St. Leonard's Society of Canada
Société St-Léonard du Canada

Research Report on Developing The 'Hard to House' (H2H) Model

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Homes for the 'Hard to House'

A Model for Effective Second Stage Housing

Research Report on Developing the 'Hard to House' (H2H) Model

prepared by

Anita Desai, M.A.

for

St. Leonard's Society of Canada

with support from

Human Resources and Skills Development Canada

Public Safety Canada

Correctional Service of Canada

Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

October 2012

Human Resources and Social Development Canada
Ressources humaines et Développement social Canada

Public Safety Canada
Sécurité publique Canada

Canada

Homes for the 'Hard to House'
A Model for Effective Second Stage Housing

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211 Bronson Ave., Suite 208
Ottawa, ON K1R 6H5

Registered Charitable Organization
#12894 6829 RR0001

This project is funded in part by the Government of Canada's Homelessness Partnering Strategy, Public Safety Canada, and Correctional Service of Canada

The opinions and interpretations in this publication are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Government of Canada.

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WHAT YOU WILL FIND IN THIS REPORT:

- The research findings used to develop the 'Hard to House' (H2H) Model
- A review of Second Stage Housing as it pertains to community corrections
- A review of current literature on:
    - The homelessness of ex-prisoners
    - A review of second stage housing and Housing First approaches
    - Identifying areas of concerns for specific sub-groups (mental health, women, aboriginal peoples, seniors)
    - Promising practices in second stage and supportive housing
    - Recommendations for effective second stage housing as outlined in the literature
- Research findings obtained from a national survey of Community-based Residential Facilities (CBRFs) and regional survey of second stage housing service providers.
- Research findings from regional site visits to community corrections organizations providing second stage and supportive housing.
- Feedback and promising practices from those working and residing in second stage housing and who have experience with community corrections.

Please Note: This research report was used in developing SLSC's 'Hard to House' (H2H) Model. The H2H model has been made available as a separate document for use by service providers through the SLSC Head Office. For more information or to receive a copy of the H2H Model, please contact the office at research@on.aibn.com or (613) 233-5170.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Safe, supported shelter: taken for granted by many, a distant dream for others. Particularly for people with high needs, the difficulty in accessing appropriate housing is severe. With this work, we have looked across Canada to uncover the keys to developing and sustaining second stage housing for the 'Hard to House'.

This report builds on lessons learned from earlier research and is indebted to that work for a strong foundation. SLSC has spearheaded research in the areas of promising practices for transitional residences for more than a decade. Our findings in *Principles to Practices*, *Towards an Integrated Network,* and *Community Connections* affirm the importance of appropriate housing as a cornerstone of living safely in community—for oneself and for others. Moving from the resources available within the criminal justice system to success in a civil setting is a necessary ingredient to successful reintegration. Bridging the civil and criminal, the health and justice, and the mandated and voluntary systems creates complexities that must be surmounted if Canada is to be the best society that it can achieve. This work seeks to add to the knowledge to support that society.

The project benefited greatly from the guidance of a multi-sectoral advisory group. Sincere thanks to: William Bastarache, Andrew Boyd, Richard Brown, Stacey Dort, Stephen Gaetz, Sylvia Novac, Marg Stanowski, and Kelly Taylor. Their expertise in the field of research, homelessness and transitional residential programs has proven invaluable.

The challenge of supporting clients as they move from residential services within the criminal justice system to life beyond is an increasing concern for community based residential service providers. The willingness of the participating sites to share their experiences and contribute their lessons learned shaped the design of the H2H Model. SLSC appreciates greatly the willing collaboration of the Regional Halfway House Associations in Canada. Their support in disseminating awareness of the project and encouraging their members' participation has enriched the quality of data and anchors the findings.

The SLSC Board of Directors and member agencies encourage and support the pursuit of research which will enhance the opportunities for Canadians to create and to access the housing that meets the needs of us all for a strong Canadian social fabric. Their backing makes this project possible.

Building a stronger Canada is not achieved without financial resources. SLSC gratefully acknowledges the leadership role of HRSDC and our partners within the Department of Public Safety in funding this work.

Last but by no means least, the Society thanks the dedicated Project Manager Anita Desai for her expertise in creating this research report which provides a sound basis for the H2H Model and other recommendations she derived from the work she did throughout this project. Her dedication to the goal of making evidence available on what works so that what matters can take place has inspired those who work with her. We hope that the results inspire others to add to the stock of safe supported housing in Canada.

Elizabeth White
Executive Director, St. Leonard's Society of Canada
October 2012

A NOTE FROM A SERVICE PROVIDER

The Second Stage Housing paradigm is a clinically significant and relevant step for re-integration into the community. A staged transition allows for a number of important clinical processes to occur. These processes are important because they can promote the individual's personal investment in developing meaningful relationships and community connections which then will support stable and balanced lifestyles.

For many, the shame or notoriety of previous offences and incarceration has led to broken or lost connections to their home community and the support systems there. Those connections that remain may represent histories best forgotten.

Others, in recognizing this potential, choose to re-begin elsewhere and will be starting without the relationships and community connections to support their re-integration. These new lives start without the familiar institutional structure and routine they just left. Now, in a new unknown community, or even in a familiar community, without the benefit of relationships and connections to ease the frustrations and challenges of finding new employment, housing, bus routes, shopping, or finding a new doctor or dentist, the resident must have the skill set and resolve to do it on their own.

Keeping in mind, an increasing number of offenders have mental health problems, requiring dedicated medication compliance, and or addiction histories; the stress and challenges of a new beginning might also trigger unwanted relapse and mental health deterioration. There is also a significant aging prison population who may lack the skill set to compete in a technologically diverse work environment or complicated application process which, more often than not, is now done online.

Second Stage Housing permits a resident to focus on establishing the connections and supports they will need in the community. Making housing a priority allows for the supportive advocacy that is often needed to secure appropriate housing and adequate income, while supporting participation in the new community to ensuring that psychiatric, medical and other essential services are in place and that the resident is already using them before moving. Additional linkages can then also be established to help the new resident be involved in education, recreation, Spiritual, or vocational activities (Social Purpose Enterprises) which promote skill development, social engagement, competence, confidence-building and the possibility of replacing unhealthy relationships, lifestyles and connections with healthy ones.

As a direct service provider, this research is important for those who are committed to prioritizing housing for ex-prisoners, and committed to building healthier and safer communities. This research based approach will provide a value add to individuals and agencies planning and preparing future strategies based on proven programs.

Richard Brown
Executive Director, St. Leonard's Place Peel
October 2012

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INTRODUCTION

This report is prepared by St. Leonard's Society of Canada (SLSC), with support from Human Resources and Skills Development Canada's Homelessness Partnering Secretariat, Public Safety Canada, and Correctional Service of Canada. The production of *Homes for the 'Hard to House': A Model for Effective Second Stage Housing* has been made possible through a culmination of efforts and contributions from the staff and residents at **second stage housing** programs and **Community-based Residential Facilities** (CBRFs) across Canada who have offered up their time and thoughtful consideration while giving feedback for this project.

As a result of this research, SLSC's 'Hard to House' (H2H) Model was developed. The H2H model is designed for use by service providers interested in offering second stage housing opportunities to individuals exiting a correctional setting. It offers a starting point for service providers to begin the process of creating or improving housing services by outlining promising practices and feedback from others obtained through the research conducted for this report. The key elements of the H2H Model have been developed as a result of four main principles:

- **Establish** common values and objectives
- **Strategize** procedures for getting started
- **Consider** physical structural and support components
- **Learn** from the experiences of others

The principles are followed by promising practices on: Common Values and Objectives; Factors to be Considered for all models (Consideration of scattered site vs. single location, Zoning/By-Laws, Funding, Not In My Backyard (NIMBY)); Physical Components (Description of promising practices/challenges with the physical structure of the building); Support Components (Staff, Programs, Stakeholder relations); and Lessons Learned. The model has been made available as a separate document for service providers through the SLSC Head Office. For more information please contact the office at research@on.aibn.com or (613) 233-5170.

This research creates awareness and offer solutions to the housing needs of ex-offenders, who too often cycle through the criminal justice system as a result of returning to the community without the support needed to achieve success beyond their **sentence**. The approach to this research is multi-faceted. It is our hope that the H2H Model is of use to service providers by offering a framework to assist with the process of creating or improving housing opportunities for their clients. It can help service providers have conversations about how to move forward, and provides some key considerations for designing a strong operational plan. Additionally, this report has been made available as a resource which can be used to advocate for additional types of supported housing for formerly incarcerated individuals, and highlights the need for more appropriate residential choices for this group. The findings establish that second stage housing is a valuable option for housing ex-prisoners which contributes to increased community safety, improved financial and human savings, and contributes to a reduction in **homelessness**.

This project examined promising practices in housing that are diverting people away from precarious living situations such as the streets, **emergency shelters**, or uncertain short term residences; and into safe, supported long term homes which better prepare them for community living. Opportunities for creating second stage housing are essential to achieving good public safety results, and the sites visited for this project are leaders in innovative housing practices in Canada.

Homes for the 'Hard to House' grew out of SLSC's 2010 report, *Community Connections: The Key to Community Corrections for Individuals with Mental Health Disorders,* which was undertaken as part of SLSC's ongoing mental health initiatives and investigated methods for increasing access to community mental health services for previously incarcerated individuals. It became evident that there are substantial challenges in obtaining access to community based mental health services, however, this was further complicated by a lack of adequate housing options available to residents after being discharged from a CBRF.[1] Without being able to offer residents a stable, long term housing option as part of their reintegration plan, much of the successes achieved by CBRF staff through programs and collaboration in the community were disrupted when a resident was discharged to unknown or risky living conditions upon the completion of their stay. As such, it was identified that an important next step for SLSC's research would address promising practices in housing former inmates that create positive, long term opportunities for residents of CBRFs which contribute to their **successful reintegration** into the community.

Second stage housing is one such promising practice that creates opportunities for CBRF residents on **parole** or for those on **statutory release** to have access to long term, affordable housing offered in a clean, safe, and supported environment by an organization that understands the needs of the tenants. Second stage housing can also be referred to as transitional housing, but for the purposes of this project the term 'second stage' is used given the specific presence of a 'first' stage – incarceration or a CBRF. 'Second stage' and 'transitional' can be used interchangeably within the literature due to their similar long term but temporary structure, yet they differ from **supportive housing** which is permanent in nature. It is important to note the similarities between second stage and supportive housing, which is that both provide a combination of housing and support services, and in both cases may be linked or de-linked (i.e., one agency provides both, or two agencies partner to provide the housing plus the supports). This distinguishes both from subsidized housing which typically does not involve direct support services.

Also known as 'phased permanent', 'transpermanent' or 'interim' housing, second stage housing has been defined as consisting of relatively private accommodations provided on a temporary basis along with intensive services intended to facilitate the transition to permanent housing. It is intended to offer a supportive living environment along with tools and opportunities which foster social skills and development, and has been conceptualized as an intermediate step between emergency crisis shelter and permanent housing. It is more long term, service-intensive and private than emergency shelters, yet remains time limited to stays of three months to three years.[2] It is

[1] Based on the Community Connections National Survey (SLSC, 2008), at least 65% of CBRFs provide residential services to people with a formal mental health disorder diagnosis. When polled about discharge planning issues, nearly all respondents highlighted an urgent need for appropriate community housing and supports.

[2] Barrow, S. & Zimmer, R. 1999. Transitional housing and services: A synthesis. In L. Fosburg & D. Dennis (Eds.) *Practical Lessons: The 1998 National Symposium on Homelessness Research.* Washington.

meant to provide a safe, supportive environment where residents can overcome issues that may contribute to homelessness or increased risk of criminal behaviour, and offers an opportunity to continue building a support network. The overall objective of second stage housing is to provide people with the structure and support they need to address critical issues necessary to maintain permanent housing and maximize self-sufficiency.[3]

Second stage housing is an essential component to successful reintegration, since it addresses a major issue in the Canadian rental market where many people cannot afford appropriate housing because of their modest income. The majority of people discharged from a CBRF receive income and/or disability support upon their release. Income allowances typically do not provide a means for obtaining safe housing, and puts people in low-income, high risk environments which increase the likelihood of behaviours or situations in which the individual may harm themselves or others.

The scope of this research report examines promising practices within existing academic literature in relation to second stage housing practices observed through the survey findings and regional site visits. As such, this report provides considerations for those looking to expand or create second stage housing opportunities for federally sentenced persons. SLSC acknowledges that there are a significant number of sub-groups within this population such as women, seniors, aboriginal peoples, and people with mental and physical health concerns that range from moderate to serious, whose needs reach beyond the scope of this research. Nonetheless, the information can be tailored by the experts—those working within community corrections who best know their clientele and their community—who can take into account the needs of individual sub-groups.

The term 'hard to house' is used within the literature and highlights the situation of those who are most vulnerable and ill-served by the housing system—the housing market, which is not concerned with their issues, and the non-profit housing system which is scarce and stressed as is. The term does not intend disrespect to the individual, but refers to these systemic difficulties associated with people involved with the criminal justice system.

Through this examination of promising practices within Canada, it is clear that each second stage housing program has been designed to fit not only the resident profile of the CBRF and broader organization, but the community in which it exists. There is no one-size-fits-all model. Despite these individual differences, there are fundamental features that link these innovative programs as best practices in reducing homelessness, and increasing successful community living for the tenants.

In addition to establishing the need for more effective housing for former inmates, the course of this research has connected us with organizations that SLSC considers pathfinders in the field of community corrections and effective second stage housing. The mission of each of these organizations is to undertake projects which provide hope and opportunity to individuals who would otherwise have extremely limited housing options, with the overarching goal of contributing to safer, healthier communities in Canada. Their contributions to housing efforts for Canadians in need are heartily commended.

[3] Novac, S. et al. 2004. *Transitional Housing: Objectives, Indicators of Success and Outcomes.* Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC).

METHODOLOGY

Data collection for this report was conducted through a multi-phased approach consisting of national and locally focused surveys and regional site visits by the project manager. The first phase utilized an online survey tool that comprised two sections: polling staff at Community-based Residential Facilities (CBRFs) about the housing and support needs of their residents, their capacity to track the housing status of residents upon discharge, and evaluated their relationship with community based service providers and the degree of collaboration used to support residents; and secondly, the survey continued for respondents that had also access to second stage housing through their organization and evaluated the resident profile of that program, how they measure success of the program, and their relationship with the community. This survey comprised a variety of quantitative and qualitative questions aimed at identifying the risk of homelessness for CBRF residents, their personal support and housing needs, partnerships in the community, and best practices in second stage housing.

The CBRF survey was distributed to Community-based Residential Facilities in the five Regional Halfway House memberships (N=131). SLSC sought distribution through each of the five Regional Halfway House Associations (BC/Yukon; Prairies; Ontario; Quebec; and Atlantic) who graciously circulated the online survey to their residential agencies and encouraged participation. As a result of this collaboration, SLSC received an average response rate of 55% participation from CBRFs.

Additionally, a smaller locally focused online survey was utilized to poll a small sample of Canadian transitional housing service providers whose services are not directly linked to corrections. With the assistance of three members of the national advisory group and their affiliation with transitional housing committees in their regions, the survey was distributed within Toronto, ON, around the greater Vancouver region, and within the province of New Brunswick. The purpose of administering this survey was to contextualize the data obtained by the CBRF survey in relation to housing, as well as to gauge the level of awareness or openness for housing services to be offered to persons with a criminal record.

The second phase of data collection involved regional site visits which included sites in British Columbia, Ontario, and Atlantic Canada. The following table gives a breakdown of the number and type of interview conducted.

Region	Total # of Residences	SSH Staff Interviewed	SSH Residents Interviewed	CBRF Staff Interviewed	CBRF Residents Interviewed	Total # Interviewees
British Columbia	**3**	10	8	0	0	18
Ontario	**6**	15	6	2	4	27
Atlantic	**5**	5	4	4	6	19
TOTAL	**14**	**30**	**18**	**6**	**10**	**64**

*Note: In Ontario 1 of 6 SSH residents and 3 of 4 CBRF residents were women. In the Atlantic region 1 of 4 SSH residents was a woman and 3 of 6 CBRF residents were women; 1 of 4 CBRF staff works at a women's CBRF. Additionally, 2 of 10 SSH Staff in BC were community staff persons consisting of a community corrections psychiatric nurse, and a parole officer.

Sites were chosen from a sample of survey respondents who indicated their interest in participating in the site visit component of the project. From this group, sites were chosen based on SLSC's ability to maximize travel subsidies by visiting the regions which offered the greatest number of eligible sites. Each second stage housing program was toured to identify general features of the building design and the standard accommodations for residents. Staff interviewed ranged from front line workers (N=8), house directors/program managers (N=16), to Executive Directors (N=8). In addition to these, interviews were conducted with a community corrections psychiatric nurse and a parole officer within two of the British Columbia sites who are involved with the housing and reintegration process of their clients.

The staff interviews were designed to have a qualitative, semi-structured approach that contributed to an open conversation around interview topics which included, but were not limited to: building design and structure; program design and structure; resident profile; resident housing and support needs; community relations and partnerships; and advice on creating or improving second stage housing opportunities. Resident interviews were also semi-structured, and interview topics included: satisfaction with living arrangements; past experiences with obtaining housing; impact that second stage housing has had (or would have, for CBRF residents) on their lives; and their recommendations and considerations for new housing programs.

The purpose of the site visits was to review different second stage housing programs in the country, and to establish a focused approach to promising practices. Site visits offered the opportunity to obtain on-site feedback from staff and residents which contributed to a greater understanding of the dynamics for providing housing in each location.

In addition to the data collection methods listed above, a comprehensive literature review was completed in order to highlight existing research on: the homelessness of former inmates; second stage housing practices; and the applicability of a Housing First approach for this population. The methods for collecting research on this topic utilized academic databases, with a focus on Canadian literature. The national advisory group was also consulted to recommend literature and other materials beyond those retrieved from database searches.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This review consolidates available research on: the risk of homelessness for ex-offenders leaving a federal/provincial institution or Community-based Residential Facility (CBRF); second stage and transitional housing practices; and the applicability of a housing first model for ex-offenders. The purpose of the review is to identify challenges faced by ex-offenders—some of whom may have mental health or **concurrent disorders**—and service providers within the current system, as evidenced from the research. A review of the literature in these areas established the basis for developing this evidence-based starter kit in conjunction with information obtained through SLSC's national survey and site studies. These components highlight the perceived needs for second stage housing programs for service users and providers.

STATISTICAL OVERVIEW/RATES OF HOMELESSNESS

It is well established in Canadian literature that individuals involved with the justice system, whether federally or provincially, face significant challenges in obtaining safe, affordable housing options upon their release from custody.[4] This project focuses primarily on the federal population, however, it should be noted that those involved in the provincial system also face significant challenges, often due to mental health and substance abuse related issues that are not able to be adequately addressed by the current system. This could be due to many reasons such as lack of funding or access to appropriate professionals. As such, many individuals enter the federal system from the provincial system having fallen through the cracks, and the federal correctional system is responsible for treating, housing, and eventually transitioning them back to the community.[5]

Canada currently has an incarceration rate of 117 people per 100,000,[6] placing it fifth highest among Western European countries, and thirteenth among members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which include some of the world's most advanced countries and emerging economies.[7] Over past decades, Canadians have seen calls for reform to the criminal justice system to impose harsher sanctions for sentenced persons. At the time of this report, the Canadian justice system is operating once again within such a context given the recent passing of the *Safe Streets and Communities Act* which is rooted in a "get tough on crime" approach. While such an approach may appeal to some, the reality is that the vast majority of people who are

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[4] See for example, Zorzi, R. et al. 2007. *Housing Options Upon Discharge from Correctional Facilities.* Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC)*;* Stapleton, J. et al. 2011. *Making Toronto Safer: A Cost-Benefit Analysis of Transitional Housing Supports for Men Leaving Incarceration.* John Howard Society of Toronto; Kellen, A. et al. 2010. *Homeless and Jailed: Jailed and Homeless.* John Howard Society of Toronto; Gaetz, S. & O'Grady, B. 2009. Homelessness, Incarceration, and the Challenge of Effective Discharge Planning: A Canadian Case. In Hulchanski et. al. (eds.) *Finding Home: Policy Options for Addressing Homelessness in Canada* (e-book), Chapter 7.3. Cities Centre, University of Toronto.

[5] See for example, Zapf, P. et al. 1996. An Examination of the Relationship of Homelessness to Mental Disorder, Criminal Behaviour, and Health Care in a Pretrial Jail Population. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry,* 41: 435-440*;* Motiuk, L. & Porporino, J. The Prison Careers of Mentally Disordered Offenders. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 18(1): 29-44.

[6] Public Safety Canada. 2011. Corrections and Conditional Release Statistical Overview: Annual Report.

[7] International Centre for Prison Studies (ICPS). 2009. *World Prison Population List (8th Edition).*

incarcerated will return to Canadian communities. It is for this reason that an examination of reintegration practices for sentenced persons is crucial to ensuring the highest degree of success in their safe return to community. As stated by Gaetz and O'Grady:

> *How we prepare prisoners for release has important implications for communities across the country. Inadequate transitional supports may increase the risk of recidivism for inmates, undermining a key goal of corrections, and jeopardizing not only the health and safety of inmates, but of all Canadians as well. This is where the relationship between incarceration and prisoner re-entry must be considered.*[8]

Housing, specifically safe and supportive housing, is a crucial component to prisoner re-entry. Recent estimates state that 30% of individuals incarcerated in Canada will have no homes to go to upon their release.[9] Community-based Residential Facilities (CBRFs), or halfway houses as they are commonly known, are only for those on **conditional release**. In terms of housing in the private rental market, ex-prisoners have very limited options due to a lack of resources and the fact that in most provinces, landlords can legally discriminate against those with a criminal record. Also, many federally sentenced people have few or strained family relationships. This leaves the options of supportive or subsidized housing, which are often scarce and have long wait lists. The resulting displacement leaves these individuals with options that typically include sub-standard rooming houses, homeless shelters, or the streets.[10] These are all alternatives that place them in high risk neighborhoods at a greater risk to themselves and to others.

While current national rates of homelessness among released prisoners have not been calculated, the estimated rate of 30% highlights the great financial and human costs that are affecting this sub-population and the broader public. Numerous studies show that the alternative of offering no supports upon the completion of a person's sentence often contributes to an increase in criminal activity, causing a direct additional cost to all levels of government,[11] as well as to the community that is affected by the crime. A study by Pomeroy (2005) highlights that the cost of homelessness in Canada does not only accrue for emergency shelters, soup kitchens, and day programs, but for the health care and correctional systems as well. Pomeroy's study showed that the annual basic costs per person were:

- $66,000 to $120,000 for institutional responses (prison/detention/psychiatric hospitals)
- $13,000 to $42,000 for emergency shelters (cross section of youth, men, women, families, victims of domestic violence)
- $13,000 to $18,000 for transitional and supportive housing
- $5,000 to $8,000 for affordable housing without supports

[8] Gaetz, S. and O'Grady, B. 2009. p.2.
[9] Zorzi, R. et al. 2007.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] Stapleton, J. et al. 2011.

Pomeroy argues that these costs are incurred because people who are homeless have an increased likelihood to be involved with the law and/or use mental health services to a higher degree.[12] Additionally it has been found that the cost of a new unit of non-profit housing, per person, is lower than various institutional alternatives or the provision of support services to the homeless.[13] This is easily conceivable when one considers the costs incurred by the community such as: the cost borne by the victim; criminal justice system costs (investigation, charging, prosecution, processing); transitional housing cost (CBRFs plus programming); social assistance costs such as Ontario Works or disability support programs; and finally health, police and other costs associated with providing emergency response such as police involvement and hospital visits.[14]

A safe, affordable home has been identified as a key element in making it possible for people to begin reducing substance use, provides a base for creating friendships, getting to know and respect themselves, develop and establish their own networks, and become connected to the community and its resources.[15] Additionally, it has been found that virtually all evaluative studies of transitional housing demonstrate some degree of improvement in housing status after leaving a program, and a significant reduction in the number of people who return to a state of homelessness upon exiting the program.[16] Conversely, it has been found that ex-offenders who have experienced difficulties in obtaining suitable accommodation have a higher likelihood of being reconvicted than those who did not have accommodation problems.[17] Sentenced persons who recidivate often point to a lack of suitable housing as a key factor in their unsuccessful transition back to a community. This can be due to the fact that ex-prisoners who are released to community find themselves forced to relocate in areas that have a higher concentration of crime, disorder, and an absence of support services.[18] Given these findings, and the rates of homelessness of ex-offenders in Canada, the provision of safe, affordable housing with supports is a significant factor in reducing rates of reoffending and creating safer communities. It also offers a very real opportunity to break the cycle of poverty, homelessness, and incarceration. Stable transitional housing opportunities and planning for alternatives against homelessness upon release are increasingly relevant components of effective discharge planning.

Currently, Canada is the only G8 country that does not have a national housing strategy which would enable public policies to create mechanisms that allow the for-profit and non-profit sectors

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[12] Pomeroy, S. 2005. *The Cost of Homelessness: Analysis of Alternate Responses in Four Canadian Cities.* National Secretariat on Homelessness. Ottawa, ON.

[13] Novac, S. et al. 2007. A Revolving Door? Homeless People and the Justice System in Toronto. *Centre for Urban and Community Studies Research Bulletin #36*. University of Toronto.

[14] Stapleton, J. et al. 2011. p.21-22.

[15] Kraus, D. et al. 2005. *Homelessness, Housing, and Harm Reduction: Stable Housing for Homeless People with Substance Use Issues.* Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC).

[16] Barrow, S. & Zimmer, R. 1999.

[17] Nilsson, A. 2003. Living Conditions, Social Exclusion, and Recidivism Among Prison Inmates. *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention.* 4(1): 57-83.

[18] Griffiths, C. et al. 2007. *The Social Reintegration of Offenders and Crime Prevention.* National Crime Prevention Centre Research Report: 2007-2. Public Safety Canada.

to invest in creative partnerships in the provision and management of affordable housing.[19] A recent report suggests that in 2007, a conservative estimate placed the cost of homelessness in Canada at $4.5 to 6 billion annually. This cost was for community organizations, governments, and non-profits to provide emergency services. The report argued that between 1993 and 2004, Canadian taxpayers spent an estimated $49.5 billion maintaining the status quo for homelessness in the country.[20] Homelessness is a manifestation of poverty at its most severe, and it is a visible outcome of a lack of affordable housing. It is affected by factors such as the high cost of housing, unemployment, low income and insufficient minimum wage rates. Other factors can include relational breakdown, mental health issues, addictions, victimization and abuse.[21] Homelessness is a wide-ranging societal issue, and presents serious definitional challenges. Currently, the Canadian Homelessness Research Network (CHRN) defines homelessness as:

> *The situation of an individual or household without stable, permanent, acceptable housing, or the immediate prospect of acquiring it. It is the result of systemic or societal barriers, a lack of affordable and appropriate housing, and/or the individual/household's financial, mental, cognitive, behavioural or physical challenges. It is a situation not of their choosing (unless the situation they are leaving is considered much worse), and is generally a negative, unpleasant, stressful and distressing experience. Given the diversity of the homeless population, it is acknowledged that sub-populations such as Aboriginal people experience homelessness in distinctive ways that require different responses.*
>
> *Homelessness describes a range of housing and shelter circumstances, with people being absolutely homeless at one end, and experiencing housing exclusion (being precariously or inadequately housed) at the other. That is, homelessness encompasses a range of physical living situations…that includes 1)* ***Unsheltered****, or absolutely homeless and living on the streets or in places not intended for human habitation; 2)* ***Emergency Sheltered****, including those staying in overnight shelters for people who are homeless, as well as Violence Against Women shelters; 3)* ***Provisionally Accommodated****, referring to those whose accommodation is temporary and who do not have their own home or security of tenure, and finally, 4)* ***Insecurely Housed****, referring to people who are 'at risk' of homelessness, and whose current economic and/or housing situation is precarious or does not meet public health and safety standards. It should be noted that for many people homelessness is not a static state but rather a fluid experience, where one's shelter circumstances and options may shift and change quite dramatically and with frequency.*[22]

This definition suits the purposes of this project, and will be used in support of the CHRN's efforts to establish a pan-Canadian definition.

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[19] van Wyk, R. et al. 2009. *Gaining Momentum: Affordable Housing in the Fraser Valley.* Mennonite Central Committee. Abbottsford, BC. p.14

[20] Laird, G. 2007. *Shelter: Homelessness in a Growth Economy: Canada's 21 Century Paradox.* Sheldon Chumir Foundation for Ethics in Leadership: Calgary.

[21] *Ibid* at 38.

[22] Canadian Homelessness Research Network. 2012. *Canadian Definition of Homelessness.* Homeless Hub: www.homelesshub.ca/CHRNhomelessdefinition/

Poverty and homelessness are significant factors within the federal inmate population. During 2002-2003 in the City of Toronto, it was found that a minimum of 885 individuals were admitted to a shelter on their release from a jail or court.[23] In British Columbia, recent calculations in the Fraser Valley alone found that between 300 and 360 persons per year who are soon to be released from federal correctional facilities are applying for welfare support. Of these people, 90% qualify for support. The implications of these findings are that an additional 270-324 additional people per year are looking for affordable housing in communities where such options are very limited. The Fraser Valley study consulted service providers throughout the area who agreed that without a home it is "difficult, if not impossible, to be successful in training or employment, and that a lack of employment increases an offender's likelihood to re-offend. The resulting public cost appears to make publicly-supported housing construction and management an attractive economic option."[24] There are several studies that have found transitional housing to be an effective method for bridging the gap between community corrections and social services, as well as being a cost effective and humane option for a variety of individuals who become trapped within a cycle of homelessness.[25] While there are few studies on the effectiveness of transitional housing which specifically focus on individuals who are involved with the justice system, the following sections establish the need for such housing for justice involved persons.

WHAT IS SECOND STAGE HOUSING AND WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS?

For the purposes of this project the term 'second stage' housing is used, given its implication of the existence of a 'first' stage—in this case incarceration or a CBRF. While the terms 'second stage' and 'transitional' are used interchangeably within the literature due to their similar long term but temporary structure, it is worth noting the difference between them and supportive housing, which is permanent in nature. It is also important to note the similarities, which is that both supportive housing and second stage housing provide a combination of housing and support services, which in both cases may be linked or de-linked (i.e., one agency provides both, or two agencies partner to provide the housing plus the supports). This distinguishes both from simply subsidized housing. Second stage housing is also known as 'phased permanent', 'transpermanent' or 'interim' housing, and has been defined as consisting of relatively private accommodations provided on a temporary basis along with intensive services intended to facilitate the transition to permanent housing. It is intended to offer a supportive living environment along with tools and opportunities which foster social skills and development, and has been conceptualized as an intermediate step between emergency crisis shelter and permanent housing. It is more long term, service-intensive and private than emergency shelters, yet remains time limited to stays of three months to three years.[26] It is meant to provide a safe, supportive environment where residents can overcome issues that led them to homelessness or criminal activity, and offers an opportunity to continue building a support network. The overall objective of second stage housing is to provide people with the structure and

[23] Novac, S. et al. 2006. *Justice and Injustice: Homelessness, Crime, Victimization and the Criminal Justice System.* Research Paper 207. Centre for Urban and Community Studies. University of Toronto with John Howard Society of Toronto.
[24] van Wyk, R. et al. 2009. p.40.
[25] See for example, Stapleton, J. et al. 2011.; Novac, S. et al. 2004.
[26] Barrow, S. & Zimmer, R. 1999.

support they need to address critical issues necessary to maintain permanent housing and maximize self-sufficiency.[27]

Critics have argued that second stage housing is institutional, stigmatizing, and a drain on resources that can be used better for permanent housing. Additionally, the model's success is dependent on the availability of permanent housing that an individual can 'graduate' to which is near community based services.[28] While this review does not seek to advocate for the appropriateness of all types of transitional housing, there are several key reasons why second stage housing is an appropriate service for people involved with the criminal justice system. First, as established earlier, there are a large number of federally sentenced persons who are at risk of homelessness upon leaving an institution or CBRF, often due to a lack of available affordable housing and an inability to secure housing due to landlord restrictions based on a criminal record. Additionally, securing enough money for rent is nearly impossible while an individual is staying at a conditional release residence (current allowances total less than $30 per week). This is complicated further by an inability to apply for social assistance until the person is no longer in a conditional release residence. A Canadian study on second stage housing for ex-offenders found that participants who were not in second stage housing reported that securing adequate and affordable housing was one of the biggest challenges following their release.[29] It is within this crucial transitional period where many are affected by the combination of not having money for housing and not being eligible to live in a CBRF, and end up relocating to a shelter or rooming house.[30] These options are not conducive to rehabilitation given an increased exposure to a number of issues that have contributed often to their prior involvement with the criminal justice system.

Current literature supports second stage housing for persons with a history of conflict with the law,[31] and the service component of this type of housing has been shown to impact significantly the outcomes of residents.[32] It is recommended that tailoring the program to a high-demand or low-demand approach depending on the resident profile can be helpful in achieving a greater degree of success.[33] High-demand and low-demand approaches are characterized by their rules and expectations, methods of service delivery, and levels of support services. High-demand focuses on an extended set of rules and regulations and maintains expectations for the residents that often include participation in programming, treatment, and therapeutic services. This is in line with traditional approaches to service provision, as opposed to a Housing First approach. Alternatively, a

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[27] Novac, S. et al. 2004.
[28] *Ibid* at 2.
[29] Brown, J. et al. 2006. *Second Stage Housing for Aboriginal Ex-Offenders in Winnipeg's Inner City.* Andrews Street Family Centre and Mennonite Central Committee.
[30] According to SLSC's national survey for this project, respondents listed housing as the most important need for clients upon their discharge from a CBRF.
[31] See for example, Currie, J. 2005. *Women Offenders: Characteristics, Needs and Impacts of Transitional Housing* in Socio-Economic Series. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC); Zorzi, R. et al. 2007.; Kraus, D. 2001. *Housing for People with Alcohol and Drug Addictions: An Annotated Bibliography.* Vancouver; Gouvas Roman, C. 2006. *Moving Towards Evidence-Based Housing Programs for Persons with Mental Illness in Contact with the Justice System.* National GAINS Center.
[32] Gouvas Roman, C. 2006.
[33] Schiff, R. 2008. *Housing Needs of Single Homeless Women with Multiple Issues in Regina.* University of Regina.

low-demand approach has few rules outside of a standard tenant and lease agreement but still has a high level of support services and staffing, as well as a great deal of flexibility.[34]

Schiff (2008) found that low-demand housing is a more successful approach for those who have been mistrustful of support services or the most difficult to engage within the service system. This includes people—especially women—who have a mental illness without a co-occurring substance abuse issue. In a low-demand setting, residents start off with fewer, more easily accomplished service goals with the possibility of moving towards more intensive treatment. To begin, residents are given basic necessities such as a phone and a mailing address, and then over time staff engage them in increasingly goal-oriented activities targeting mental health, addictions, etc. with the aim of reducing barriers to housing stability.[35] Overall, these approaches are not valued against each other, but are meant to be used after assessing the needs of the client profile for the housing program. Available research would suggest that housing which involves a substance abuse treatment component may benefit from a high-demand approach to offer a controlled environment around drug use, and programs that focus on clients with mental illness may have more success with a low-demand approach in order to establish a greater degree of trust among residents and support staff.

When managing the transition from institution to community, research on parole officer perspectives has found that transitional housing is crucial for people to get settled and become independent. The type of housing and the quality of support received plays a role in parole success. It is possible that the conditions people find themselves in after release are no different than those when their offence occurred. Being returned to that prior setting creates a risk of repeating the past.[36]

MENTAL HEALTH

"Prisons and jails have become the de facto public and community mental health providers of the 21st century."[37] In Canada, it is well established that individuals with mental illness increasingly are involved with the criminal justice system at a disproportionate rate.[38] While this relationship is complex, there is general consensus within the literature that those who lack appropriate mental health services and supports often come into contact with the criminal justice system as a default related to their condition.[39] Understanding the parameters of mental health disorders is also complex, and definitions vary within the literature. In keeping with recent SLSC projects, and based on agreement by our national advisory committees, for the purposes of this project a **mental health disorder** is defined as: a substantial disorder of thought, mood, perception, orientation, or

[34] *Ibid* at 17.
[35] Schiff, R. 2008. p.18.
[36] Brown, J. 2004. Managing the Transition from Institution to Community: A Canadian Parole Officer Perspective on the Needs of Newly Released Federal Offenders. *Western Criminology Review 5(2): 97-107.* University of Manitoba.
[37] Cloyes, K. et al. 2010. Time to prison return for offenders with serious mental illness released from prison. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour* 37(2): 175.
[38] Sealy, P. & Whitehead, P. 2004. Forty years of deinstitutionalization of psychiatric services in Canada: An empirical assessment. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry,* 49: 249-57.
[39] Schizophrenia Society of Ontario. 2012*. Provincial Correctional Response to Individuals with Mental Illness in Ontario: A Review of Literature.*

memory that grossly impairs judgment, behaviour, and the capacity to recognize reality or the ability to meet the ordinary demands of life. It consists of a clinically significant behavioral or psychological syndrome or pattern that is associated with impairment in important areas of functioning, or a significantly increased risk of suffering death, pain, disability, or an important loss of freedom.[40]

There are significant challenges within the correctional system concerning inmates who have mental health disorders. The importance of understanding the scope of this issue is not only paramount to establishing the need to invest in diversionary practices to help keep at-risk individuals from entering the criminal justice system, but also to ensure that those who do enter the system receive the support needed to prevent patterns of recurring criminal involvement, and which places them in a system that is capable of supporting their basic needs. The Correctional Service of Canada has acknowledged that the rates of mental health disorders within institutions are of increasing concern. Their research has noted that within the period of 1997 and 2008, the rate of individuals in custody who have identified as having a past mental health disorder diagnosis at intake has risen from 10% to 18%.[41] Similarly, the proportion of individuals with a current diagnosis rose from 7% to 13%, and the proportion currently prescribed medication for mental health needs has increased from 9% to 21%. For women, the same criteria present even higher rates: past diagnoses rose from 20% to 30%; current diagnoses at intake rose from 13% to 24%; and prescribed medication rates rose from 34% to 46%.[42] These statistics show the growing challenge to service provision and demonstrate the need to create effective discharge plans for those with mental health needs to ensure that they receive appropriate care in the community.

Recent literature highlights the problems associated with mental illness for people under a sentence, including housing. While these individuals often require specialized housing, there is little available. Too often they resort to rooming houses which do not have the supports required to ensure they have and continue to take medications.[43] Community stakeholders which participate in research studies repeatedly express the view that now, many years after the de-institutionalization of the mentally ill, we continue to live with the issues that affect those with mental health disorders without providing a suitable community based support alternative. This population continues to fall through the cracks—too often into the criminal justice system—because they do not fit into current health policy, funding, or training framework for identification, assessment, diagnosis and supportive care.[44] It is increasingly evident that prisons and jails have become deluged with mentally disabled individuals, particularly those who have been homeless.[45] Other studies have

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[40] This definition has been excerpted from the *Mental Health Act of Alberta*. 2010, Revised Statutes of Alberta 2000, Chapter M-13, and the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) IV-TR* per: *APA DSM V Development.* 2012. The DSM-IV TR has been supplemented with the Mental Health Act of Alberta because the provincial Acts contain a more inclusive language for mental health disorder that fits Canadian service provision standards for mental health care. For a more comprehensive definition, please refer to these documents.

[41] Stewart, L. et al. 2010. *Research Report: An Initial Report on the Results of the Pilot of the Computerized Mental Health Intake Screening System.* Correctional Service of Canada. p.1.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] Zorzi, R. et al. 2007. p.3.

[44] van Wyk, R. et al. 2009. p.48.

[45] Novac, S. et al. 2006. p.8.

found that the repeated incarceration of people with serious mental illness (SMI) have significantly higher rates of **recidivism**, returning nearly one year sooner than non-SMI offenders.[46] It is crucial to establish a successful means for reintegration in order to avoid the high financial and human costs associated with shelter, hospital, and prison use.

The Mental Health Commission of Canada (MHCC) has an important role to play in helping to achieve successful reintegration for sentenced persons with mental health disorders, and their initial work has referenced the criminal justice system. There is progress being made in understanding the interconnectedness of the mental health and justice systems. It is expected that all of this work will lead to greater access to mental health care for all Canadians, including those who are justice involved.[47]

SUB-GROUPS

WOMEN

Based on the reports of mental health needs within the criminal justice system in Canada, and the disturbing rates of mental health needs among incarcerated women, this section will examine the needs of women within the criminal justice system as they pertain to housing needs upon release. Research has shown that women leaving correctional facilities experience problems with housing stabilization and homelessness.[48] A review of literature by Currie (2005) found that research on women has been limited due to the relatively small number of women in the criminal justice system and the fact that women are less likely to commit serious violent crimes. [49] Instead, literature has indicated that sentenced women are seriously disadvantaged in most areas of their lives, and on every significant measure these women have serious barriers to successful reintegration into the community after prison.[50]

Women often become or remain homeless due to one or multiple experiences involving: domestic violence; abuse (physical/sexual/psychological); mental illness; substance abuse; pregnancy; and involvement with the criminal justice system.[51] When addressing the needs of women who are reintegrating to a community, consideration must be given to gender-specific needs and preferences regarding treatment, recovery, and housing stability. Services that are important to meeting the needs of women include: negotiating with landlords; relapse prevention; financial management support; housekeeping/hygiene; ensuring that food, furniture, and transportation are available when needed; and finally, staff support to find permanent housing.[52] The need for these

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[46] Cloyes, K.G. et al. 2010.
[47] For more information visit the Mental Health Commission of Canada website at: www.mentalhealthcommission.ca
[48] Schiff, R. 2008. p.9; Also see for example, Currie, J. 2005.; Freudenberg, N. et al. 2005. Coming Home from Jail: The Social and Health Consequences of Community Re-entry for Women, Male Adolescents, and Their Families and Communities. *American Journal of Public Health*, 95(10): 1725-1736; Zorzi, R. et al. 2007.
[49] Currie, J. 2005. p.3; As of August 2010 there were 512 federally sentenced women incarcerated in CSC facilities, and 567 women were under some form of community supervision. (*Corrections and Conditional Release Statistical Overview: Annual Report 2010*.)
[50] Currie, J. 2005.
[51] Schiff, R. 2008. p.3.
[52] Schiff, R. 2008. p.3.

services is made especially clear by one study of federally sentenced women in the Vancouver region which found that only half of the women surveyed had completed grades 8-10.[53] Women in the criminal justice system face serious challenges associated with navigating a system that is not structured around their needs, and this is especially true for housing.

In addition to conducting a literature review, Currie (2005) undertook a comparison of a transitional housing program for sentenced women and a Community-based Residential Facility in the Vancouver region. The sample size aimed at recruiting 16-20 women from each location, and both groups were tracked for at least a one year period to determine their housing and health status. Almost all the participants from both residences described themselves as having serious substance abuse issues, family problems, and had poor physical and mental health care at the pre-incarceration stage. While the sample sizes for this study were small, and therefore the results are suggestive, but not generalizable, there were significant improvements in the transitional housing residents when compared to the CBRF group. These included: a lack of subsequent criminal charges or returns to custody; an increase in stable, safe, non-transient housing; improved health; reduced levels of substance abuse; slightly higher involvement in job training programs; and fewer problems finding a place to sleep at night.[54] These are significant findings which point to the importance of identifying the appropriate housing needs of women who are transitioning to community.

Novac et al. found that women attach a variety of meanings to the concept of 'home' which include: decent material conditions and standards; emotional and physical well-being; loving and caring social relations; control and privacy; and living/sleeping space.[55] Other research also indicates that safe, secure, affordable, and adequate housing along with appropriate support services is crucial to women's recovery and ability to exit homelessness, and are a key component in addictions recovery.[56] A few studies have identified the distinct housing needs and preferences for women who are homeless which indicate a preference for self-contained units in a women-only building. They also favoured communal living areas such as the kitchen or common room, and while this is not a suitable arrangement for all women, research indicates that aside from personal conflicts, women tend to form groups for social support.[57]

A British Columbia study that examined the housing needs of women exiting a correctional facility reported on women's preferences and needs to aid in community reintegration and stabilization. These included: peer support; a clean and sober environment; shared decision making among residents on household chores and rules; pro-active help to access educational upgrading and job skills training; transportation to medical services; basic life skills, including money management; and voluntary participation in counselling and healing circles.[58] The consequences of not providing

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[53] Currie, J. 2005.
[54] Currie, J. 2005.
[55] Novac, S. et al. 1996. *No Room of Her Own: A Literature Review on Women and Homelessness.* Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC).
[56] Schiff, R. 2008. p.5, 10.
[57] Novac, S. et al. 1996. p.41.
[58] Lasovich, M. 1996. *Release Housing Program for Women: A Supportive Housing strategy for prisoners released from the Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women to British Columbia communities*. Elizabeth Fry Societies Provincial Council. p.8.

such services are demonstrated by a more recent report on community corrections in Canada which reported that in a review of 100 cases where women on conditional release in the community were returned to custody for reasons other than having committed an offence, substance abuse was involved in approximately 90% of the cases.[59] The importance of discharge planning and implementing the necessary supports for women is crucial to addressing and offering some form of remedy to the systemic factors which place women in the correctional system in the first place. Similar to sentenced men, when transitioning back to the community women are faced with many of the same issues that they struggled with prior to their initial charge. However, upon transition, many of them experience greater isolation than before they were incarcerated. It is therefore essential to accurately assess the risk women present to the community, and to understand the challenges they face with achieving stability and independence in the community.[60] Appropriate interventions need to be put in place to address these issues.

Recent studies on housing have concluded that safe, private, secure, and stable second stage housing is critical for women who are leaving prison and re-entering the community.[61] It is crucial for this population because so many typically lack money, family support, life skills, and identification documents, and often suffer from poor physical and mental health and addictions when they leave the institution. The weight of these issues suggests the need for program support and counselling to be delivered in conjunction with second stage housing.[62]

ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

Aboriginal peoples in Canada are incarcerated at a much higher frequency than non-Aboriginal people, and at rates grossly disproportionate to the total Aboriginal population. Many communities, families, and individuals have serious and long standing poverty related challenges as the result of the government of Canada's past promotion of the assimilation of Aboriginal peoples, including the reserve system and residential schools which contributed to cycles of intergenerational trauma.[63] According to Statistics Canada, in 2006 Aboriginal peoples aged 18 and over were reported as comprising 3% of the Canadian population; however their representation within custody and community corrections is more than 20%.[64] Despite these figures and considerable evidence that there is a vulnerability to homelessness, there is minimal literature on the housing challenges faced by Aboriginal ex-offenders.[65] The effects of intergenerational trauma are undoubtedly involved with the overrepresentation of Aboriginal peoples in Canada's justice system, and there are

[59] O'Brien, T. 2006. *Community Corrections in Canada: Women Offenders.* International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy. Vancouver.
[60] *Ibid* at 5.
[61] For an excellent resource on women's transitional housing and service recommendations, see: Bayes, S., & Brewin, A. 2012. *Bridging the Divide: Building Safe Shelters for Women and Families in BC.* Elizabeth Fry Society of Greater Vancouver.
[62] Currie, J. 2005.
[63] Brown, J. et al. 2006. p.5.
[64] Statistics Canada. 2007/2008 *Adult Correctional Services Survey.* Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.
[65] Brown, J. et al. 2006. p.6.

excellent studies which examine the complexities of this relationship.[66] However, this section will focus on highlighting the housing needs of Aboriginal ex-offenders as outlined in current literature.

Brown et al. (2006) note that Aboriginal peoples, like non-Aboriginal people, may not be able (or want) to return to where they lived prior to incarceration. Making arrangements from prison is often difficult due to controls on communication and access to the community almost until release, putting pressure on achieving instant individual responsibility for meeting basic needs. Finding a residence, obtaining transportation, employment, food, and clothing can dominate one's efforts, and after having a period of time without the opportunity to be proactive about personal needs, this can be a serious challenge. In addition to these challenges is the initial experience of reorientation, an unsettling experience due to the requirement to redevelop, renegotiate, or reinstate one's position with family, peers, and others. These relationships play a large role in how well one adjusts to community life, and a lack of satisfaction can contribute to a return to practices that led to initial involvement with the justice system. According to Brown et al. "it is at this point that second stage housing is essential."[67]

Studies on Aboriginal ex-offenders have found that if individuals did not have a residency condition, they tend to go to a neighborhood where they can afford to live. For many this area is the urban core, where the cheapest accommodations are.[68] Other studies indicate that there is considerable evidence that Aboriginal men reintegrating to community are vulnerable to homelessness and are well represented in Canadian homeless populations.[69] One study on housing for Aboriginal ex-offenders in an urban core interviewed thirty men, all born in Canada, ranging in age from 19 to 49 years.[70] These men reported being institutionalized and unprepared for what they would experience upon release. The transition from institution to community life was difficult and lacked a proper adjustment period. Many reported isolation and loneliness and found survival to be a solitary pursuit.

Major barriers to reintegration beyond obtaining basic needs included getting a job. A criminal record, despite prior work experience, proved to be both a psychological and social challenge for the men.[71] Discrimination on the basis of race for housing has been cited as a barrier to obtaining suitable accommodations, in addition to discrimination based on status as a welfare recipient or parolee. A consequence of having little choice over where one lives is that often many are unable to avoid situations that they perceive as increasing their risk of re-offending such as exposure to

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[66] For Canadian studies on the reintegration of Aboriginal ex-offenders, see for example Brown, J. et al. 2008. Housing for Aboriginal Ex-Offenders in the Urban Core. *Qualitative Social Work* 7(2): 238-270.; Brown, J. et al. 2006; Ruttan, L. et al. 2008. A Story I Never Heard Before: Aboriginal Young Women, Homelessness, and Restoring Connections. *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health* 6(3): 31-54.
[67] Brown, J. et al. 2006. p.13.
[68] Taxman, F.S. et al. 2002. *Offender's View of Re-entry: Implications for Processes, Programs, and Services*. Washington DC: US Department of Justice.
[69] Beavis, M.A. et al. 1997. *Literature Review: Aboriginal People and Homelessness.* Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.
[70] Brown, J. et al. 2008. p.238-270.
[71] *Ibid* at 244.

substance abuse. As a result, the majority of study participants reported that their needs were not being met by their current living arrangements and had concerns about their safety.[72]

The studies by Brown et al. note that the difficult process of trying to get ahead against seemingly insurmountable challenges can be eased by a number of supports including family and friends, employers, spiritual leaders, and community agencies. For many participants, it was important to live in the same neighborhood as family and friends who are able to provide companionship and support, resources, guidance, and opportunities to meet other people in the community. As a result of these relationships, participants also felt that they were able to provide care and support for others which gave them a sense of purpose.

Investigations of what works for Aboriginal peoples who are reintegrating to community have identified several key factors that play a role in keeping them out of the correctional system. These include: having a home, not just 'housing'; support and training to move forward and instil confidence in achieving goals; addictions treatment and counselling (seen by some as vital to their continued sobriety); a social, financial, medical, and employment support system; transitional programs and 'good people' who provide trust and a sense of belonging. Also, the importance of implementing long term support solutions rather than short term was emphasized by participants—including support beyond the halfway house.

SENIORS

Of growing concern is the need to adequately house and care for an aging inmate population, given reports that in the past decade there has been more than a 50% increase in the number of older prisoners serving a federal sentence.[73] Canadian prisons continue to house greater numbers of those who are impaired and aging, and treatment of their illnesses is becoming a major concern.[74] This concern is transferred to community corrections as increasing numbers of CBRFs are reporting the need to be better prepared to accommodate an aging clientele. Current rates of sentenced persons aged 50 and over comprise 30% of those being supervised in the community, and it is generally accepted that the aging process is accelerated by as much as 10 years or more in an institutional setting.[75] The Office of the Correctional Investigator has made recommendations to develop programming tailored to the needs of older inmates, given that correctional and vocational programs are important components to successful reintegration into the community, and ultimately, public safety.[76]

Gnaedinger (2007) examined the needs of 'hard to house' seniors, referring to those who are repeatedly evicted or at constant risk of homelessness, usually due to behaviours which are not tolerated in many housing or care settings.[77] This study evaluated a residential building whose median age group is 55 to 64 years of age. More than half of the tenants are dependent on welfare,

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[72] Brown, J. et al. 2006. p.28-31.
[73] Public Safety Canada. 2010. Also see Correctional Service of Canada *1999-2000 Departmental Performance Report*.
[74] Office of the Correctional Investigator. *Annual Report of the Office of the Correctional Investigator 2010-2011.*
[75] *Ibid* at 21.
[76] Office of the Correctional Investigator. 2010-2011. p.23-24.
[77] Gnaedinger, N. 2007. *Supportive Housing for Homeless and Hard to House Seniors: An In-Depth Case Study.* Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

while others live on pension income. A majority have multiple and complex diagnoses including mental health and addictions, and physical health problems associated with age such as arthritis, diabetes, and heart problems.

EFFECTS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION

OVERCROWDING

Rising incarceration rates, along with the lowest parole rates in decades are among some of the factors that indicate the face of corrections is changing in Canada. These changes can present significant challenges for rehabilitation, re-entry, and successful community re-integration upon release. Research suggests that overcrowding, double bunking, and inadequate access to correctional programming are just some of the factors of institutionalization that contribute to difficulties faced during reintegration. Along with a lack of relevant job skills training, and an "over-all hardening of prison conditions", these conditions have been known to decrease rehabilitation, leaving incarcerated persons less ready for community reintegration.[78]

Despite Statistics Canada's findings of a steady reduction in crime reports since 1992, with 2011 being the lowest level reported since 1974,[79] rising incarceration rates have led to increased pressures inside institutions.[80] The rise in these rates have been linked to the fact that more people are being charged, and more of those who are charged are ending up in jail and staying there longer - a phenomenon that is related to the operation of the police, courts and corrections, and their policies and practices.[81] Overcrowding has also resulted from an increase in the number of people held on remand.[82] For sentenced persons, there has been a dramatic decline in the use of conditional release programs such as parole and temporary absences, resulting in more people remaining in jail for a longer period of time. Studies have documented the overuse of incarceration, particularly for minor, non-violent crimes, and point to the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of incarcerating those who could safely be managed in the community.[83]

Federal reports suggest that 13% of the total inmate population is double bunked (approximately 1,846 inmates).[84] Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) estimates the number will increase to 30% of the overall population (approximately 4,260 inmates) in the next two years before new construction can provide any relief.[85] Currently, double-bunking rates exceed 60% in some prisons.[86]

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[78] Office of the Correctional Investigator. 2010-11.
[79] Brennan, S. 2012. Police Reported Crime Statistics in Canada, 2011. *Juristat.* Statistics Canada.
[80] Potti Bunge, V. et al. 2005. Exploring Crime Patterns in Canada. *Crime and Justice Research Paper Series: Statistics Canada.* Ottawa.
[81] The John Howard Society of Ontario. 2002. *Conditions in Ontario Provincial Prisons: A troubling picture.* Fact Sheet #18.
[82] *Ibid*.
[83] See for example, The Criminal Justice Review Committee 1999. Report of the Criminal Justice Review Committee: An Executive Summary. Retrieved from: www.attorneygeneral.jus.gov.on.ca/english/about/pubs/crimjr/. Last modified: December 2010; Gittens, M. & Cole, D. 1995. *Report of the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System*. Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario.
[84] Office of the Correctional investigator. 2010-11.
[85] *Ibid*.

Correctional reports have also noted that over the past decade there has been a significant increase in deaths and suicides while in custody resulting, in part, from poor treatment of those with mental illness, the overuse of segregation, an increase in the use of force, and the growing diversity of populations which cannot safely co-mingle.[87] An increase in prison overcrowding is contributing to these difficulties, and is linked to a general increase in levels of institutional violence and unrest.[88] There continues to be a growing number of vulnerable individuals behind bars including: the mentally and physically ill, the elderly, religious and ethnic minorities, and those with low education. Prison crowding affects these sub-groups differently, but the general effects are felt in respect to accessibility to correctional programs, available mental and physical health services, and the safety conditions of confinement in the federal penitentiaries.[89] These conditions lead to increased stress levels of inmates, encourage antisocial behaviour, and research indicates that harsher and overcrowded prisons are not effective, and do not encourage rehabilitation.[90]

Upon release, sentenced persons are expected to be productive, contributing, and law abiding citizens.[91] The responsibility of finding a residence, obtaining transportation, employment, food and clothing can pose a serious reorientation challenge after an individual has spent a significant amount of time under a strict regimen of having necessities dictated to them within prison.[92] The experience of this kind of adjustment throughout the literature has often been referred to as the "pains of imprisonment".[93]

THE STRUCTURE OF CONFINEMENT

The effects of institutionalization often have a significant impact on a person's ability to establish independence and stability. Reports suggest that whether the individual returns to the general population better able and willing to participate within their community is largely dependent on how they were treated in prison.[94] Some sources have specified the psychological challenges more explicitly, suggesting that community reintegration is made more difficult after the effects of institutionalization have created a dependence on institutional structure and organization. This kind of dependence relies on decision makers to dictate structure and routine, and in severe cases suggests people lose the capacity to initiate behavior on their own, and the judgment to make decisions for themselves. In other cases, profoundly institutionalized persons may become

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[86] *Ibid*.
[87] Office of the Correctional investigator. 2010-11.
[88] *Ibid.*
[89] *Ibid*.
[90] The John Howard Society of Ontario. 2002. *Prison Conditions*.
[91] Public Safety Canada. 2007. A Road Map to Strengthening Public Safety. *Report of the Correctional Service of Canada Review Panel.*
[92] Brown et al. 2004.
[93] Haney, C. 2001. The Psychological Impact of Incarceration: Implications for Post-Prison Adjustment. In Travis, J. & Waul, M. (Eds). *Prisoners Once Removed: The Impact of Incarceration and Re-entry on Children, Families, and Communities.* The Urban Institute Press. Washington.
[94] *Ibid*.

extremely uncomfortable with managing a daily life beyond incarceration when and if their previous freedom and autonomy is returned.[95]

A typical day in the life of an incarcerated person follows a regimented pattern. A standard day begins with inmates being up and dressed for counting at 06:45. Breakfast follows at 07:00, after which some inmates go to programs, work, or back to their cell. At 11:45 they return to cell for counting and lunch. At 13:00 some may return to programs, work, or back to the cell again until 16:30. At this time inmates are again counted and then go to supper. At 18:00 some go to recreation, cultural events, and/or self-help groups until the night-count at 22:30. Lock up ends the day at 23:00.[96]

It is important to note that access to correctional programs is limited. As stated by the Correctional Investigator, decreased access not only hinders inmates' participation in their own rehabilitation, but the lack of access also means that individuals will be spending significantly more time in the confinement of their cell. When correctional programs are well implemented they enable earliest parole eligibility, reduce recidivism, save money in the long run, and enhance public safety.[97] Timely access to correctional programming is a key determining factor in establishing at what point in a persons' sentence they can be considered for conditional release.[98] The decrease in access to such programs, along with an increase the psychological strains related to incarceration, both create a need for better community provisions that are ready for individuals upon release.

The psychosocial adjustment from a strict routine, along with the psychological effects left by current prison conditions are often brought up as a significant barrier to successful reintegration. Research suggests that the long-term consequences of imprisonment come from having been subjected to high psychological stress, deprivation, and extremely atypical patterns and norms of living and interacting with others.[99] Other literature suggests the psychological impacts on behaviour can be wide and diverse including: hyper vigilance, interpersonal distrust, and suspicion, social withdrawal and isolation, diminished sense of self-worth and personal value, post-traumatic stress reactions to the pains of imprisonment, emotional over-control, alienation, and/or general psychological distancing. Although not all whom are incarcerated are psychologically harmed by it, few people are completely unchanged or unscathed by the experience.[100]

THE RE-ENTRY EXPERIENCE: WHY IS IT SO DIFFICULT?

Interviews with ex-prisoners have accounted that prison had a way of coming out with them upon release.[101] The term "institutionalization" is used to describe the process by which inmates are shaped and transformed by the institutional environments in which they live. This is sometimes

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[95] *Ibid*.
[96] Public Safety Canada. 2009. *Corrections Fast Facts: A Day in the Life of an Inmate.*
[97] Office of the Correctional investigator. 2010-11.
[98] *Ibid*.
[99] Haney, C. 2001.
[100] *Ibid.*
[101] Brett Garland, E. J. et al. 2010. *Prisoner Re-entry in a Small Metropolitan Community: Obstacles and Policy Recommendations*.

called "*prisonization*" when it occurs in correctional settings, and is the shorthand expression for the negative psychological effects of imprisonment. *Prisonization* involves the incorporation of the norms of prison life into one's habits of thinking, feeling, and acting. Psychosocial adjustment issues have been described in three general and overlapping ways: (a) a general uneasiness or disorientation with living on the outside, (b) difficulties interacting with others, including family members, and (c) problems adjusting to new surroundings.[102] Other difficulties could be caused by the persistent effects of untreated or exacerbated mental illness.[103] Reports have documented the experience of release from correctional institutions as a significant "culture shock". Like all processes of gradual change, this typically occurs in stages and often the longer someone is incarcerated, the more significant the nature of the institutional transformation.[104]

It may be important to note further the collateral effects the process of institutionalization can have on making adjustment back into the community more difficult. According to Griffiths et al. the period of incarceration itself may further exacerbate difficulties for successful community reintegration.[105] Such effects may include the loss of one's livelihood, their personal belongings, and their ability to maintain housing for themselves and their family. Individuals on release may have lost important personal relationships as incarceration can have damaging effects on social networks, or be the result acquired mental health difficulties or self-defeating habits and attitudes.[106] A commitment to housing previously incarcerated persons is crucial to relieving specific stresses that contribute to the difficulty in adapting to community life, and further may lend support in delivering the stable implementation of other community based services, enhance rehabilitation, and aid the reduction of recidivism.

HOUSING FIRST APPROACH

This section takes into consideration the benefits of applying a Housing First approach for previously incarcerated persons. Housing First was developed as an alternative to the traditional 'treatment first' approach which has been criticized as being an unrealistic model for successful outcomes.[107] Traditional approaches employing treatment first programs follow a continuum method offering congregate housing with a requirement of detoxification and sobriety, as well as 'housing readiness' before clients qualify for access to housing. Sobriety compliance along with psychiatric treatment is essential to successful transition into permanent housing and must be maintained while being housed.[108] Failure to meet these standards results in access to housing being denied and, in the case where one is already housed, eviction is a certainty.[109] As such,

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[102] *Ibid.*
[103] Brett Garland, E. J. et al. 2010.
[104] *Ibid.*
[105] Griffiths, C.T., et al. 2007.
[106] Griffiths, C.T., et al. 2007.
[107] Falvo, N. 2008. The Housing First Model: Immediate Access to Permanent Housing. *Canadian Housing Special Edition.* p. 32.
[108] Padgett, D. et al. 2011. Substance Use Outcomes Among Homeless Clients with Serious Mental Illness: Comparing Housing First with Treatment First Programs. *Community Mental Health Journal* 47(2): 227-232.
[109] Tsemberis, S. et al. 2004. Housing First, Consumer Choice, and Harm Reduction for Homeless Individuals With a Dual Diagnosis. *American Journal of Public Health* 94(4): 651-656; Padgett, D. et al. 2011.

traditional models have been deemed outdated by experts due to a lack of evidence-based results citing their effectiveness.[110] A Housing First model provides a homeless person with immediate access to permanent housing, and abstinence from drugs and alcohol is not a prerequisite. Participants are supported by having staff periodically visit them at their new homes.[111] Preliminary research on Housing First has yielded overwhelmingly positive results, with the vast majority of project participants remaining housed at a five year follow up.[112] In addition to remaining housed longer, participants spend less time in hospitals and with emergency response personnel (which is more cost effective than traditional methods), and are no more likely than their treatment first counterparts to use drugs or alcohol.[113]

In 2005, the City of Toronto launched the Streets to Homes (S2H) program based on the City Council's recommendation to stop spending money on homelessness when the number of homeless people was only continuing to grow. The city was presented with an opportunity to help homeless people move directly into permanent housing based on circumstances affecting the city's homeless population at that time.[114] S2H staff are responsible for helping participants find suitable housing, negotiate conflicts with landlords, and working with government agencies to provide income support and other follow up support for one year after placement. At the end of the year, the participant is expected to be able to live independently without ongoing support, or is transitioned to more appropriate case management services.[115] The program has been seen as success because recent calculations have found that 90% of participants have remained housed. Additionally, post-occupancy residents have reported improvements in their health, eating habits, stress levels, sleep, personal safety, and mental health. Roughly half of the participants reported a reduction in alcohol consumption, and approximately three quarters reported reduction in drug use. Overall, almost 20% of respondents reported quitting drinking alcohol completely, and one third of participants reported quitting drug use completely. In addition to these successes, clients also reported less involvement with emergency response services, such as hospital and police interactions, and spent less time in jail. There was also an increased use of family doctors and other health care specialists.[116]

The Toronto S2H model was developed with the purpose of effectively helping rough sleepers move into permanent housing. While this model is being adopted in other Canadian municipalities, and should continue to be adopted, research on Housing First is missing an investigation into how the needs of specific sub-populations (such as ex-prisoners) can be met. The At Home project developed by the Mental Health Commission of Canada which explores issues of homelessness for various sub-populations will provide a better picture of these needs when the findings are released

[110] Kertesz, S. et al. 2009. Housing First for Homeless Persons with Active Addiction: Are We Overreaching? *Milbank Quarterly* 87(2): 495-534.
[111] Falvo, N. 2008. p.32
[112] Based on research studies of New York City's Pathways to Housing project.
[113] Falvo, N. 2008. p.32.
[114] Falvo, N. 2008. p.33.
[115] Falvo, N. 2008. p.33.
[116] Falvo, N. 2008. p.34.

in 2013;[117] however, it is unclear to what extent the study will provide information related to criminal justice matters.

Despite limited academic research on Housing First, studies that do exist point to the approach as an effective model and is considered a best practice. A recent review of the evidence by Waegemakers-Schiff & Rook (2012) safely concludes that Housing First is shown to be effective in housing and maintaining housing for single adults with mental illness and substance abuse issues living in urban locations with ample rental housing stock. However, there is no 'best practice' longitudinal evidence for youth, families, those with primary addictions, people with indigenous or diverse ethnic backgrounds or for those coming from a period of incarceration.[118] Despite this, there are reports that organizations and communities which employ a Housing First approach see a reduction in homelessness as well as an increase in housing retention and a lower cost of service delivery across a number of sub-populations in Canada, the US, and elsewhere.[119]

It is important to set out the parameters in using a Housing First approach for those involved with the criminal justice system. These individuals face additional challenges with effects of institutionalization and have spent a great deal of time in structured environments that dictate their activities. As such, a Housing First approach for this population requires evaluation. Furthermore, the role that substance use has played in a person's offending behaviour may dictate the need for zero tolerance policies or abstinence only environments in order to prioritize the need to ensure the least amount of risk to the community. Presently, we are not aware of any studies which evaluate Housing First as an appropriate model for previously incarcerated individuals, however, the core principles of this approach are outlined below and issues that are pertinent to community corrections are addressed.

[117] For more information visit the MHCC website at: http://www.mentalhealthcommission.ca/English/Pages/homelessness.aspx
[118] Waegemakers-Schiff, J. & Rook, J. 2012. *Housing First: Where is the Evidence?* Homeless Hub: Toronto. p.17-18.
[119] *Ibid.*

CORE PRINCIPLES OF HOUSING FIRST:

1. **No housing readiness requirements**. Individuals and families are not required to first demonstrate that they are 'ready' for housing. This approach runs in contrast to what has been the orthodoxy of 'treatment first' for homelessness, which suggested that people who are homeless should be placed in emergency services until they are 'ready' for housing (having received access to health care or treatment).

2. **Choice.** Clients are able to exercise some choice regarding the location and type of housing they receive. Choice may be constrained by local availability and affordability.

3. **Individualized support services.** Some people, once housed, will need minimum supports, while other people will need supports for the rest of their lives, ranging from case management to assertive community treatment. A key philosophy of Housing First is that people have access to the supports they need, IF they choose.

4. **Harm Reduction.** Harm reduction aims to reduce the risks and harmful effects associated with substance use and addictive behaviours for the individual, the community and society as a whole, without requiring abstinence. In Housing First, this means that absolute sobriety is not required (though as part of the spectrum of choices, people may choose 'abstinence only' housing) and a tenant cannot lose housing because of substance use.

5. **Social and community integration.** Part of the Housing First strategy is to help people become socially integrated into their community and this requires socially supportive engagement and the opportunity to participate in meaningful activities. If people are housed and become or remain socially isolated, the stability of their housing may be undermined.

   While ideally all Housing First programs share these critical elements, there is considerable variation in how the model is applied, based on population served, resource availability, and factors related to the local context.

Source:
Gaetz, S. 2012. *Topics in Homelessness: Housing First Core Principles.* The Homeless Hub. Retrieved from: http://www.homelesshub.ca/Topics/Housing-First-209.aspx

Based on the core principles of Housing First set out by Gaetz, there are positive and negative aspects to consider when implementing a Housing First approach for sentenced persons regarding community corrections. It is likely that the current model requires modification to best suit the needs of the client as well as the needs of the community.

The principle of not requiring housing 'readiness' offers a significant benefit to community corrections clients since it eliminates some of the eligibility criteria for housing. Provided that the program does not exclude on the basis of a criminal record, this principle removes barriers in the transition from a conditional release residence to long term housing. Secondly, a client's ability to exercise the principle of choice can be a significant next step when leaving a CBRF and can help motivate their plans based on the programming they have received over the course of their sentence. However, more research is needed to evaluate how to appropriately balance clients' choices and the third principle of voluntary individualized support services. When considering the criminogenic risk factors associated with this specific sub-population, there may be a debate over the philosophy of care in mandating certain support services if deemed appropriate for maintaining the safety of the individual and the community. This may not be in line with the fundamental values of a Housing First approach. Consideration should also be given to whether residents who have committed offences in relation to substance use/abuse may be best suited for tenancy in abstinence only environments in order to successfully meet the fifth principle of social and community integration. Ultimately, it is this final principle that is very much in line with the philosophy of effective corrections practices and has been an established goal for CBRFs for decades.

EXAMPLES OF DOCUMENTED PROMISING PRACTICES IN THE LITERATURE

The shared path among criminal justice services and civil service providers is not always easy to find. Differences and conflicts in goals, priorities, and philosophies of care create issues around meeting the needs of a shared client group. While these issues sometimes seem more prevalent than not, there are collaborations and innovations which aim to reduce recidivism, manage risk, and rehabilitate ex-prisoners.

- SOCIAL ENTERPRISE: In line with social enterprise programs, an innovative program in Wales involves giving a dilapidated building to a prison for renovation by prisoners. Some of these buildings have become small housing units for ex-inmates, while other buildings have been returned to the community. [120]

- FLUIDITY OF MODELS: Based on a review of studies, Barrow and Zimmer (1999) found that scattered-site models of transitional housing which 'convert' to subsidized permanent housing are a cost-effective approach to helping families exit homelessness without the disruption of support networks that facility-based approaches may entail. They also found that transitional housing projects which provided subsidized housing or housing subsidies for their graduates had higher rates of success in achieving permanent housing for the clients.[121]

[120] Novac, S. et al. 2006. p.105.
[121] Barrow, S. & Zimmer, R. 1999.

- LANDLORD ENGAGEMENT: A 2006 study out of the UK noted the British government's considerable attention to the role of housing organizations in the effective re-settlement of prisoners. Accommodation was identified as the first of seven pathways in their National Action Plan to Reduce Re-Offending. Through this initiative, landlords are expected to play a part in implementing most of the proposed measures, including mapping and analysing existing housing and service provision, collating data to define the scale and scope of accommodation needs, developing and piloting a single housing needs assessment tool and developing joint housing advice services with the National Offender Management Service (NOMS).[122]

- NEIGHBOURHOOD: Participants in Brown's (2006) study of second stage housing for aboriginal ex-offenders in Winnipeg stated the importance of living in the same neighbourhood as family and friends in order meet their needs of companionship and social support. Having a sense of purpose within their community motivated participants to work on getting ahead and staying out of jail.[123]

- SUPPORTED LIVING: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation studied Fairway Woods, a residence for homeless seniors which has 32 self-contained one bedroom units, a communal dining room, two lounges and balconies, and a library. The residence is close to public transportation and has groomed gardens in the front and back yards. From the study, four aspects that contributed the most to tenants' quality of life were identified and included: a quiet, suburban setting; the predictability of everyday life; close proximity to shops and services; and social aspects such as communal meals. Additionally, staff are available 24 hours a day, seven days a week as this provided an increased sense of security and connectedness for residents. Outcomes for residents impacted several aspects of their lives, including better health, greater autonomy, healthier relationships, and decreased substance abuse. There was also a perceived decrease in the use of publicly-funded services such as ambulances and emergency room visits, doctor appointments, and calls to police.[124]

- ASSERTIVE COMMUNITY TREATMENT: New York's Pathways to Housing's ACT team is available twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, offering continuous support. Clients take advantage of the team's help when they feel they need it. Services include community based treatment, psychiatric and general medical care and vocational services.[125] In exchange, clients are required to participate in a money management program and pay 30 percent of their income (usually supplemental security income from the government for seniors or those with a disability) for rent, and must meet with staff twice a month.[126] This approach emphasizes consumer choice and reduction of harm from substance misuse; and while alcohol or drug use is not prohibited, neither is it encouraged.

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[122] Harding, A. & Harding, J. 2006. Inclusion and Exclusion in the Re-Housing of Former Prisoners. *Probation Journal* 53: 147.
[123] Brown, J. et al. 2006. p.35.
[124] Gnaedinger, N. 2007.
[125] Kertesz, S. et al. 2009.
[126] Tsemberis, S. et al. 2004; Kertesz, S. et al. 2009; For more information on ACT, see: Coldwell, C. & Bender, W. 2007. The Effectiveness of Assertive Community Treatment for Homeless Populations with Severe Mental Illness: A Meta-Analysis. *The American Journal of Psychiatry.* 164(3): 393-399.

RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE LITERATURE

From studies on promising practices in relation to homelessness and prisoner reintegration, recommendations from the current literature may assist in addressing 'what works' in effective corrections and social housing. Below, the most common recommendations listed throughout the literature used for this review have been categorized by theme, and are believed to contribute to effective housing practices for people involved with the criminal justice system.

MECHANISMS OF EMPOWERMENT

- Involve clients in the design and operation of the residence and services, and input into how the range of supports is delivered.
- Residents should have the option to apply directly to programs without an intermediary agency.
- Ongoing consultation with residents to guide the program design.
- Residents identify choice, privacy, autonomy, and control as qualities they desire. Most prefer to live alone or with a partner in a house or multi room apartment, helping to foster friendships.

RESPECTFUL STAFF

- Participants in harm reduction programs indicate the value of having staff that are caring, friendly, supportive, responsive, helpful, compassionate, well trained and knowledgeable about their issues, and who take a client centered approach. They want to be treated with respect.
- Flexible and intensive case management based on trust and respect, and which offers hope, optimism and real opportunity for exiting homelessness; high level of support—being available in the evenings and on weekends; role of staff as treating participants with respect and having an attitude of helpfulness.
- Site management and support services should be delivered by separate entities to avoid conflicts among residents and staff.

CO-ORDINATED SERVICES AND INTERAGENCY PARTNERSHIPS

- Collaboration among agencies such as housing and other service providers; connections with community services contribute to residents' overall success.
- A close working relationship is needed between probation and/or parole and mental health service providers and the sharing of treatment methods can lead to a decrease in violations for clients.
- Forge relationships with local public housing authorities to facilitate connections between them and existing community organizations in the vicinity.

PROGRAMS AND INTERVENTIONS

- A one-size-fits-all approach does not work.
- Social activities for program participants which may include communal meals, contribute to residents' overall success. This may imply a specific design type.
- Interventions should support immediate transition from prison to the community and reinforce any gains achieved through prison treatment and continue until a successful reintegration is completed.
- Harm reduction is more realistic and effective than abstinence.
- Successful interventions are those which: focus on a specific target group of clients and their particular challenges; reliably assess needs and risk factors; hold people accountable and responsible for their choices; begin discharge planning at the moment of intake; strike a balance between surveillance and control and support and assistance; offer wrap around interventions offered in a coordinated effort of all involved agencies; and have sound case management and information management systems.
- Interventions should reflect public safety priorities of individual communities; engage community in planning and delivery of intervention to foster strong community ownership; have a robust evaluation component that allows the program to evolve, improve, and remain accountable to the community for crime reduction results.
- Offer supportive tenant services, tenancy skills education, and landlord-tenant mediation by a third party to reduce conflict and create sustainable opportunities for landlords to assist marginalized tenants.
- The complexity of managing new and multiple responsibilities (to self, family, friends, employer, parole officer) should not be overlooked. People who are reintegrating will benefit from having something productive to do with enough financial and interpersonal support to do it.
- Not having concrete assistance such as bus tickets, childcare, can be a barrier to meeting societal expectations.

HOUSING AND SERVICE NEEDS

- Research indicates the need for affordable, safe housing as well as income security and community support services to prevent or reduce post incarceration homelessness.
- Service users have referred to transitional or supportive housing as solutions to address the housing and support needs of released prisoners who are homeless.
- Single room occupancy (SRO) hotels (typically considered equivalent to rooming houses) with built in support services could be used to address several streams of time limited assistance such as temporary housing for the homeless who must satisfy bail conditions to avoid being incarcerated; transitional housing for newly released prisoners; longer term housing for released prisoners who require more gradual and less demanding transition.

- Permanent housing services should include: identifying housing options; preparing for landlord/tenant group interviews/applications; transportation; childcare; understanding financing/lease agreements; budgeting; furniture; deposits and moving expenses; and helping transition to a new community.

ARCHITECTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

- For women, recommended housing has been listed as ideally being located in a single, large, designated facility, though it would be possible to have several smaller houses with the same room and service configuration. Each room should be private, with the basics such as a bed with linens, desk or table with chair, and closet space. If necessary toiletries and cookware could be provided. Common elements can include washrooms, living room, laundry, kitchen/eating area and a designated area for support groups and meetings. A staff office should serve as a point of contact in case women are experiencing a crisis. Finally, a security system should be in place for the safety of residents and staff.
- The architecture can follow a continuum concept that incorporates emergency, high-demand transitional and supported, low demand single resident occupancy housing. Each level of housing could be located in either the same building or clustered into several different dedicated buildings.
- It would be reasonable to conclude that these considerations would also be applicable to men; however, database searches did not yield gender specific architectural considerations in the literature for men.

GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT

- Municipal, provincial, and federal levels of government should look at the pathway of ex-prisoners, the money expended and the benefits that would accrue to each level of government if a continuum of housing options were established. Agreements should be put in place to avoid disconnect by sharing costs and benefits of programs that demonstrably show overall savings.
- It is also recommend that the various levels of government conduct further studies to set relevant metrics in place so that cost effective, publicly accepted programs and interventions are funded on the basis of their effectiveness for reintegrating ex-offenders and reducing homelessness, and not on the merits of cost savings alone.

MENTAL HEALTH CONSIDERATIONS

- Assuming a dual diagnosis, mental health treatment often lessens a mentally ill person's dependence on substances.
- Two systems are seen as critical: case management; and peer support which is viewed with increasing importance based on the theory that people who share a disability have something in common and can help each other in ways that professionals cannot.

- Support from peers, family and friends can be facilitated through drop-ins, self-help initiatives, and recreational, volunteer, and educational programs. These enhance coping skills, self-esteem, confidence, a sense of well-being and serves to expand social networks.
- Those with concurrent mental health disorders and substance abuse issues need a continuous relationship with care providers who are willing and able to operate outside of a normal office environment. The client group may be unable to attend appointments consistently, and requires a flexible approach to make the support offered effective.

GENDER SPECIFIC CONSIDERATIONS FOR WOMEN

- Women often have difficulty getting to services because they need help with childcare and other family responsibilities, assisting in this regard can increase their opportunity to benefit from services.
- Many women prefer self-contained units in a women-only building, and may benefit from having a communal area where they can form groups for social support.
- Services that are considered critical to women's housing success include: negotiating with landlords and neighbours, handling relapses, money management, and helping them to feel like their house is a home.
- Many women feel they need a violence and drug-free living environment, shared with others who can understand their issues and struggles to reintegrate.

AGE SPECIFIC CONSIDERATIONS FOR SENIORS

- Residence should be in a suburban neighborhood, away from downtown core but within walking distance to shops and services and transit stops.
- Keep the housing project small, thirty two units is an ideal size.
- Esthetics should be taken into consideration when designing the building, it should have a residential character and should blend with the neighborhood. Ensure that it has a garden and trees surrounding it.
- Pay attention to sound transfer in the building. For example, consider the location of the elevator and the sound it makes when used throughout the 24 hours a day.
- On-site staff available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.
- Ensure that all onsite and visiting staff share a client centered and flexible approach to support, and that they work collaboratively as a team. Ideally, staff will be mature adults with considerable life experience.
- Provide one main communal meal per day, and include it as part of the monthly rent. This may imply a specific design type.

- When selecting tenants for a new facility, strive for balance of tenant characteristics such as physical ability, mental health, sociability, talents, and background. When seeking tenants for an established facility, ensure tenants will fit into the 'community' which already exists in the building.

CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

- Individuals should have pre-release access to information about the community to which they will return before release.
- Flexible and holistic supports are needed for immediate help while people adjust to community life, and continue into the short term, when they have begun to establish means to meet their own shelter, income, social and spiritual needs.
- Create/offer second-stage housing units to accommodate singles leaving correctional institutions or residential facilities that will, if needed, accommodate families.
- Partnerships between organizations delivering services to men leaving institutions as well as partnerships with those which could deliver services to this group. Ideally this would be combined with housing components.
- Matching individual/family needs of the client with housing/support services if needed.
- Residents should participate in a community orientation that focuses on general problem-solving, as well as basic life and employment skills.
- Residents reuniting with their families should have additional participation in family support that focuses on roles and responsibilities in relationships with partners and children.
- The safety of housing residents, as well as ensuring the safety of the local community must be considered dual priorities.
- Programs should recognize and build on the cultural experiences and local realities of participants.
- Programs for people leaving institutions focus on practical matters, such as obtaining or replacing identification documents, with skills training and support over both the short and longer term, by people who are non-judgmental and have life experience.
- Program funding should be shared between levels of government, as each has an interest in preventing a reconnection for people with the police, justice and corrections systems.
- Housing policy changes to reflect the realities of Aboriginal men who have previous justice system involvement, so that shelter and support needs are given equal weight and priority.

SUMMARY

The term 'hard to house' is used within the literature and highlights the situation of those who are most vulnerable and ill-served by the housing system—the housing market, which is not concerned with their issues, and the non-profit housing system which is scarce and stressed as is. The term does not intend disrespect to the individual, but refers to these systemic difficulties associated with people involved with the criminal justice system. The literature available on homelessness and reintegration shows that people with complex and challenging needs can be housed successfully provided that they have the right kind of support available to them. The challenge for this review is to identify what the 'right' kind of support is, to ensure the greatest degree of ease in providing and maintaining housing for those who have fallen through the current system.

There is no model in current literature on second stage housing that would necessarily be more successful than another. In regard to people who are integrating back to community from a federal institution, there is no 'one size fits all' model available that will solve the issue of homelessness among ex-offenders. However, studies have found that transitional housing programs are more effective than services alone, and while there are no long term studies, there is evidence of short term success in improving clients' housing status. Permanent housing and community services are critical to the success of second stage housing, as well as housing variety and adaptability.[127]

Consistent throughout the literature is the recommendation that for any housing project to be truly successful, collaboration between criminal justice and community partners is essential. While it is understood among service providers that there are a plethora of complexities which muddle the path to effective collaboration, interagency collaboration and cooperation has been found, repeatedly, to be a critical ingredient for successful intervention programming for reintegrating ex-offenders.[128] Studies have highlighted that a lack of interagency cooperation can undermine even the most well-designed interventions and can compromise the individual efforts of program staff and their clients. In these cases, interventions are likely to have little, if any, impact on a person's behaviour once they are released back to the community.[129] The processes of rehabilitation and implementation of effective corrections practices require continuous support from a variety of service providers in order to help a shared client attain stable housing, gainful employment (when able), satisfactory health, and a rewarding personal life. These factors "should be seen not only as a means to the goal of recovery but also the ultimate objective of rehabilitation."[130] The literature reviewed for this project clearly demonstrates the effective nature of second stage housing, and the role it can play in creating a continuum of care which supports the efforts of so many who dedicate themselves to successful reintegration.

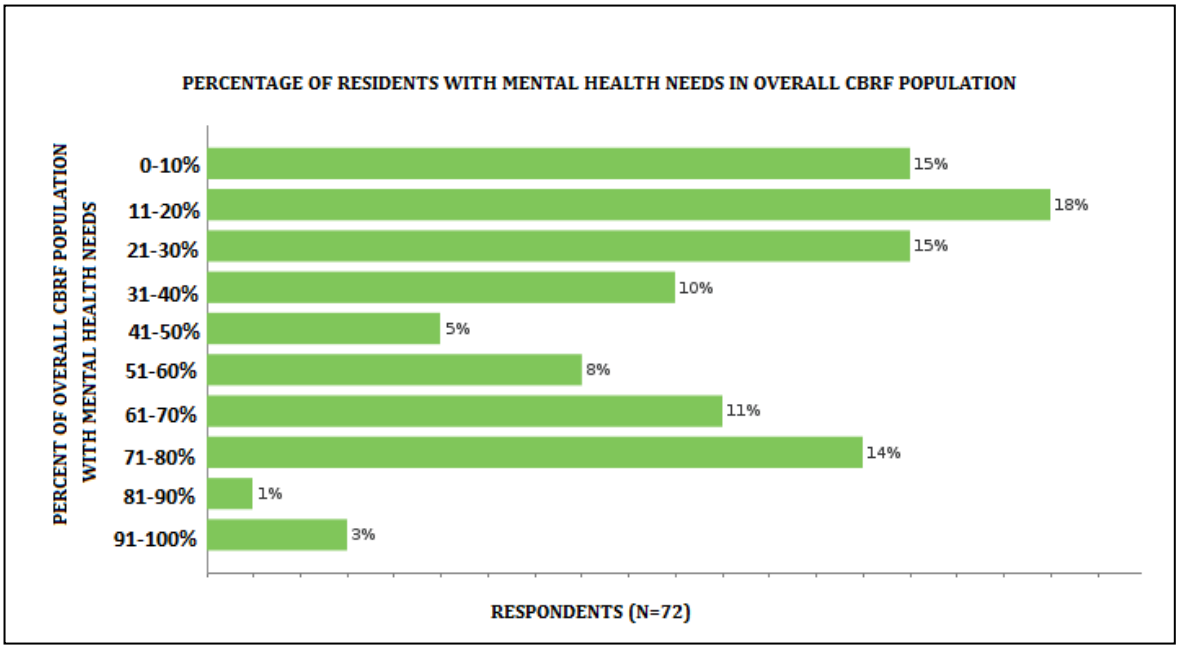
[127] Novac, S. 2004. p.3; Brown, J. et al. 2006. p.62.
[128] Griffiths, C. et al. 2007. p.43.
[129] *Ibid.*
[130] Sung, H. et al. 2011. Substance Abuse Treatment Gap Among Adult Parolees: Prevalence, Correlates, and Barriers. *Criminal Justice Review* 36(1): 51-52.

SURVEY FINDINGS

The Community-based Residential Facility survey tool was administered online to the five Regional Halfway House Association (RHHA) memberships in British Columbia/Yukon, Prairies, Ontario, Quebec, and Atlantic regions. The survey yielded an average response rate of 55% of CBRFs, which included a small sample of organizations who are also operating second stage housing. The survey findings have been categorized under the themes of mental health and housing, followed by the survey results from CBRFs who also have access to second stage housing that is operated by their organization. A summary of the survey findings from the transitional housing service providers has also been included.

MENTAL HEALTH

- 96% of respondents work with individuals who have a mental health disorder (with or without a formal diagnosis). These respondents were asked to identify the percentage of CBRF residents with mental health needs out of their overall population. The breakdown (as shown in the chart below) demonstrates significant fluctuations in the overall percentage of the CBRF population, but nonetheless highlights the reality that CBRFs are tasked with accommodating the mental health needs of a significant portion of their residents.



HOUSING

- Housing was ranked as the most important need for clients following their discharge from a CBRF, followed by mental health support, substance abuse support, and employment; however, many respondents noted that these are integrated needs and success in one of these areas often cannot succeed without the others in place.

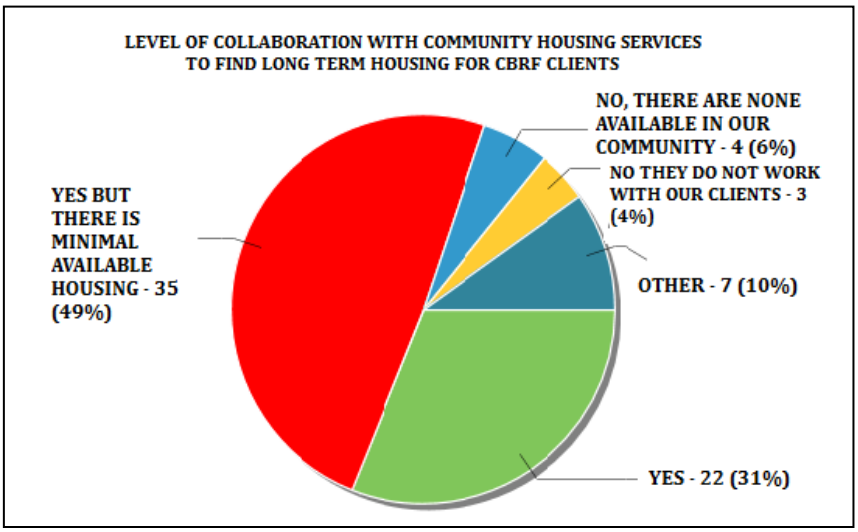
- Respondents stated that most clients pay for housing from an income support program such as welfare, disability, pension (CPP), or Employment Insurance (EI) or through employment. There was minimal indication that clients receive any financial support from family or friends, though the majority of respondents stated that clients move back in with family members upon discharge from a CBRF.

- Almost 90% of respondents stated knowing where their clients go after being discharged from the CBRF, with the majority stating that 0-10% are going to a residence that is confirmed for less than a week; 11-30% are going to short term housing; and 70-90% go to long term housing (more than three months). However, this is inconclusive since 77% of respondents say they do not track clients' residency post discharge.

- Of respondents who track client's residency after they leave the CBRF (only about 20% do so), most reported that 60-80% of clients achieve their short and long term housing goals.

- If residents do not return to a family home, it is more likely that they will go to a rental property; based on responses received it is estimated that only a small percentage (10-15%) of residents are discharged to a second stage housing program.

- 80% of respondents collaborate with community housing services to find stable homes for their residents however, it is clear that a lack of available housing is a contributing factor when trying to connect people to long term homes (see chart).



- Respondents were asked to rate a set of challenges associated with obtaining safe, affordable housing in their community. A lack of available housing was listed as a major challenge; while substance abuse problems, a lack of skill for independent living, and exclusion by reason of a criminal record were listed as minor to moderate challenges. Additional challenges listed by respondents included having limited income/employment, the need for additional time to obtain safe housing or access to a continuum of graduated housing and support options which maintain a semi-supported structure.

- 24% (N = 17) of survey respondents also operate second stage housing.

Survey respondents who operate second stage housing (24% of overall respondents) were queried on themes such as populations served, how they measure the success of their program, how they track program results, and their community relationships. More than 75% of respondents stated that their housing program has been in operation for more than 5 years, and on average the length of stay at second stage housing is typically from 6 months to more than one year.

POPULATIONS SERVED

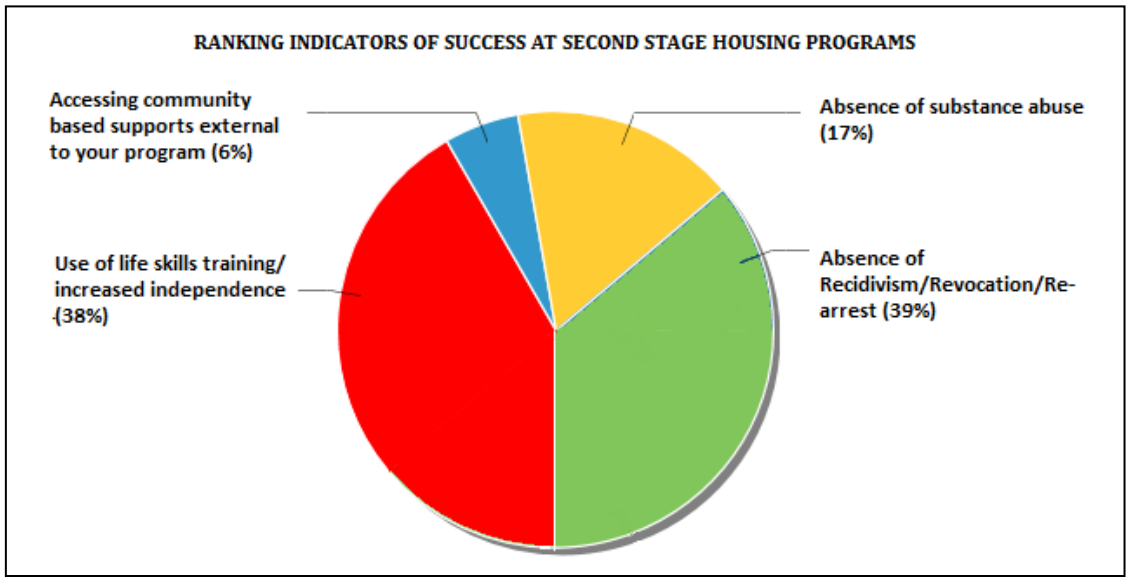
- The homeless population being served ranged from men, women, transgendered persons, youth, aboriginal, people living with mental health disorders, and people with developmental disabilities.

- 65% of respondents stated that anywhere from 80-100% of their residents have criminal histories.

- More than half of the respondents said that 50-90% of residents have positive social supports with family or friends, and all of the respondents were of the opinion that these supports are extremely important to their residents.

MEASURING SUCCESS

The most significant indicators for measuring the success of residents while residing at a second stage program were an absence of recidivism/revocation/re-arrest, and use of life skills



training/increased independence, followed by an absence of substance abuse. Accessing community based supports external to the housing program was only seen as a significant factor for 5% of respondents. While it might appear that access to community based supports external to the housing program was not an important factor for achieving success, when asked about the ranking choice respondents stated that community based supports are an important part of the overall process of reintegration, but is best achieved by managing risk factors and life skills first as a means of obtaining a meaningful relationship with support services in the future.

The reasons for choosing an absence of recidivism/revocation/re-arrest as the most important factor in measuring success were that the overall goal of the organization is to effectively reduce recidivism and promote community safety, and if this goal is not achieved then the person usually returns to prison which negates success in the other areas listed.

The reasons for choosing the use of life skills training/increased independence as the most important factor in measuring success were that the use of life skills training is seen as an indicator of growth which lends itself to success in other areas such as managing substance use and making choices that deter criminal behaviour, such as an enhanced willingness to seek out support services. Respondents also noted that life skills lead to greater independence which contributes to empowering the individual and building confidence, factors that help to encourage long term success in other areas.

Another main indicator of success listed by respondents which was not part of the original list (though could be considered part of the life skills training) was the importance of individualized goal planning that helps to identify personal barriers to an individual's success. Measuring success often involves identifying what barriers are specific to each person and measuring it by how they overcome these barriers.

TRACKING PROGRAM RESULTS

Overall, most respondents identified that there is a lack of tools available which allow them to quantitatively measure the success of their clients by tracking recidivism rates or access to supports. They rely on data collected by the Regional Halfway House Associations but have identified a critical need to improve in this area. Those who do collect data use tools such as the Efforts to Outcomes (ETO) database which measures program outcomes; or the Customized, Agency Networked, Family Information Tracker (CANFIT) database, and have developed a Logic Model to suit their organization. Others attempt to maintain contact with former residents, though they do not have access to police or other databases which confirm recidivism rates. Some case management databases allow for case notes and files to be reactivated which offers some form of tracking based on those who return to the same program.

COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

When polled about relationships with community based service providers such as mental health or addictions services, responses showed a varied degree of established relationships, however 94% of respondents believe it is extremely important to have community supports established for their residents.

OPINION POLL: EFFECTIVENESS OF SECOND STAGE HOUSING FOR CORRECTIONS CLIENTS

Respondents were queried about their opinion of the effectiveness of second stage housing as a means for addressing the risk factors associated with ex-offenders (e.g. recidivism/re-arrest, substance abuse, life skills, homelessness) and 88% stated that it is very effective. None of the respondents stated that it was not effective at all. 12% of respondents stated that it is somewhat effective, and their reasoning for this suggested that there are certain factors that are difficult to control such as their access to people with negative associations (particularly around drug use), and loneliness.

Those who consider second stage housing to be very effective stated that this type of housing provides a person with enough independence given the stage they are at in reintegration, while maintaining a level of support that they still require. It was seen as a critical support for a population that has become institutionalized after spending a significant amount of time incarcerated. The individual is supported by staff, who provide a level of accountability that the resident may need as part of their transition to independent community living.

Second stage housing is seen as a positive element that enables an individual to feel accepted in their community through supported living, a critical aspect in moving forward positively. Second stage housing creates an available space for those who may not be ready to lose their support from a CBRF, and offers the necessary time to learn and practice new skills before moving out.

Overall, second stage housing was seen as a critical element to reintegration due to the fact that it offers a step towards independent living while providing essential support services to tenants. This presents people with an opportunity to carry forward the success they have built and as a result this addresses the risk factors involved with their return to the community.

BEST PRACTICES

Survey respondents were asked to share their thoughts on best practices within their organization or another organization which provides second stage housing. The answers have been categorized according to the theme of what respondents considered best practices.

1. STAFF: The importance of the housing program being staffed effectively was a recurring theme throughout the survey. Ideal staff persons include those with a post-secondary education in a field relevant to the program; have completed a variety of courses such as Crisis Prevention and Intervention, suicide prevention, and CPR/First Aid. Ideally, the building should be staffed 24 hours per day with at least 2 staff that will provide support to residents, various safety measures, and communication between departments.
2. CASE MANAGEMENT: Respondents highlighted the importance of regularly reviewing case management practices to be in line with client directed service goals, and supporting clients through times of increased stress. Taking a non-judgemental approach to the individual and supporting them in the community.
3. COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS: Respondents highlighted best practices which involved relationships with a variety of community partners. For example, trusteeship programs with landlords which set up direct rent payment to the landlord on behalf of the individual to facilitate a greater likelihood that rental properties be given to those on social support and those with money management issues. Other best practices in this area identified maintaining a good relationship with police and other community partners in the area, especially substance abuse, mental health, and community housing services.

The CBRF survey results indicate that proper housing remains a key factor in the opinions of service providers as an essential part of successful reintegration. While it is not a stand-alone solution, housing that is safe and which provides support is a key step in achieving success in the areas of reintegration that individuals typically struggle with upon discharge from a CBRF. Second stage housing creates an added layer of support that bridges the divide between an institutionalized lifestyle and independent community living.

TRANSITIONAL HOUSING SERVICE PROVIDER SURVEY RESULTS

The purpose of surveying transitional housing service providers who do not directly identify with community corrections was to offer context to the findings from the CBRF/second stage housing provider survey. This survey was distributed with the intent to obtain information about the level of awareness and involvement that these service providers had regarding residents who may have a criminal background.

This survey yielded a small sample of respondents (N=17) from around the province of New Brunswick, Toronto, ON, and New Westminster, BC. While the small number of respondents does not offer conclusive findings that are representative of all Canadian transitional housing services, the survey found that:

- Most respondents (76%) have been operating transitional housing for more than 5 years.
- Respondents offered services to a variety of sub-populations of homeless persons including men, women, children/youth, aboriginal peoples, new Canadians, people with mental health and addictions issues, and those with a history of physical abuse.
- Most (89%) reported knowingly providing services to those with a criminal record.
- Of those who knowingly provide services to people with a criminal record, 62% reported that they do not restrict access based on the type of offence.
- Of the 38% who do restrict access based on the offence, the offences listed included: sexual offences, violent offences, or those whose history of violence is seen as a current threat.
- 44% of respondents indicated that they did not know the percentage of clients residing in their programs that have a criminal history; whereas one quarter of respondents said less than 20% of residents have a criminal history and one quarter reported more than 50% have a criminal history.
- Slightly more than half of respondents stated that they were "somewhat familiar" with community based organizations working to support the reintegration of sentenced persons, while 29% reported not being familiar at all with these organizations. 18% said they were very familiar with them.
- Of those who reported being "somewhat familiar" with community corrections groups (53% of respondents) only half reported having a working relationship with the staff or clients of these organizations.
- Respondents were asked to provide qualitative answers to expand on their response about their relationship with community corrections organizations. Most listed the community corrections organizations they do work with, and those who do not tended to have a narrower sub-set of the population served such as those specifically with mental health disorders, or did not have enough clients with a correctional background to warrant a relationship. However, not all respondents provided an answer to this question.

Based on the responses obtained by the survey, it is evident that a perceived disconnect between justice services and housing services may be the result of a lack of familiarity among these groups within their communities. Of some concern is that more than 75% of respondents polled—both from corrections or community housing—indicated that their program has been in operation for more than 5 years, which may suggest that organizations are maintaining a limited standard of service as a result of insufficient community partnerships. Despite this, the findings also suggest that there is a willingness for these groups to become more familiar with each other which is a positive step forward—if that relationship can be facilitated. It is likely that if we are to see more connectedness between sectors, this must be facilitated in a new way which provides meaningful results to all sectors and the overall community.

OVERVIEW OF SITES VISITED

Three regions were visited during the site visit phase of the project: Atlantic, Ontario, and British Columbia. In total, 10 organizations participated and 14 residential programs were visited. The programs ranged from Community-based Residential Facilities (CBRFs) (N = 3) to second stage housing (SSH) and supportive housing (N = 11), and each visit consisted of interviews with key staff persons familiar with the housing needs of ex-prisoners, and residents of the housing programs. Interviewees were given the option of one-on-one or group interviews. Tours of the SSH housing programs were also conducted.

Interviews with staff and residents at CBRFs were incorporated into the site visits to identify the housing needs of those living in a CBRF, to obtain recommendations for second stage housing, and to better understand the residents' housing plans for the future. Interviews were conducted at three CBRFs which included one enhanced residence for men on statutory release with residency conditions or those on long term supervision orders who are considered to be high risk/need in Ontario, and two residences in the Atlantic region - one men's and one women's.

Note that each organization's residential program is assigned a numerical reference to help protect the identity of the participants. Below a brief description of each of the residential programs is provided, followed by a compilation of features and highlights from each second stage housing location visited.

Atlantic Region – 5 Sites

The Atlantic region is home to some of Canada's most innovative second stage housing (SSH) programs. A total of 1 SSH program, 2 supportive housing programs, and 2 Community-based Residential Facilities (CBRFs) were visited in this region.

Residence #1: This supportive housing program offers 12 permanent, affordable one bedroom apartments to men and women at risk of homelessness. The program is open to anyone with a history of homelessness, regardless of the presence of a criminal record. The program takes a Housing First approach, focusing on a harm reduction model towards substance abuse. The program is designed to provide permanent, supportive housing with services geared towards increasing the self-sufficiency of the residents where appropriate. The building is staffed 8 hours during the day, with approximately 8 staff around the building throughout that time.

Residence #2: A male-only second stage housing program with 10 one-bedroom units with a stay of up to two years. Most tenants have some form of criminal justice background and are screened in based on the program's ability to support the individual. The requirement for tenancy is that an individual must be working to achieve self-sufficiency. Tenants develop case plans with staff which are worked on during a monthly or quarterly basis depending on the individuals' needs. Tenants are selected based on their ability to be 'housing ready' (e.g. work history, the stability of their mental health condition, and the motivation to be self-sufficient) within a transitional period of two years. The building typically has 4 staff persons on site during weekday hours.

Residence #3: A supportive housing program offering 19 permanent, affordable one bedroom apartments to men who are previous clients of the organization's local homeless shelter. In addition to the homeless shelter, the organization also provides residential support through CBRFs for men and women returning to the community post-incarceration, many of whom move to the homeless shelter upon discharge from the CBRF. The supportive housing program is a harm reduction model and operates in response to the housing needs of the community, and provides tenancy to those who need to make the transition from shelter living to community living. The building is staffed 24 hours per day with at least one person to meet resident support needs.

Ontario – 6 Sites

Ontario had the most varied types of second stage or supportive housing programs out of the three regions visited for this project. Four organizations participated, and in total 6 residential programs contributed to the study. Of the 6 residential programs, 5 are second stage or supportive housing, and one is a CBRF.

Residence #4: This housing program is the only scattered site model visited for this project. In total it features 27 scattered site units and 18 units in apartment buildings around the community for women who are at risk of homelessness and who may have been previously incarcerated (45 total). The sites consist of duplex or triplex style housing leased to tenants by the organization. The tenants have access to staff and programs at a main program building near the sites.

Residence #5: A 9 unit building featuring one bedroom apartments with private bathroom and kitchen for men who are on statutory release, have reached warrant expiry, or who come directly from the community and are in need of safe, affordable housing. The residence has 2 support staff on 12 hours per day (morning to evening) from Monday to Friday.

Residence #6: This supportive housing residence is a renovated older house that has been converted into 6 self-contained one bedroom apartments for men leaving the organization's CBRF or on statutory release. The units feature one bathroom, living room, kitchen, and some storage space. While there are no staff on-site in the building, they are located on the same block as the CBRF and have access to the staff members for support, as well as a meal service. Additionally, available units can be utilized as a space for individuals who are granted temporary absences from the CBRF as a means of gradually staging their transition to independent community living.

Residence #7: This supportive housing residence is a five bedroom semi-detached house for men leaving a CBRF or on statutory release. It is located nearby to the organization's CBRF. The tenants each have their own furnished bedroom but share the living spaces such as bathroom, kitchen, living room, and other common areas. The residents at this home have access to the CBRF staff for support, as well as a meal service. Additionally, the house is utilized as a space for individuals who are granted temporary absences from the CBRF as a means of gradually staging their transition to independent community living.

Residence #8: This residence is part of a three month second stage housing program and is an apartment building featuring 12 self-contained bachelor units each with a kitchenette and private bathroom. It is available to men leaving a CBRF or those released directly from an institution. The

beds are split between a small number of drug treatment court residents, and the remainder is a balance between federal and provincial beds. There is at least one support staff on site 24 hours per day who provides some motivational counselling and support for goal setting and life skills.

British Columbia – 3 Sites

Three sites were visited in BC, each of which presented interesting perspectives on specific aspects of second stage housing. The first two residences offered perspectives on shared accommodations, while the third and final site for this project showcased the most unique aesthetic design out of the sites visited.

Residence #9: This supportive housing program is geared towards individuals on full parole or statutory release. There are also a small number of community beds designated for low-income tenants. There are 10 units in total, featuring two-bedrooms, one bathroom, living room and kitchen (shared accommodation). Six of the ten beds are designated for federally sentenced persons. The residence provides staff support to tenants to help them work towards their goals. Individuals can stay at the residence up to warrant expiry, though there is potential to be re-designated to stay in their apartment as part of the available low-income community beds.

Residence #10: A 35 bed residence with 15 beds designated for men who are reintegrating to the community from an institution, and 20 designated as low-barrier housing for low-income men with a history of chronic homelessness. The residence is set up with a dorm style arrangement of two people to a room, with shared washrooms in each wing, and common living and dining areas. The residence is staffed 24 hours per day.

Residence #11: A co-ed second stage housing program with 48 self-contained, furnished one bedroom apartments featuring kitchen, living room, and bathroom. 12 units are designated for men or women leaving a federal institution and the remainder are apartments for low-income tenants from the community. There is an opportunity for those on conditional release to graduate to one of the low income units upon completion of their sentence. This residence provided a unique aesthetic experience, and was the closest representation to a middle class standard of living made affordable and with supports for those most in need.

In the tables that follow, specific features and highlights of each of the housing programs are listed in order to provide a snapshot of trends in the sites visited. Subsequent to this, promising practices were identified as a result of themes which emerged throughout interviews with staff and residents.

FEATURES AND HIGHLIGHTS OF SECOND STAGE/SUPPORTIVE HOUSING SITES VISITED

The tables below offer a snapshot of the housing programs visited for this research. The tables include information on the features of the general sites, the units, the exteriors and interiors, as well as features such as the common areas of the buildings, proximity to services, and security.

General Site Features						
Res.#	Program Type	Style	# of Units	Age of Bldg	Staff on site	# Staff/Coverage (hrs)
1	Supportive	Apartment	12	2010	Yes	Approx. 8 staff/8am-4pm
2	SSH (2yrs)	Apartment	10	2010	Yes	Approx. 4 staff/8am-4pm
3	Supportive	Apartment	19	2012	Yes	1 staff/24hrs
4	Supportive	Scattered Site	27 (plus 18 apt. units)	n/a	No	
5	SSH (6mos)	Apartment	9	2011	Yes	2 staff/8am-8pm
6	Supportive	Apartment	6	Pre-1980	No	
7	Supportive	House	5	Pre-1980	No	
8	SSH (3mos)	Apartment	12	2000	Yes	1 staff 24hrs
9	Supp./SSH	Apartment	10(dbl occ.)	2007	Yes	1-2 staff/8hrs Mon-Fri.
10	SSH (flexible)	Apartment	17(dbl occ.)	2010	Yes	2 staff 24hrs
11	SSH (2yrs)	Apartment	48	2008	Yes	Approx. 4 staff/8am-4pm

Individual Apartment/Room Features					
Residence #	Bed	Bathroom	Kitchen	Storage	Other
1	✓	✓	✓	✓	furnished
2	✓	✓	✓	✓	furnished
3	✓	✓	✓		furnished
4	✓	✓	✓		
5	✓	✓	✓		furnished
6	✓	✓	✓	✓	
7	✓	Shared	Shared	Shared	
8	✓	✓	✓		furnished
9	✓	✓	✓	✓	Balcony/furnished
10	✓	Shared			furnished
11	✓	✓	✓	✓	furnished

Exterior Features of Building				
Residence #	Blends w/Neighbourhood	Gardens	Signage	Parking
1	✓	✓		Onsite
2	✓	✓	✓	Onsite
3	✓	✓		Street
4	✓	✓		Street
5	✓	✓	✓	Onsite
6	✓	✓		Onsite
7	✓	✓		Street
8	✓			Street
9	✓	✓		Onsite
10	✓	✓	✓	Street
11	✓	✓		Onsite

Proximity to Services and Amenities					
Residence #	Malls/Shops	Grocery Store	Public Transit	Health Services	Other
1	✓	✓	✓	✓	Walking trails
2	✓	✓	✓	✓	Parole Office
3	✓	✓	✓	✓	Food/clothing/furniture bank; soup kitchen; friendship centre
4					Sites located around downtown core
5	✓	✓	✓	✓	
6	✓	✓	✓	✓	Located close to CBRF
7	✓	✓	✓	✓	Located close to CBRF
8	✓	✓	✓	✓	
9	✓	✓	✓	✓	Food/Clothing Banks; Library
10	✓	✓	✓	✓	Thrift Store
11	✓	✓	✓	✓	

Interior Features of Building					
Res. #	Wheelchair Accessible	Accommodate visual/hearing impairments	Elevator	Laundry	Other
1	✓ (main flr)	✓		✓	
2	✓ (main flr)	✓		✓$1.25	
3	✓	✓	✓	✓	Colour coded floors; house phone (outgoing local only)
4					
5	✓(1unit)	✓		✓	House phone/free long distance
6					
7					
8					
9				✓$1	
10	✓		✓	✓$0.25	
11	✓	✓	✓	✓	4 unique colour/design schemes in units; each common area has different design

Security Features					
Res.#	Video Cameras	Staff Supervised Entry	Interior/Exterior Sprinklers (fire suppression)	Emergency Alarm Devices (for staff)	Other
1				✓	
2	✓	✓		✓	After hours alarm
3	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4					
5	✓	✓		✓	Fire extinguishers
6					Fire extinguishers
7					Fire extinguishers
8	✓	✓			
9	✓	✓	✓		Fobs/buzzer entry
10	✓	✓	✓	✓	Building alarm system
11	✓		✓		Keypad Entry system

Common Areas for Residents						
Res.#	Outdoor Garden/Patio	Kitchen/Dining Area	Common Room	Guest Visiting Area	Recreation Space	Other
1	✓		✓		✓(next	Classrooms
2	✓	✓				Classrooms (w/computers)
3		✓	✓			Classrooms; computer
4						
5	✓		✓	✓		Coffee hrs at main office
6	✓					Meal service at main
7	✓	✓	✓	✓		
8						
9	✓				✓	Computer station
10	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
11	✓	✓	✓	✓		

PROMISING PRACTICES FOR SECOND STAGE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

The following sections are a compilation of promising practices that emerged during regional site visits. Addressing promising practices also helps to identify challenges and issues with providing second stage housing in Canada, and highlights solutions and perspectives on how to address these issues more effectively.

Promising practices were investigated in the following areas:

- Funding
- Staff
- Resident support needs
- Conflicts and Resolutions
- Choosing an appropriate housing program design
- Zoning/building design
- Not In My Backyard (NIMBY) issues
- Availability of programs and use of program space
- Stakeholder relations
- Creating long term success, and
- Considerations and recommendations for others who are trying to create or improve second stage housing opportunities for those who have a history with the justice system

Staff and residents discussed their experiences with second stage housing, and offered their knowledge of community based options and challenges in addressing the risk of homelessness for ex-offenders. Their recommendations are integrated into each of the chapters, which are prefaced by excerpts from interviews with program managers or executive directors offering their advice in response to the question: *What would you recommend to others who are looking to create or improve second stage housing opportunities in their community for people who have been involved with the justice system?* Their feedback provides valuable insight and highlights the key elements around what is important in creating housing services for individuals that are working towards successful community re-entry.

FUNDING

> *Don't compromise, because you'll end up shortchanging yourself and you'll pay the price for not having the resources in place to do the job as well as you would like to do. Understand what the model is that you need, and try not to shortchange yourself so that you are ready coming out of the gate. Stand firm and stand tall in the face of those who would have you compromise and say "no, this is what I need to do the job. It has to be like this". Look after your own best interests because not everyone will look out for them. Give yourself enough time to make the arrangements you need to make the right decisions. Doing this is a full time job, and it's hard to manage the everyday details in addition to the new work. Think about the number of beds you need to run the staffing model you have in mind, and consider how to make that work within the funding budget.*

Most organizations financed certain components of their project such as purchase of property or staffing/case management costs, and otherwise appealed most commonly to provincial and/or federal funding streams for additional support. Government funding was typically sought for costs such as: subsidizing units; construction; mortgage; and operating subsidies so that a rent-geared to income approach could be used. In some instances organizations financed their own purchase and renovations to an existing property, and appealed to federal funding or local municipalities to provide case management and support staff.

Nearly all of the sites visited have direct deposit set up with provincial income assistance programs such that the tenants' pay rent through the available shelter subsidy for the province. For programs where meals are included, some organizations have tenants sign over their total shelter and food allowance and then provide tenants with a personal needs allowance. Depending on how much of the program has been funded this system allows for some programs to generate revenue which goes back into the direct operating costs of the building.

In addition to government funding, some organizations had other suggestions and creative methods for generating money. Some set up fundraising committees to help with the expense of maintaining older buildings—which can be a major cost that requires a long term reserve fund to be prepared for emergency costs. This was suggested especially for scattered site models where older duplexes and triplexes were purchased which require more overall maintenance.

Some organizations were able to capitalize on social enterprise opportunities to generate income, others saved on costs by having tenants participate in work projects on site. Others sought donations of construction materials from box stores and local companies (e.g. for flooring/carpeting) at wholesale costs. Another creative solution involved Site #9, which was purchased at the list price under the condition that the previous owner made a donation to the organization of the negotiated sale price. This amounted to a $70,000 donation to the organization which helped to support renovations and other costs.

Another suggestion for sustainable programming involves finding good partnerships. Site #7 has developed a good working relationship with their local community housing provider which

provides them with a set number of units in exchange for the organization's support staff to manage and create more stable tenancies in the rest of the building. This partnership allows for the experts in each field to fill gaps within the current social housing programs in the city, which directly benefits tenants by creating a supported living environment. One recommendation for this type of collaboration is to ensure that a support worker has their name put on the lease as a contact person if there are issues with the tenant so that they can be addressed immediately, to help minimize the risk of eviction.

Overall, interviewees stressed the following points regarding funding:

- Find sustainable options such as support with paying off the overall building and mortgage costs.
- Do not underestimate the need to set aside maintenance costs, especially for older buildings.
- Factor in appropriate staffing costs to ensure that the model will keep the building safe and supported. The suggested ratio is 1.5 staff for every 10-15 tenants. Staffing is an investment into the overall success of the program and the smooth operation of the property.
- Catch the "fundraising wave" from community investors (e.g. anti-poverty/mental health) and tie into where the community is at. Figure out how your homes fit into the various initiatives that present themselves.

STAFF

> *Have well trained staff. Keep in mind that if you need 24 hour staffing, chances are you might be working with a population that may not be ready for second stage housing. Keep people moving towards something else—an improvement in their life. Find the right piece of property that is zoned properly and be able to say, "we are here, this is happening" and work from that standpoint instead of fighting to make it happen. Be the nicest property on the block. This makes the neighbours happy, and gives pride of ownership to the residents. Set the standard for what the residents should aim to have in their life, and show them that they deserve it.*

Based on accounts from both the staff and residents, it is evident that the most critical element to the success of any second stage housing program is knowledgeable, supportive staff. Their regular presence creates a decisive separation between a safe, supported home and an unstable living environment. At each site visited, staff topped the list of what residents who participated in interviews liked best about living in the housing program. Likewise, all staff interviewed listed a staff presence as a critical piece to helping people successfully transition to long term community living.

When looking to hire staff, the majority of sites look for a minimum of a diploma in a related or relevant discipline, but preferably a degree in a human or social services field such as social work. General must-have skills include an ability to work independently, good decision making skills and communication skills. Beyond these basic skills, experience working with the clientele, First Aid, CPR, applied suicide intervention, crisis prevention/intervention, and mental health first aid qualifications are an asset. A good recommendation when hiring is to give consideration as to whether the tenants can relate to the staff, and not just the other way around.

Not all sites visited have 24 hour staff, 7 days per week. In fact, many are staffed Monday to Friday during daytime and some evening hours and rely on an on call staff person and security cameras during afterhours. However, staffing capacity usually had more to do with funding streams than with a specific decision to limit hours. Most staff members interviewed acknowledged that round the clock staffing throughout the week is ideal, particularly when tenants are managing substance abuse issues. The general feeling was that tenant crises and support needs are not limited to a regular work week, and in fact residents are more likely to feel vulnerable on weekends or during holidays. Despite this, many housing programs are managing with an on-call staff person on evenings and weekends, and in house staff during the weekdays.

When providing support to tenants, it is clear that successful programs are attempting to provide services that place the tenant at the centre of the decision making process. At one of the sites, staff members are certified in Reality Therapy, a cognitive based model that uses common language about making the right decisions for oneself, and being in control of one's choices and the responsibility associated with making them while acknowledging external influences. The scope of this project does not allow for an examination of the most successful staff certification styles to be applied in second stage housing programs. However, it is evident from speaking with staff that a consistent, fair approach to tenant needs which empowers them to make healthy choices and work

towards an independent lifestyle should be the basis for any support program. Organizations should evaluate the needs of their specific clientele and examine available options if they are interested in considering implementation of staff certification.

Additionally, it is important to be cognizant of the role of support staff and the position of trust they hold with the tenant—as such, ensure that there is a senior person in place who is responsible for enforcing some of the more serious matters such as rule breaking and eviction, in order to retain a trusting relationship with the support staff.

Organizations that are providing second stage housing to former CBRF residents that are not considering a staffing plan will need to screen in tenants that are considered very high functioning in order to avoid ongoing problems on the premises. For a model which has a significant portion of residents with support needs, a suggested a ratio is 1.5 staff persons for every ten to fifteen tenants.

In addition to hired staff, almost every second stage housing program, with the exception of very new programs which were still establishing themselves in the community, also benefit from the support of placement students from local colleges and universities. Typically the students come from social work or criminology programs, although some organizations also benefit from the support of pro-bono law students and occupational therapy students.

Placement or practicum students were often seen as critical to the program, and their support ranged from office admin and program support to specific research based projects that support the work of the overall organization, but which staff do not have the resources to do independently. Many organizations reported that they look to hire their students after the completion of their placement, which offered them a high profile within the colleges/universities.

The only risk associated with placement students is that they require additional supervision and training from staff. This requires investing resources for them to become employment-ready for the program, and in many instances this is short lived since once they are trained and have some experience they are often recruited for or seek out provincial or federal government employment opportunities.

RESIDENT SUPPORT NEEDS

> *Individualize the homes, where tenants know that the space is special—it is not a stretch to do it. Think about what you or your family would want to live in and then try and run with that design concept. Do something that shows the commitment of the organization to that tenant for their success and then the rest is up to them. Try to ensure as much sustainability for yourself as possible. The worst thing we can do for our clients is start and stop programs. People who live the lives of our clients are very used to things starting and stopping for them. And if you and I thought about it, if the things in our lives that were making us successful were starting and stopping all the time, we would not be successful. So have a really good sustainability plan that will allow you to keep going five to seven years into the future.*

While the range of support needs for people with a history of involvement with the criminal justice system is vast and varies among sub-groups, there were several consistent needs listed at the sites visited. First and foremost is the need for safe, affordable housing. Others included:

- Substance abuse
- Mental and physical health and assistance with med compliance
- Basic life skills enhancement including how to function in their own home according to the agency's standards
- Education and employment
- Understanding and using public transit
- Access to pro-social experiences

Gender specific support needs identified for women:

- Assistance with children
- Trauma counselling
- Financial literacy

Overall, staff work to support these needs and attempt to facilitate any necessary connections either within the organizations' service profile or within the community.

Most of the sites visited housed a mixed population of people with a correctional background and people with some degree of history/risk of homelessness. All of the programs visited have primary experience working in community corrections, but not all had experience working with a chronically homeless population. While in many circumstances people from both subgroups have been in either situation at one point or another, it is important to note that those who are exiting correctional programs and those who are coming out of a shelter or off the streets are often at very different points in their lives. Of the organizations working with people who have been chronically homeless, there was acknowledgement of challenges that they were unsure of how to deal with at the start. Staff should be able to support the needs of people who are at either of these stages, and hiring people from different backgrounds may help to create a balanced understanding of the support needs for the overall housing program.

CONFLICTS AND RESOLUTIONS

> *Don't be afraid to take a risk. There's always going to be people who tell you not to do it, and there's always going to be people who say "that's not going to work". Well you know what? It does work, and it has worked for years. It just has to be handled well and managed well.*

Most interviewees identified fairly common issues that are associated with living in any multi-unit complex, such as noise complaints. These are typically resolved with mediation by a staff member if the matter cannot be resolved between the tenants first. Staff noted that these are important teachable moments for tenants to use basic life skills training, where in the past they may not have dealt appropriately with them. In addition to the everyday conflicts that can arise among tenants, second stage housing presents conflicts associated with the support needs of the overall population.

The more serious conflicts discussed were due to substance use on the property or being visibly under the influence in common areas, unwanted guests, not respecting the rules of the building, and poor hygiene. These were issues for staff as well as residents that were interviewed.

According to staff, it is essential to define a clear and appropriate policy around substance use and to enforce that policy consistently for every tenant. This is regardless of whether the housing program is an abstinence-only or harm reduction model. For most harm-reduction programs visited, tenants' substance use is required to be contained to their units, or off site without returning to the premises visibly under the influence. This helps to ensure that tenants are respectful of each others' needs. In instances where this rule is broken, and where eviction is not required, one interviewee stated that residents are asked to provide an apology to each of the tenants they may have disrupted.

Unwanted guests are another major conflict area, and there are different ways for dealing with them. Visitors to the building can create conflicts by staying too long, breaking rules, and can establish negative associations for other tenants in the building. Interviewees implemented different rules around unwanted guests, some of which include:

- Having tenants escort guests in and out of the building/having guests sign in and out of the building or present identification if they have contributed toward conflict in the past
- Offering tenants a set number of overnight stays for approved guests
- Teaching tenants how to identify whether their guest is a good fit in their life

For the most part, staff interviewed noted that residents are usually understanding about visitors who have over-extended their welcome in the building—and often are not willing to risk their accommodations for someone who is not willing to follow the rules. Staff also stressed that tenants should be consulted about their opinions around guests, and that policy should be shaped around their wishes while helping them to understand staff concerns as well. This was seen as an important part of the policy making process since many of the tenants face issues with loneliness and isolation.

Feedback on rule-breaking behaviours from both groups generally stressed the importance of being fair and consistent. In cases where the housing program had a mixed population of homeless/low income tenants and tenants coming from a correctional setting, fairness and consistency were seen to be helpful in maintaining a respectful atmosphere. However, in certain programs tenants coming from a correctional setting may have different restrictions placed on them (for example, curfew, or no unapproved guests) which require staff to be clear in explaining the reasons for a different set of rules.

One example of how to deal with general rules that are consistently broken was from Site #2, which was dealing with the issue of tenants keeping windows open during winter months while the heating systems were running—this revealed the issue of tenants smoking in their non-smoking units. The program director instituted a $15 fine for tenants caught with their windows open throughout the day, which forced tenants to comply with using the designated smoking areas during the winter months. Another site installed outdoor heaters in smoking areas to deter people from smoking indoors.

Residents not maintaining proper hygiene is another conflict area among tenants, made especially more significant in shared accommodations. There can be difficulties in managing a building that has tenants with varying levels of life skills, and this has been addressed in different ways. Residents are expected to take a non-judgmental approach towards each other, and staff will intervene when there is evidence of non-compliance. Additionally, staff are asked often to model behaviour, and will show tenants how to maintain a hygienic living space if they have not learned how to properly and safely clean their own home in the past.

Many programs provide all the necessary cleaning supplies to the tenants—some provide them free of charge and others provide a set of personal supplies for a resident once they move in and then the tenant is expected to maintain them afterwards. Interviewees noted that it is important to not take for granted that tenants understand how to maintain their own home, and providing in-house workshops on how to clean is often a good idea.

Despite these measures, conflicts around hygiene can not only create tension among residents, but can also be a health and safety issue as well. Nearly all sites visited reported instances of hoarding behaviour at some time or another. This was addressed by policy which requires some degree of scheduled maintenance checks on units, typically around every three months. Alternatively, one site requires tenants to authorize “wellness checks”, which allows staff to enter units if they believe there is a concern about the tenant. This helps to identify life skills and other issues and allows staff to address them fairly quickly. It also creates an opportunity for staff to enter the unit without police involvement in the case of a suspected emergency, such as an overdose. For concerns about hoarding, looking for support through municipal health services may be helpful. Most municipalities have a city support worker who is trained to address hoarding—they may be able to help with tenants, or can be invited to do a workshop and training session for housing program staff.

CHOOSING AN APPROPRIATE HOUSING PROGRAM DESIGN

> *Watch the contract negotiation. You can lose autonomy over the way you want to run your program. Keep in mind that the program is a continuum, and there's different ways you can develop a program. This is why it has to be something you and your board are comfortable with and have the resources for. Don't do anything where you'll just break even, because you'll go under, especially smaller organizations that can't absorb the loss. Start small—but the more apartments you have the more likely you'll break even. To function really well you need around 20 apartments, only 5-12 and you are on the margin. One calculation was that you need 48 apartments before you can hire one full time worker. This is why collaboration with a partner who owns the mortgage and upkeep is ideal. If the city pays for a worker, then the partner gets a stable tenancy that will allow your organization to achieve your mandate while creating positive community development programs.*

Methods for determining the design of new buildings or selecting existing buildings for purchase varied greatly across the sites. For new buildings, funding streams sometimes had a role in dictating what the design should be like. Interviewees warned that unless the funding partners have a good understanding of the clientele, it is important to clearly lay out the parameters needed to achieve long term success of the tenants.

To identify the necessary parameters for a successful building design, recommendations included:

- Consult with leaders from the public and private sectors (e.g. mental health, corrections) who may have experience with those who would be potential tenants so they can help identify factors that would be most beneficial to the tenants.
- Pay attention to the location and allow for time to find the right place that will suit the needs of the tenants as well as the organization. Consider whether there is a need to be located close to the main administrative offices or whether it may be better value to merge main office space with a new building. Also consider the neighbourhood and the influence it may have on potential tenants.
- Attempt to give people options—not everyone wants a big space so consider mixing bachelor/studio units and one bedroom units
- Consider creating an option to designate at least one unit for a family, if appropriate
- Try to fit the greatest number of people as possible that still gives them a good amount of personal space and a positive living environment
- Have active consultation with board of directors or other governance group
- Become aware of other housing programs in the area and find out the best way to contribute to a continuum of services available in the community
- Meet with those who will be potential tenants and ask what they would want and need out of a second stage housing program

Interviewees were in overwhelming agreement that shared accommodations should be avoided as much as possible. While it is normal in many cases for people in the rental market to have roommates, this is not ideal for second stage housing. Due to the variety of support needs of second stage housing tenants, residents interviewed reported a high degree of dissatisfaction with shared accommodation, and staff interviewed reported a higher need for mediation and increased support requirements for tenants who shared a space. Staff also noted that people who share a unit are more vulnerable towards each other's setbacks, and if one person starts to fall off track with their plan the other often follows suit.

ZONING AND BUILDING DESIGN CONSIDERATIONS

> *Keep office space on the ground floor, so resident traffic passes by to increase the level of contact they have with staff, to help address their support needs. Keep people in the loop with construction and opening plans, while keeping in mind that nothing happens on time. Get your local government on side because it can really work for you, and get the facts down such as local by-laws and building codes. If you don't know about this, hire someone who does to help get you started.*

Most housing programs were zoned as residential, though Site #2 suggested there is an advantage to finding a property that is without a zoning variance which may help to avoid conflict from the neighbourhood if residential zoning may be negatively associated with the name of an organization.

Interviewees also noted the usefulness in being aware of the property lines for accessing city service lines such as water and sewage, and to check whether they affect neighbouring property lines. If there is work required to bring buildings to code that affect a nearby property, a good relationship with the immediate neighbours may help ease challenges which arise after the property is purchased. Additionally, it was recommended that organizations aim for consistency in the process of working with city officials to become operational (such as working with the same person as much as possible) which can expedite obtaining occupancy permits and starting up the program.

Some considerations regarding the exterior of the building for an existing property or planned construction that interviewees would have added to the location in hindsight included:

- The allocation of an area for a bike lock up—many residents use bicycles for transportation bringing them through the building regularly creates quick wear and tear on the walls.
- Consider the degree of pedestrian traffic in front of the building and whether the units face the street. At one site visitors took to shouting up to tenants from the sidewalk which caused some disruptions to other residents.
- Be aware of common spaces in relation to where neighbouring views are—this can minimize NIMBY issues in the long-run.
- Make realistic considerations of the amount of garbage for the building, and create a secured space for waste management that will not be infringed upon by the neighbourhood.
- Think about parking needs and investigate options such as overflow parking lots from neighbouring organizations in order to help maximize property space. Most sites did not require much parking space for tenant vehicles since many do not have them.
- If purchasing an older property, ensure that there is enough money set aside for renovations and maintenance issues.
- Consider hiring a project manager to help with the decision making and general work associated with getting construction completed, especially if you are unfamiliar with these processes. It can save a lot of time and hassle in getting the project completed.

Best practices and recommendations for interior design considerations included:

- Have self-contained, one bedroom apartments. Shared accommodation is not recommended for second stage housing due to the variety of support needs for the residents and should be avoided if possible.
- Ensure a way to have TVs and/or radios available in the units—this helps with people who have a history of institutionalization who find it too quiet. Consider having them donated.
- Rather than traditional key systems, a best practice across sites was keypad entry systems into the units which offers: individualized key code entry into units; eliminates changing of locks with new tenancies; tenants do not lose keys; and depending on the system can offer computerized monitoring of tenant arrival and departure from unit and/or building.
- Consider an intercom system for units vs. a buzzer system for guest entry if tenants are to escort their guests into the building. This avoids potential tampering with phone jacks to allow tenants to buzz people in directly from their unit, which reduces building security.
- Most sites have laundry facilities in a common area in order to reduce usage and maintenance costs, and allows for more space in the individual units.
- Ensure that room sizes are confirmed before ordering furniture, last minute changes to design might mean that furniture won't fit the original space.

This is an example of a keypad entry/exit system inside a unit for parolees with residency conditions. The keypad is connected to a computerized system which can be monitored by staff, and also has an emergency exit button in the event of a crisis which dispatches emergency response and unlocks the unit without a key code.

Other issues pertaining to building design highlight some of the challenges with making quick decisions for the long term use of the building, and the overall success of the tenants. A few of the sites visited built meeting/program space based on contracts which existed at the time of funding negotiation and construction, only to have program contracts shifted or cancelled within a couple of years. This left underutilized program space that could have been used for additional beds or more functional space. Being realistic about the long term use of common and administrative spaces and planning for their use can free up valuable square footage for the overall building.

The availability of common spaces within the building is an area of debate in second stage programs. Those who incorporated a common area such as a television room said it was helpful for addressing issues of loneliness, and allow for people to have a place outside of their apartment to socialize. Others suggested that their design plans took into consideration the need to make the housing program as realistic as possible for people who will eventually transition to independent living in the community. The absence of a common area was thought to encourage residents to find healthy ways of socializing outside of the building. Ultimately, the inclusion or exclusion of a common area is dependent on the population, and whether it contributes towards their long term reintegration needs.

N.I.M.B.Y. (NOT IN MY BACKYARD) ISSUES

> *You need to have your board of directors 100% behind [the plans]. They need to be the champions and they need to have a vision they will invest in. You need to be comfortable and ready for risk. Get ready for talking to the media and potential clients, as well as talking to angry groups. Create a strategy for these things ahead of time. Try to identify people who are in your corner and have them sell the idea to neighbours; don't try to sell the idea by yourself. Be prepared to teach clients how to be a good neighbour, and teach them that everything they do has an impact on outcomes for other tenants and impacts the organization. There needs to be good, clear contracting on acceptable behaviours, and be comfortable exiting people decisively so that you have clear boundaries and staff who will enforce the guidelines. Get connected to other housing providers and get yourself to the table as a group that wants to learn. Be quiet to start, and think about how you can assist them. Have the police, emergency services, city councillors, and Members of Parliament as partners and make capacity building a critical part of solutions for the community.*

Organizations who are looking to create new housing opportunities for people with a history of homelessness or involvement with the criminal justice system often meet with resistance from the neighbourhood they choose to develop the program in. While each community is different, there were some common approaches to community engagement from the sites visited for this project.

All staff interviewed for this project were asked about their level of community engagement and challenges associated with NIMBY. The general approach taken by most organizations was to provide as much information as possible, and their commitment to being a good neighbour. Some examples of how to accomplish this included:

- Host a community information event prior to building construction or purchase to keep the community informed of what the organization's plans are.
- Before doing a widespread event in the community, attempt to have meetings and gain support from city officials and city council members who can help to advocate on your behalf. Other key people to have onside are: the mayor, Members of Parliament, police chief, and medical/psychiatric services (local hospital or health services).
- Have a note taker and comment sheet available to those who attend information events, and take the time to figure out how to accommodate and respond to each concern. This can help with addressing issues at city council also.
- Language is important, frame the housing program as supportive transitional apartments to help minimize the negative association with "halfway houses".
- Consider doing some media training for staff or put together a communications package that staff can use to field phone calls and concerned neighbours.
- Go out and meet the neighbours to explain the goals and objectives of the project, and how the organization plans to deal with community safety issues.
- Maintain the need to humanize potential residents.

- Help people to understand that you are addressing an existing issue in their community, not recruiting new problems to the area
- Maintain that housing is a right for everyone in the community and explain that not everyone has the same access to opportunity
- Try an informal approach such as hosting weekend BBQs in the summer to let neighbours get more comfortable with the organization and residents and to keep communication open
- Listen to community concerns and be as accommodating as possible, particularly if constructing a new building
- If possible, take feedback from existing properties that have become established in the neighbourhood. Positive testimonies from neighbours can have a big impact on future projects
- Do not underestimate the benefit to creating something new that will add value to the neighbourhood; strive to set the standard for the neighbourhood
- Take a rundown project and make it better and the community will learn to embrace it
- Be available and responsive to neighbours once the program is up and running—consider providing them with a cell number to the manager/director and show up when called in. You will establish a reputation based on what you do and how you respond to them
- Depending on the client group, consider holding contracts with other buildings on the street to have tenants help with landscaping or other small jobs

How an organization presents potential projects in the community can largely influence how it ends up, with the risk of losing the project entirely. Despite all of the efforts listed as suggestions, many of the sites we visited were met with resistance in their development stages. However, making the extra effort to go above and beyond what is needed to address neighbourhood concerns can keep governing bodies such as the city council on side.

Interviewees noted that opening the first building is always the hardest, and once an organization is able to establish a good track record of helping the community and providing responsible property management the barriers to program expansion are reduced. As mentioned by one interviewee, "it is really important work—and it's a lot of work to get it off the ground—but that should not deter people. You *can* do it and you *can* be successful at it. You are always going to have naysayers but keep the focus on the end goal because it is important work to do, and it should be done." (Interviewee, Site #8).

PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

> *Harm reduction may not work for parolees. Have community support professionals who can provide a continuum of services beyond the CBRF. Make sure the building is secure for both the staff and residents. Don't reinvent the wheel—talk to people who have done the same thing to help with the little decisions. Don't make assumptions about what people know, show people how to clean their apartments, compost, take out the garbage, etc. and make opportunities available through group sessions on these topics. Think about what kind of lease (one month, 6 month, or one year) based on the tenants. Have discussions with your tenancy board about the rules, and have a lawyer review the agreement.*

The most common programs offered to tenants of second stage housing were life skills training, addictions services, and employment/education programs. According to the tenants interviewed, they most valued having an employment program to assist them with finding work in the long run. For staff interviewed the opportunity to offer employment training, in many ways, allowed for added layers of programming for skills and personal development which could be framed within the objective of finding employment. Because many tenants believe that all they need to be successful is to get a job, staff try to build in other necessary supports under the umbrella of helping them to find a job, such as time management/accountability, communication skills, and managing workplace conflicts without forcing the idea of additional programming onto the tenants.

Employment programs were offered in a few different ways. Some were rooted in classroom training sessions, while others were more hands on with social enterprise-type opportunities as part of the fund generating and skills building process. One site participates in a city voucher campaign, where tenants receive vouchers for small jobs they do for local businesses that can be redeemed at around twenty participating stores and restaurants in the downtown area. This program is beneficial to the tenants in supporting employment skills. It also helps to change the perceptions of those who work at the participating businesses to get to know people who were panhandling in the neighbourhood in the past.

Other programs and employment connections offered included:

- General Educational Development (GED) test preparatory course
- Correctional Service of Canada programs
- Restorative Justice programs
- Economic literacy
- Leadership training
- Shoplifting/fraud program
- How to be a good neighbour/how to live in a co-ed building and be respectful to others
- Living independently (basic budgeting/cooking/cleaning)

Staff interviewed pointed out the importance in developing relationships with potential employers, as well as with other community agencies that offer programs. Developing a relationship with local partners helps with getting tenants placement into the programs. Interviewees recommended

finding out what is available such as housing support programs for how to live in your own apartment, cooking classes, and onetime events in the community such as seniors' days. Based on established networks this can become a referral based program that helps to get people out into the community.

Additionally, consider inviting community programs on-site to help ease the transition for tenants. Many people become comfortable in the housing program and may be hesitant to try new places in the community. If the community is invited in and relationships can be established in-house, tenants may be less intimidated to seek out services later on.

It was widely noted that food is always a big draw for people. Some of the sites found very good responses from holding programs and workshops on healthy eating, or having a nutritionist come speak to residents about cooking for specific health issues such as diabetes. Other programs host community kitchens and had vegetable gardens which encouraged tenants to grow fresh foods and cook for each other or to help prepare foods for community drop in days. Having residents help provide healthy foods for other members of the community in need provided positive pro-social experiences.

Some second stage housing sites purposely do not provide programs to the residents. Instead, tenants have regular access to a community outreach staff person who is responsible for identifying the needs of the resident and designing a plan for them in the community. By using this approach, each person has a tailored plan based on their personal set of needs and it is the objective of the outreach staff to build a community strategy around that person. This approach was used with the goal of having residents achieving independence and resiliency, and to create pro-social anchors in the community so that residents do not rely solely on correctional supports and programming.

Whether or not it is more successful to have programs built into the housing services or networked out to the community was not made clear through this research. However, it is likely that depending on the population served and their level of support needs that one may be more successful than the other. For example, residents who have difficulties establishing trust or who have mental health needs may benefit from in-house programs where the surroundings are familiar and staff are trusted. In this circumstance, it would still remain important to establish partnerships with community based service providers to come in and deliver services so that there is an opportunity to create a relationship for tenants beyond the housing program.

In other cases where tenants have a greater sense of independence and may not find as many challenges with leaving the residence for support services, assisting residents with becoming connected to programs in the community may provide a greater likelihood that they will access services beyond the transitional housing program.

Physical and geographical issues may also determine plans for program space. If a purchasing an existing property or if using scattered site model, there are physical limitations that can prevent the ability to set aside an area for programs. Given this, it may become more important to consider the location of the housing program in relation to other available services, how easy it is for the tenants

to access these services (e.g. by walking distance or public transit), and the type of stakeholder relationships the organization will be able to develop.

One thing remains clear in either case: staff are a critical element to any type of program, and effective staff are required to deliver effective programs and services, as well as to facilitate connections to other programs and services in the community.

It is worth noting that each residence with available program space such as boardrooms, classrooms, or community kitchens offered their space, when available, to community or government groups free of charge. All staff noted the success with this approach in creating effective connections in the community and facilitating reciprocal relationships, while increasing access to services for their residents.

STAKEHOLDER RELATIONS

> *You have to develop the capacity and bring something to the table in your community—without that you won't have support. Instead of competing go in and do it together and bring what you can to the table based on your expertise.*

Whether community corrections organizations have good relationships with other local service providers or not, there is no denying that having meaningful and well established partnerships among various community agencies is an absolute asset to maximizing the ability to meet the needs of clients. All of the staff interviewed made note of important partnerships they have established which help to connect tenants to services in the community. Furthermore, most acknowledged that this is a critical element for people reintegrating from corrections, to assist with creating long term connections into the community which help to remove them from beneath the correctional services umbrella.

Recommendations on how to create partnerships, and who to create them with, included:

- Open dialogue with community groups that may have some kind of investment in what you are doing, as well as with those who may be hesitant to have you around. Talk to them about how you can benefit from each other's services.
- Host community awareness events on various topics for service providers and health networks, as well as justice and health professionals
- Assess whether some of your residents may be able to help out neighbouring stakeholders.
- Offer or try to receive overflow donations
- Share space that you are not using at no cost to other community groups, and let them know it is available to them as an option; alternatively, try to use other's program space to help get to know them better.
- Always say yes to others, this will help in establishing reciprocal relationships
- Maintain a constant presence in the community by attending events, and work constantly to develop a relationship with city officials.
- Consider becoming part of (or starting) a supportive housing network which brings together community based agencies that provide transitional housing and supports to their residents. This can offer a forum for discussing best practices and to support one another.
- Figure out how the city obtains information about supporting their own priorities and housing needs in the community, and become involved in that process (e.g. there may be a consulting group that the city uses to obtain information about local housing needs).
- Acknowledge and support the view that stakeholders are supporting a shared client, and be fair and transparent in taking on new opportunities. Discuss the best options for the community, not the individual organization.
- Do not limit attendance at community meetings only for when you need something or when funding becomes available
- Become partners with the police and housing branches in the city
- Get your foot in as many doors as possible, and deal with concerns immediately

Many of the recommendations listed require a proactive approach from the community corrections agency. Based on the survey findings from this project, it would appear that there may be some difficulty in facilitating relationships among stakeholders. While some community corrections groups have attempted to maintain a low profile in the past to avoid conflict and resistance from the neighbourhood, it is becoming increasingly clear that an integrated network of services remains the best option for ex-prisoners. Agencies should consider a sense of urgency in advancing collaborative models and should aim to set objectives which involve non-traditional partnerships and the business community as part of recognizing a shared client.

While each community is different, there are options for creating meaningful partnerships that will help to support the long term success of second stage housing residents. Becoming part of a service provider committee can be a successful operation if it can speak as one voice to city officials, and if it can take opportunities from the city back to the group for consideration. Doing this successfully relies quite heavily on having committed people with strong networking skills at the forefront, and for the group to have a good understanding of which issues are an organization's niche. The knowledge and experiences that come from such a network are important and beneficial to developing mutual opportunities.

A recurring idea is to extend available services and resources to other groups as a means of creating a give-and-take situation between service providers. As such, the concept of 'reciprocal relationships' emerged as major facet to effective stakeholder relations. To facilitate reciprocal relationships within the community, organizations should aim to be seen as doing something to solve a shared problem. By doing something to help the stakeholders and contributing to a continuum of services in the community, the client will benefit as a result.

CREATING LONG TERM SUCCESS FOR RESIDENTS AND SECOND STAGE HOUSING PROGRAMS

> *Make sure you have a solid operational plan and that you can get it built. Be prepared for the costs whether you're renovating or building from the ground up. Be prepared to sweat, it's going to take hard work for you to pull it off and you really need to be committed to making it happen. Your rewards will be internal. Operating dollars are always tough, the first project is tough and then it gets easier. Once you have a track record it gets easier. Start small, but small is not sustainable, so look to expand. Encourage people to talk about problems before they become real problems. Teach people what a good landlord looks like, and teach them how to be a good tenant.*

When asked about creating long term success for the residents of second stage housing, interviewees emphasized the importance of maintaining a high level of staff support. Being able to respond to people's needs immediately can help identify problematic behaviours early on, before they result in major issues which can negatively affect the success of the tenant. This also allows staff to support tenants through their challenges, and maintains the goal of trying to help people retain a positive living environment and stable tenancy for as long as possible.

In addition to establishing staff support, the second most recommended feature for creating long term success was community supports. By connecting residents to services within their community, they are able to build their independence and resiliency while also building resources that will leave them supported, or at least familiar with where to go, after they leave a transitional program.

Other recommendations for creating long term success included:

- Understand that some people will need support for the rest of their lives, and finding them the appropriate types of individualized care for the long term should be a goal
- Open up dialogue among residents and staff for ongoing feedback on available services
- Create a sense of normalcy with tenants to model interactions (such as meeting over coffee), while maintaining professional boundaries. This helps people to be comfortable with social networking opportunities outside of the staff
- Do not attempt to just do housing without support services in place, because without services the housing will not last
- Have a staff person that can work to support people in finding long term housing
- Have a strongly developed philosophy and solid operational plan attached to the work
- Making a commitment to the long term success of tenants may be unrealistic. Rather, commit yourself to giving residents every opportunity possible for them to be successful while they are at your program so that when they leave they are ready to use the skills given to them in order to move forward.

All of the staff interviewed were extremely confident that the services provided through their housing program are contributing to better public safety results for their community, and noted that commitment to the community should always be at the heart of second stage housing.

CONSIDERATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SECOND STAGE HOUSING

> *Second stage housing needs to be a working, engaging process to get the tenant where they need to be. Don't just wait out the time you have with them. They need to be able to set goals with staff, and the relationship needs to be working and therapeutic for them. The client has to have a buy in to the relationship. Build close to services and amenities.*

Staff and residents were asked about their advice and recommendations to others who are looking to create or improve second stage housing for people who have a history with the justice system. Residents' feedback suggested the importance of having staff that are fair and non-judgemental, and who are willing to listen and help people find what they need in the community. They also preferred the location to be close to the downtown core or within a one hour travel period on public transit to access services and amenities. Anything over an hour of total travel time (i.e. waiting for the bus, and the trip time including transfers) would discourage them from seeking the service. Residents were also in agreement that shared accommodations were not ideal, and that they would prefer to have their own space that they were responsible for. There were mixed views on whether having a common space for residents to socialize was important, and likely this depends on how many other social supports a person had in place.

Overall, staff and residents interviewed were very forthcoming with advice and recommendations about second stage housing and the housing needs of people leaving a CBRF or institution. Feedback was offered on staff, location, style of housing, program style, and lessons learned.

Having staff on site is important for having the capacity to react to issues when they occur, and to be able to provide solutions. Tenants feel more supported if the actions taken by staff are immediate, and if they are consistent in the application of policy and solutions. It was made clear by staff and residents that poor personnel policies, poor or non-existent rules for residents, or a lack of professionalism from staff can contribute to giving second stage housing a bad name. Because of the level of responsibility and accountability to the community, there is a level professionalism that must accompany the overall operations of the program.

There were many comments about taking the time to find the 'right' location. There is a challenge in finding the right spot at the right price. One interviewee noted their goal of finding a space near apartments that the tenants could aspire towards living in after their time at the housing program was finished. The principle behind this was to create a level of comfort with the neighbourhood and nearby services which would be an easier transition for people if they could move somewhere within the same area.

The style of housing ultimately will depend on the amount of funding available to complete the project, the number of potential tenants, and the support needs of potential tenants. Beyond this, some general considerations are to figure out what is most conducive to the style of housing in the community.

While it may be more affordable (and funders may suggest) to create bachelor or studio suites for tenants, their urban design may not be well suited for a smaller city. Talk to organizations that may be referring tenants and find out what they think is best for them. If one bedroom suites are what service providers are in agreement for, then work to create this with the funders. One method of persuasion mentioned by an interviewee was going to the CEO of the funding partner and asking whether they would put their mother or brother in the units they were suggesting. When the CEO replied that he would want his family members to have more space, the interviewee asked him to explain why his family members deserved more space than some of the most vulnerable people in the community. The result was an agreement to produce one bedroom suites for the tenants.

In other instances, an organization will have to decide on an apartment building, or smaller scattered site units. Based on discussions with interviewees, the decision should be determined by the support needs of the tenants. Some will not do well with the isolation of a scattered site approach, and others will blossom from the supported independence. The organization providing scattered site units (Site #4), also provides affordable housing units in two apartment buildings, and reported having significantly less issues with the tenants in the duplexes and triplexes than those in the apartments. Ultimately, they believed that this came down to managing less support needs in a confined space, and because the tenants in scattered sites are not influenced by negative associations or behaviours which occur in an apartment building. The management staff at Site #4 highly recommended scattered sites if possible, with the condition that there was enough staff available to go out and support the residents across the community.

While scattered site might be ideal, it is usually more expensive to purchase and maintain multiple sites and takes more time to have the capacity to support the same number of people as an apartment building. Also, the reality is that most funding opportunities allow for a one time purchase or construction of a building, or will support putting people into existing units in social housing under the care of support staff. In any of these cases, the style of housing should seek to create an improvement to the neighbourhood.

Other recommendations for housing style and design considerations included:

- Obtaining the option to build in geothermal heating/cooling through a funding contract can help contribute to the sustainable costs of operations; however, some sites had difficulties managing the cooling component in the summers
- Create community gardens or vegetable gardens that can create small jobs for tenants and will contribute to the aesthetic of the property while instilling pride of ownership for the tenants
- Try to balance making the housing as 'normal' as possible, while retaining a feeling for community living
- If it is not possible to put phones/televisions in the units, consider having an outgoing phone line and television in a common space since many tenants are unable to afford these

Regarding general aesthetics and style in the buildings, a few things stood out at some of the sites that are working with a mixed population of corrections clients and homeless clients, especially those focusing on people with mental health needs. One of the sites is a multi-level apartment

building, and each floor is painted a different colour to help avoid residents feeling disoriented or lost in the building. At another site, one interviewee mentioned the importance of creating a space for people that made them feel like their home had a level of uniqueness. There were four different design schemes for the units, with different paint, light fixtures, and countertops. Since the residents can stay in their unit for up to two years, having a space that was different from the units next to it was thought to help generate the feeling in people that they are also unique.

Deciding on the type of housing program can also be a challenge. Second stage or supportive? Harm reduction or abstinence only? These are questions that can only be answered by organizations that know their client group and understand the type of needs they have.

The debate between second stage housing as a transitional program, versus supportive housing as a permanent program really comes down to numbers. A second stage housing program has the ability to affect more people due to the time limit on the stay, but its success is often determined by the availability of suitable 'third stage' or long term options for housing that are safe and affordable. Second stage often creates a necessary next step from a community corrections setting, before making the full transition to independent community living. It assists with transitioning an individual gradually out of the correctional system to support successful community re-entry.

Supportive housing, alternatively, establishes a long term home for people and allows them to transition in their own time. However, most supportive programs that participated in this research have found very limited turnover with their tenants, effectively reducing the number of people they can support. Supportive housing may also be necessary for people who will need some degree of support for the rest of their lives. An organization which provides supportive housing should look to larger apartment style buildings that can generate some type of revenue through rent, provided there can be enough staff in place to meet the support needs of the residents.

The argument for harm reduction models or abstinence only models depends on the vision of the overall program, and type of staffing model available to the program. For programs that are managing a harm reduction approach, it is important to establish clear guidelines around substance use. Of the harm reduction models visited, most required that using be contained to individual units, and that people never use in an open space or be visibly under the influence. Trafficking or dealing out of the building was a strict cause of eviction. Essentially, residents are told that if they can use and be a good neighbour, and not create issues in the building, then they can retain their housing within the program. Most staff interviewed from these models found that people do respond to the risk of losing the first safe, nice home they have ever had. Most have also seen a reduction in people's substance use. They attribute this to the fact that people are in a safe place and know where they will sleep at night, and do not have as many reasons to use substances as a means of coping.

Many of the staff interviewed also made recommendations on a variety of lessons they have learned since starting their program. These included:

- Wait until you have an occupancy permit in your hands before telling people when they can move in. There are usually delays, so waiting to tell people can help to avoid disappointment.
- While pets are great companionship for people and buildings should attempt to be 'pet friendly', consider offering people the option for pets after a period of stable and successful tenancy. Pet friendly buildings often have issues, including expensive maintenance costs (e.g. cat litter being flushed down toilets).
- Have tenants set up direct deposit services for their rental income supplement, this will help them to retain their housing.
- Take precautions against bedbugs; consider bed bug removal as a social enterprise opportunity.
- If building from the ground up, take the time and care to find the right contractors, project managers, and architects who will understand your vision and support your cause. Be wary that not everyone who comes in will be supportive of the work you are trying to do, and ensure that they do their job right.
- Be sure to understand the challenges associated with new technologies such as geothermal heating and cooling systems. Some properties have found difficulties with adjusting the temperature.
- Retain the right to call for a suspension if a parolee is heading off track.

It is clear that there are many factors to consider when looking to create or improve second stage housing opportunities—and it is likely that there are more than those which have been covered through this research. Not all the recommendations listed will suit all housing programs. They are meant to be taken as feedback from experienced service providers and used to guide ideas while shaping an operational plan that is tailored for specific sub-populations and communities. One thing remained very clear through this research: each organization visited is different, with unique residents who have varying support needs. Each of their programs was designed to meet the needs of those they serve and to work within the context of what is available to them in their community.

KEY CONSIDERATIONS

Homes for the 'Hard to House' was created in response to a perceived need within community corrections to have a collection of ideas on effective practices for maintaining successes achieved with people during their residency at a CBRF. Housing is a fundamental need, and without a safe, stable place to call home there are not many people who could succeed in achieving any level of short or long term success. The concept is simple: when people are not struggling to find a safe place to sleep at night, they can focus on other issues in their lives and attempt to deal with them in a meaningful way with the support of people who understand their needs.

By listening to the stories of the residents who participated in this research, it was clear that this was the first time in a very long time, if ever, that they had a safe place to call their own home. They appreciated having staff around who believe in them and support their goals. Second stage housing is an opportunity—a real chance at navigating reintegration into the community and moving beyond past experiences.

While none of the second stage housing models visited were exactly alike, there are fundamental similarities that link their objectives and have guided (or misguided) their program design and delivery. Through preliminary findings from researching second stage housing within a community corrections context, it is evident that elements such as having well thought out objectives prior to negotiating contracts with funders can help to ensure that an organization's visions for its clients is achieved. This research is intended to help service providers navigate their objectives in designing a second stage housing program that is tailored to the needs of the people they serve.

While funding is often what matters and what defines the scope of opportunity for most who work in the NGO sector, having a solid operational plan that is well thought out in terms of building requirements, what is needed to support the tenants, how to address community perceptions, and how to negotiate effective stakeholder relations can contribute to making the most out of whatever funding is received. The purpose of this research is to help guide service providers in creating a foundation that offers the best value for their funding, and the greatest level of service provision to the residents.

For many, CBRFs are simply not enough. While they are essential in the transition from institution to community living, the support needs of ex-prisoners go well beyond Warrant Expiry Dates and statutory releases. Community corrections groups have acknowledged this for years, and second stage housing provides a much needed solution to providing services providers with the resources to continue doing what they do best: improve community safety and provide the best chance at success for their clients.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

CBRF: Community-based Residential Facility for federally sentenced persons.

Concurrent disorder: This refers to when an individual experiences mental health and substance use issues at the same time. In this context, a substance use involves the dependence or abuse of a legal or illegal substance as well as alcohol, but generally excludes nicotine.

Conditional Release: The release of a sentenced person into the community is based on specific terms and conditions outlined in the Correctional Plan that applies to that case. Conditional releases may take the form of full parole or day parole.

Day Parole: provides sentenced persons with the opportunity to participate in on-going community-based activities. Ordinarily, they reside at a correctional institution or Community-based Residential Facility. Individuals are also granted day parole in order to prepare for full parole and statutory release.

Emergency Shelter: Refers to temporary, emergency residence such as a homeless shelter.

Full Parole: is a form of conditional release that allows a sentenced person to serve part of a prison sentence in the community. They are placed under supervision and are required to abide by conditions designed to reduce the risk of re-offending and to foster reintegration into the community.

Homelessness: Homelessness describes a range of housing and shelter circumstances, with people being absolutely homeless at one end, and experiencing housing exclusion (being precariously or inadequately housed) at the other. That is, homelessness encompasses a range of physical living situations…that includes 1) **Unsheltered**, or absolutely homeless and living on the streets or in places not intended for human habitation; 2) **Emergency Sheltered**, including those staying in overnight shelters for people who are homeless, as well as Violence Against Women shelters; 3) **Provisionally Accommodated**, referring to those whose accommodation is temporary and who do not have their own home or security of tenure, and finally, 4) **Insecurely Housed**, referring to people who are 'at risk' of homelessness, and whose current economic and/or housing situation is precarious or does not meet public health and safety standards. It should be noted that for many people homelessness is not a static state but rather a fluid experience, where one's shelter circumstances and options may shift and change quite dramatically and with frequency.

Mental Health Disorder: a substantial disorder of thought, mood, perception, orientation, or memory that grossly impairs judgment, behaviour, and the capacity to recognize reality or the ability to meet the ordinary demands of life. It consists of a clinically significant behavioral or psychological syndrome or pattern that is associated with impairment in important areas of functioning, or a significantly increased risk of suffering death, pain, disability, or an important loss of freedom.

N.I.M.B.Y.: Acronym for Not In My Backyard. The term (or the derivative Nimbyism) is used pejoratively to describe opposition by residents to a proposal for a new development close to them.

Parole: A conditional release from a correctional institution that permits the individual to serve the remainder of his/her sentence in the community under the supervision of a probation/parole officer.

Recidivism: Tendency to relapse into criminal behaviour.

Second Stage Housing: Second stage housing is also known as 'transitional', 'phased permanent', 'transpermanent' or 'interim' housing, and has been defined as consisting of relatively private accommodations provided on a temporary basis along with intensive services intended to facilitate the transition to permanent housing.

Sentence: The punishment given to a person who has been convicted (i.e. found to be guilty) of a crime.

Statutory Release: The requirement that federally sentenced persons serve the final third of their sentence in the community, under supervision and under conditions of release similar to those imposed on people released on full parole. Those serving life or indeterminate sentences are not eligible for statutory release. Offenders on statutory release are inmates who either did not apply for release on parole, or who were denied release on full parole.

Successful Reintegration: Means that the person does not recidivate and is able to manage or obtain support for their general wellbeing towards a healthy and appropriate lifestyle. It should be noted that there are varying degrees of success and they are measured in different ways for different people.

Supportive Housing: Permanent, service-intensive and private housing for clients with unique housing needs.

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