term prisoners, this article discusses the post-carceral challenges encountered by ex-convicts, the strategies used to overcome these and concludes by considering these in relation to the prison expansionist agenda.*

**Keywords:** incarceration; parole; post-traumatic stress disorder; prisoners; reintegration; resettlement

Timmy<sup>1</sup> is a lifer who spent several decades in prison. Having begun his prison sentence as a teenager, he missed out on the usual rituals associated with growing into adulthood; instead, he became an adult in prison and institutional life was his reality. After release, he struggled to cope and to find his place in society. It wasn't easy and little things 'tripped him up'; eloquently demonstrating this metaphor, he once said that he kept stumbling over the sidewalk because there were 'no curbs in prison'.

Timmy is only one of the approximately 13,200 individuals in Canada incarcerated for sentences lasting for more than two years (Canada, Statistics Canada 2007) with half of this group serving more than the median 945 days<sup>2</sup> (Canada, Statistics Canada 2010). As of 31 March 2010, there were 4,774 life-sentenced individuals serving a minimum of ten years in prison before parole eligibility and, therefore, the proportion of people serving greater time than the median is high (Canada 2009). Most of these men and women will eventually return to the community on graduated or statutory release and they will be asked to reintegrate into the social body. Most will succeed. Recent data indicate that over the past ten years, 82% of day paroles, over 70% of full paroles and 58% of statutory releases were successfully completed (Canada, Statistics Canada 2008).

Unfortunately, most research and political rhetoric focuses on those prisoners who recidivate. For example, the recently released *A Roadmap to Public Safety* (RPS) from the Correctional Services of Canada Review Panel acknowledges that 'failures are far less than the successes' (Canada, Correctional Services Review Panel 2007, p.129) but the remainder of the document discusses failure. This focus has been noted by Richards and Jones (2004) who observed:

Unfortunately, the emphasis has always been on parole failure, recidivism and career criminals, with too little attention paid to the ex-convicts who 'make good'. Correctional authorities and scholars have failed to document success stories. There has been virtually no effort to interview convicts who have returned to the community to lead law-abiding lives. (p.226)

This article attempts to partly rectify this absence and add to the 'making good' literature (Bottoms *et al.* 2004; Maruna 2001). While a great deal of this scholarly work unproblematically accepts a desistance from crime model,<sup>3</sup> it usefully shifts the focus onto areas such as ascent from the perils of imprisonment (for example, Anderson 2001; Richards and Jones 2004) and both structural and individual level strategies to achieve success (for example, Farrall 2004; Gadd and Farrall 2004; Giordano, Cernokovich and Rudolph 2002; Harding 2003; Maruna 1997; Maruna *et al.* 2004; Ward and Maruna 2007); this research hopes to build upon this foundation.

### **Research Questions and Methodological Approach**

There is a body of research which examines the immediate period after release and the specific challenges faced by the 'returning captives' (Hagan and Coleman 2001, p.352), but very little work extends itself temporally to include the years, rather than months, after release. There is even less work which considers resettlement<sup>4</sup> after a long period of incarceration and this leaves a noticeable void in our understanding.

In order to attend to this absence, 20 former long-term prisoners in Canada were interviewed for up to three hours each.<sup>5</sup> Subjects were recruited using a snowball sampling method beginning with referrals from lifers employed in the community-based Lifeline In-Reach Program. While this recruitment method had several advantages, it seemed also to have an unintended filtering effect wherein none of the sample group was officially labelled as a dangerous offender or a sex offender<sup>6</sup> and this may have created limitations, which will be discussed throughout the analysis.

Using the Canadian government's definitions of long-term incarceration and successful reintegration, the criteria for inclusion in this study were that each man had to have been incarcerated for a minimum of ten consecutive years and been out of prison, with no new convictions, for at least five years. The amount of time served ranged between ten years and more than 30 years with a median time of 17 years. The minimum time since release was five years but two of the men had been out of prison for over 20 years at the time of their interview.

The respondents were asked what factors (either positive or negative) conditioned their success and how they understood their experiences in preparing to exit the prison and in the subsequent years. This article provides an analysis of the ex-prisoners' reflections on how their time in prison shaped their lives afterwards.

### **Staying Out After Prison: Challenges and Strategies**

After more than a decade of incarceration, the ex-prisoner is free to re-establish his life, but this can be a difficult process. This article focuses on the challenges the respondents encountered as a direct result of their lengthy time in captivity and these included feeling like they had come out of a war zone, struggles negotiating post-carceral intimate relationships, feeling vulnerable to the social body, coping with their agedness and managing day-to-day life.

#### *Being A Prison Veteran*

In opposition to Porporino's (1991) contention that long-term imprisonment was not detrimental to mental or emotional functioning, intellectual or cognitive abilities, physical condition, or social and interpersonal competencies, a common theme discussed by the men in this research was emotional and psychological scarring brought about by their lengthy incarceration. As Gord (a lifer with over 20 years inside and five years on parole) said:

Anybody who hasn't spent 20 or 30 years or a lot of big time wouldn't understand it. Some of them who have done two or three years would have a very vague understanding of it . . . because the longer you're there . . . the more chances of screwing up and going offside or [getting] stir craziness.

The duration of incarceration meant that the respondents were unable to avoid witnessing some traumatising events. Marcus, who in his early 30s had already served ten years and been out for five, said: 'I went to jail and I've seen things that nobody else will ever see unless you've been there and like I have a lot of disturbing memories from a lot of things I've seen'. As a result, research indicates that these former prisoners are likely to experience negative psychological and social aspects of incarceration, such as depression, suicidal tendencies, self-mutilation (Bonta and Gendreau 1990; Fogel 1993; Jamieson and Grounds 2002), social introversion and institutionalisation (Haney 2004; Haney and Lynch 1997; Zimbardo 1971), hypervigilance and distrust (Hilliard 1976; McCorkle 1992), psychological distancing (Gibbs 1982; Jamieson and Grounds 2002; Jose-Kampfner 1990; Sapsford 1978; Taylor 2008) and negative health implications arising from stigmatisation (Schnittker and John 2007); some of these consequences can be exacerbated by long sentences (Cohen and Taylor 1981; Flanagan 1982).

Like the former IRA prisoners studied by Jamieson and Grounds (2005, 2002), many of these interviewees equated their experience to that of a

returning veteran of war wherein certain events were experienced by only a few and had lasting implications. The respondents had nightmares and what they referred to as ‘baggage’ and, mirroring findings in other research by Irwin and Owen (2005), Jamieson and Grounds (2005), McEvoy, Shirlow and McElrath (2004) and Richie (2001), the ex-prisoners listed symptoms suggestive of post-traumatic stress disorder (for example, aggression, irritability, depression, not responding to happiness or sadness, suicidal thoughts, insomnia, nightmares, overreaction to triggers like loud noises or smells, loss of memory, headaches or stomach pain, problems with intimate relationships, and flashbacks).

Mr Flowers, who had served over 20 years in prison and been out for nearly seven years, used a sexual assault metaphor to convey his thoughts about his own, and the lifers’ situation:

Lifers are fucked. . . . For a lifer, the easy part is doing the time. . . . Once they got ten or 15 years out on the street, they’ll start agreeing. They come to the realisation of the hopelessness of their position. . . . A long-term offender feels the same pain but they can finally one day try to wash the dirt off . . . the filth off their soul. It’s like being a rape victim. You can wash but you never get that dirt off you. Prison is like that. You’ve been violated. You’ve got emotional scars. They’ll never leave. Ever.

For others, the memories of their prison time allowed them to gain perspective on the challenges they faced afterwards. Bobby, a lifer who had spent nearly 15 years in prison and had been on parole for over 20 years, provided an example:

The challenges on the outside are minuscule compared to the challenges on the inside . . . Seeing a guy killed on the range. . . . What do you do as a human being *versus* what you’re supposed to do as a solid inmate. Like, they’re *real* challenges.

In the above quotes attention is drawn to the consequences of exposure to an extreme environment and in the latter excerpt, it is evident that in facing post-prison challenges the effect of this traumatic experience is the creation of a relational position through which all other events may be assessed. The most common difficulty was the ability to have appropriate social interactions.

#### *Post-Carceral Social Interactions*

Developing new social interaction skills was a struggle for the men, both in the re-entry period and throughout their resettlement. Unlike the high-risk, sex offenders who can access the Circles of Support and Accountability initiatives, the men in this study did not have structured reintegration ceremonies (Hannem and Petrunik 2007) available to them. The respondents had to find alternate social approaches which ranged from simply using less profanity to the more complex task of negotiating new terrains in gender relations. Often the interactional styles developed in prison were detrimental to their resettlement:

[In prison] we establish what is ours and out here we try to do it and we realise we can’t. It doesn’t work out here. It works in prison because you know what you have

to do and there's no . . . grey areas, it's either black or white. Out here there's grey areas and you have to learn to live in them and when you first get out, you can't see the grey areas. (F.G., a lifer who served over 22 years in prison and had been out for six years)

The interaction skills employed to survive in prison were particularly counterproductive in fostering post-carceral intimate relationships:

Having a companion under certain circumstances [is] very difficult. And having a companion for . . . somebody that never lived with a companion for most of his life, was an even greater challenge. . . . While incarcerated, we pick up all kinds of masks that we put on to survive in jail and . . . these masks work. . . . so it's very easy when you're out in the community and things . . . don't work out the way you want them, to . . . put back some of these masks again. It doesn't work. (Luc, served over 30 years in prison on a life sentence and had been out for more than a decade)

These relationships were mediated by the fact that, while incarcerated, the men had contemplated the life they would have on the outside and this included both the type of partner they would meet and the kind of relationship they would have. Once out, many of the men had to find a balance between their imagined life and the reality of the one they had:

I walk out of jail with a \$1,500 car. Did I expect to get Marilyn Monroe? . . . You're in there reading magazines for 20-odd years. Every time you friggin' flip the page, they don't show her [normal woman]. It's a playboy girl, you know, like ideal girl. . . . Well, where the hell are you going to find her? And do you want that? (Doc, life sentenced, served 17 years and had been on parole for five years)

As Doc's quote vividly illustrates, the men's limited carceral interactions with women (most often female state workers or volunteers) occurred while they were concurrently bombarded with media images of idealised women. For years, their visits were constrained by physical partitions or the supervised milieu in which they were held. Barry, who served almost 15 years in prison and had been out for longer, spoke of the lasting damage of his incarceration in regard to gender relations:

I think that it [prison] skewed my development and my ability to have open and honest relationships with women because of the prison mentality and the objectifying of women in that environment . . . Because all interactions with women were forced, strained, over-supervised . . . There was no natural ability to learn how to talk to women.

For men on parole, their post-carceral interactions, and particularly those with an intimate partner, were further influenced by the regulatory framework in which they lived. For example, Rick, who re-married during his 15 years in prison, needed to maintain a facade of 'perfection' even a decade after release because he felt if the state's representatives knew that he was experiencing obstacles, his level on the risk assessment scales could be increased. As a condition of his parole, Ziggy who had served 13 years and been out nearly as long, was required to see a state supplied psychologist and tells of the impact of being labelled:

I'd use the word 'fight' and then alarm bells would go off. But that is what you would say with your husband. Well, we had a fight or an argument or spat. But if I use any of those words . . . everyone is terrified.

This sense of being deemed risky when processing relationship issues was pervasive in the interviews and may have been more so if men with a record of sexual offences had appeared in the sample. While the men recognised that participation in these relationships could, if they went poorly, increase their chances of altercations with the penal justice system, most did choose to have intimate partners after prison; however, the relationships were always tempered by the men's awareness that they were susceptible to future punishment from the state.

#### *Susceptibility to Future Punishment*

The men felt a pervasive sense of omniopicism (being watched by multiple others) and were always cognisant that they were being surveilled in case they were unable to manage; this sensation led many to experience a persistent uneasiness and fear of being returned to prison. Joel, a lifer who served ten years in prison and was on his 13th year of parole, provided a summary of the general dis-ease of which numerous men spoke:

You're never allowed to be free . . . you're perpetually on a string. You're never able to completely break the umbilicus. You always have to justify yourself to someone else. At some point, and at your peril, you forget 'cause that's when you . . . forget, you'll end up doing something like drive out of your radius. . . . At some point, there's no more progress. . . . You're at the mercy of society . . . you're always diminished as a person.

Similar to Maidment's (2006) work with female ex-prisoners, this sense of susceptibility to future punishment was often discussed in relation to treatment by police officers, or a hyper-awareness of their presence:

When we were living in Cornwall the police used to set up a speed trap right on our road. . . . I'd walk out the door and I'd see a cop car sitting there and go, 'oh-oh, what's going to happen. Am I going to get arrested? Are they watching me?' (Rick)

In this way we see that the men (who felt over-monitored) considered even the most innocuous actions by state agents to be suspicious and, as previously noted, this is a characteristic that grows during imprisonment and is not conducive to resettlement.

More often the men were worried about the possibility of false accusations. This fear was not irrational as two of the lifers told of being returned to prison based on suspicions which were later declared to be unfounded. Ziggy spoke of the treatment he received as a result of belonging to a stigmatised group: 'I got pulled. . . . It took me *two years* to prove my innocence. But they certainly 'put me through the mill' . . . No-one asked me anything. I'm a lifer so I must be guilty'.<sup>7</sup> While the men could cope with intimate relations by maintaining some social isolation, there was no strategy for eradicating the possibility of false accusations –

indeed, isolation made them more suspect and negatively impacted their placement on the risk scales.

In some situations, the men used compliance with state requests as a means of decreasing their susceptibility to punishment (see Munn and Bruckert (2010) for a longer discussion of this). Bobby told of attending a domestic violence programme even though he had no record of that type of offence; he said: 'I did comply because they're not going to get me for refusing to attend programmes'. In this example it is clear that the men were, at some level, forced to participate in the public transcript (Scott 1990) which was based on rehabilitation rhetoric. Notably, others spoke of compliance in terms of keeping a steady job or knowing and conforming to the rules.

In some ways their vulnerability was related to a factor over which they had no control – getting older. Many felt their age increased their riskiness by making employment more difficult to obtain or maintain and further, their older status made the aforementioned relationships with women more complicated; it is to these issues that the discussion now turns.

### *Being Older*

Increased age was a topic which frequently emerged in the interviews. For some, the effect of this increased age was an inability to rely on their parents as they had done when they were younger. Others struggled to find age-appropriate ways of 'being' in the social world. This transition may have been particularly difficult because men serving long periods of incarceration often come out at the same psychological age as when they entered the prison (Jamieson and Grounds 2005).

The men tried to obtain a sense of normalcy by obtaining what they perceived an 'average man' of their age would have or, as Bobby phrased it, there was a need to 'Get a job. Get a wife. Get a white picket fence'. The respondents' desire to achieve the perceived status of their age cohort was often mediated by their inability or difficulty in finding employment as older men with long interruptions in their work histories. Some, who had been labourers before their time in prison, found it hard to return to that type of work because their bodies were no longer as capable, and as Drummond (2007) indicated, the loss of physical strength may be particularly important for men who relied on this physical attribute to help establish their masculinity. Yet, it is often these types of jobs that are available to men with limited work histories or who have restrictions due to their criminal record or parole status. The toll that this work took on their bodies was frequently mentioned:

If a guy comes out say at 58, he's not old . . . he's not old enough to get a pension, but he's got to work and . . . the jobs that are available for someone that age are tough slugging . . . I was 46 or 47 and it almost killed me. 'Cause I'm doing a job of 20-year-olds. I did it for a year but it was tough. (Tom, a lifer with over 20 years in prison and nearly ten years on parole)

Luc, too, was frustrated by his age being a barrier to his employment but was sympathetic to potential employers:



Now I always kept saying to myself: ‘Luc you shouldn’t have any difficulty finding a job. You’re able’. . . . I forget that by the time, I was 50 years old. To me it didn’t mean anything but to an employer it meant a lot. It meant a very dangerous person to hire. Tomorrow he’s going to get sick and we’re going to pay for him. He’s going to hurt himself, and we’re going to pay for him.

Drawing on Cooley’s (1902) idea of the ‘looking-glass self’, the men needed to mentally adjust to how they were perceived by others and, in turn, alter their self-conception. Jean, who was now in his 50s (but went to prison on a life sentence in his early 20s), made the switch from seeing himself as a ‘dashing young man’ to conceiving of himself as a ‘grey old fox’. In the next anecdote, Tom drew attention to the importance of looking beyond the re-entry period as these types of shifts require time to make:

I went to jail [when I was] 26 . . . so my girlfriends were 20, 21. . . . I get out at 46, and that’s a huge adjustment to make ‘cause mentally you’re still looking at 20-, 21-year-old women . . . and you know . . . intellectually, that’s not right. That you shouldn’t be looking at them ‘cause you wouldn’t want one. Because if I had a younger girlfriend, I’d feel like an idiot, you know. . . . So you don’t really want one, but it takes you a while to adjust to go okay, I’m supposed to be with a woman this age, but I’m not attracted to a woman this age. . . . It came with time.

The adaptation to their new age was one with which they struggled and this challenge compounded the numerous other day-to-day difficulties that emerged after more than a decade in prison.

#### *Managing Day-to-Day Life*

On a more mundane level, the men’s previous incarceration made their post-prison daily lives more difficult. As we see in the literature on release and re-entry, in the beginning the formerly incarcerated have to deal with what Dave (a lifer who had served more than 20 years in prison and had been on parole for nearly seven years) referred to as the ‘newness’. However, when we look at the longer resettlement period it becomes clear that life in a total institution (Goffman 1961) has lasting implications: ‘For 23 years they opened my door at seven o’clock. So now I get up at seven o’clock. Even when I got the key. I can lock my door, but I still get up at seven because . . . I was programmed to do that’ (F.G.).

For over a decade, these men had few responsibilities and little control over how their time was organised. As a result, many found life after prison to be overwhelming and some contemplated going back to prison just to alleviate the pressure. Marcus summarised it this way: ‘Jail is comfortable. Out here it’s a jungle’ and his sensation may be linked to Jewkes’s (2005) idea that prisoners live in a liminal state in which they are disengaged from both past and future roles as the normal rules and struggles do not exist. It may also be linked to the shifts in structures which create dramatic changes in routine (Richards and Jones 2004). Indeed, a few interviewees maintained prison-based routines even in their post-carceral lives in order to alleviate stress around decision making. The mundane and ordered

prison existence created problems for the men when they needed to be self-reliant:

Once you leave the halfway house, then you have to take care of yourself. . . . I have to do my own cooking. I have to do my own laundry. I have to clean my room, apartment . . . and I have to get used to that. I have to get used to not running out of things. . . . You have to become reliant on yourself and it's not easy when you've had people telling you what to do for *x* amount of years. (E.G.)

The men developed multiple strategies to cope with the implications of incarceration and these included: relying on a support network, reminding themselves to have patience, finding a balance between their dreams and reality, seeing a psychologist, smoking THC (cannabis) (despite its illegality), finding places of peace, relying on a higher power or spiritual belief, playing music and, most commonly, taking time to gain perspective on the situation. Other men tried to anticipate problems and address them immediately in order to protect themselves: 'You know when you drive you can be defensive because you are aware of everything around you and you can respond – be a defensive driver. I'm like that in life. I'm a defensive "liver"' (Mr Flowers).

### **Discussion and Implications**

In this research, ex-prisoners described the temporal magnitude of their sentences and its negative impact on their ability to resettle. While some respondents did occasionally acknowledge some benefit to their incarceration (for example, developing leadership skills, learning patience, getting help with mental health issues) they believed the detrimental elements far outweighed any positive outcomes. Jean summarised most respondents' feelings around this when he stated that he succeeded 'in spite' of the duration, not because of it.

These men wanted to do more than 'not recidivate'. They wanted to repay their debt to society by being active citizens<sup>8</sup> and in so doing, broaden the definition of success. The ex-convicts' ability to contribute to their communities was hampered by the magnitude of the judicial sanction which contributed to a pervasive dis-ease in the free world and made post-carceral interactions more difficult and employment more elusive. This hurdle will persist as lifers are already spending longer periods of time in prison (Nafekh and Flight 2002).

The expansionist and punitive trajectory that dominates the Canadian penal system may further hamper the ex-prisoner's ability to succeed. Government data from Statistics Canada (2007) indicate that 'there has been an 18% increase in the number of adults admitted to federal custody between 1997/1998 and 2006/2007' while community releases are down by 1.7%; this retributive trend shows no signs of abating with the government vowing to commit billions of dollars to build more prisons and increase the number of prison beds in Canada by 2,700 (Toews 2010). Indeed the implications of the 'transformation agenda' set out by new legislative measures and by the contents of the RPS are that more people

will be sentenced to longer carceral periods and will be given fewer early release options.

The RPS document fully embraces the risk and actuarial models of crime management that the ex-prisoners felt hindered their ability to resettle. The current agenda ignores these voices, the literature which indicates that community members are less punitive than the penal populism rhetoric purports (Roberts *et al.* 2003) and the growing body of literature which examines success at the individual and structural levels and at alternatives to incarceration.

While some scholars have looked at improving social and cultural capital in order to improve successful resettlement, the review panel seeks the opposite. It undermines the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms by creating two categories of human rights: basic (which would be extended to the incarcerated) and other rights which would 'be earned back by the law-breakers who must show that they have taken responsibility for their criminal actions and are actively engaging in rehabilitating themselves' (Jackson and Stewart 2009, p.49). This type of initiative seems likely to create the very phenomenon (failure) that the political rhetoric already promotes.

Alternatively, policy makers would be well served by attending to research which indicates that sanctions other than prison (for example, shorter sentences, community-based initiatives, earlier parole eligibility) should be considered a means of protecting the public. Ultimately, in a system which prioritises efficiencies, more punitive responses to crime seem to, at least fiscally, demonstrate the opposite and this point needs consideration.<sup>9</sup> Based on this research and the government's own data on rates of parole success, it would seem prudent for the government to expand, not reduce, the use of graduated release.

Beyond this, the growing literature on success urges us to consider the significant social implications of setting '... the stage to adopt simplistic sanction-based responses to a whole range of complex problems' (Jackson and Stewart 2009, p.xi). Focus on recidivism, ignorance of the literature on the negative impact of incarceration and reliance on risk classifications without meaningful consultation with affected individuals, will continue to render the voices of the successful ex-prisoners mute and will have the social body, like the men in this research, coping with the aftermath of punishment.

## Notes

- 1 To protect anonymity and confidentiality, all names used in this article are pseudonyms chosen by the men.
- 2 This statistic excludes the 22% of the Federal prison population serving indeterminate length sentences and, therefore, the number is artificially low.
- 3 The notion of desistance from criminal involvement is problematic in that it assumes a previous 'criminal career' which the individual now rejects. Some long-term prisoners did not have previous convictions or even persistent criminal behaviour.
- 4 The term *release* denotes the individual's release from prison. *Re-entry* is used here to refer to the period immediately after a prisoner's release from prison when he returns to the community – often to a state-sponsored facility. *Resettlement*, as it will be used in

this work, refers to the period after prison release when the person is an active agent in choosing where he will live without persistent monitoring by representatives of the state. In this research, this period usually commences once the individual leaves the community residential facility. In much of the American and Canadian literature, the term 'reintegration' is used to connote a similar meaning but I have rejected this term as it is often bound to ideas of rehabilitation and behaviouristic discourses. I also use the term *resettlement* differently from the British scholars who regularly use this term to refer to all activities and programmes from sentencing onward. My use of *resettlement* is, perhaps, best mirrored in the literature on political prisoners and also that which deals with immigration matters and, therefore, reflects the more political issues surrounding an ex-prisoner's location in the community.

- 5 This research was part of a larger Social Science and Humanities Research Council project headed by Professor Chris Bruckert and Professor Sylvie Frigon entitled 'Release and reintegration after prison: negotiating gender, culture and identity' and which examined the reintegration experience of both male and female prisoners in Ontario and Quebec. It also examined the experience of support people, family and partners of released prisoners.
- 6 During the prison terms of the sample group, sex offenders were generally separated from the general prison population and so may not have become known to these other prisoners.
- 7 Notably in this study, the stigma (Goffman 1963) of being an ex-prisoner and the consequences of this were limited almost exclusively to their interactions with state representatives (for example, police, parole officers, etc.). For a more thorough examination of this phenomenon see Munn (2011).
- 8 The ex-convicts frequently spoke of becoming volunteers and making other contributions in the community. They wanted to exceed the average level of civic participation.
- 9 At the most basic level, financial cost of incarceration (\$94,584.00 CDN per annum per Federal prisoner) is massive in comparison to community supervision (\$23,106 CDN per year per individual) (Canada, Correctional Services Review Panel 2007). Of course, in terms of penal populism the support of lengthy prison sentences is an expeditious and efficient way for politicians to garner votes.

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