REPORT ON THE JOYCEVILLE INSTITUTION ABATTOIR

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Language & references: For brevity, this report refers to incarcerated persons as “prisoners” and “inmates.”
While no terms are without controversy, our experience consulting with incarcerated persons suggests that these terms are commonly used in self-reference.

Unless otherwise noted, the information presented in this report is from internal CSC documents obtained by Evolve Our Prison Farms through Access to Information.

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INTRODUCTION

TRAINING PRISONERS TO KILL

The Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) owns an abattoir where prisoners are trained to kill. The abattoir’s original “raison d’être” was to produce beef for prisons but it has since shifted into a Public-Private Partnership exploiting underpaid prison labour for the private sector. Slaughter work is dangerous, traumatic, and criminogenic, making it particularly inappropriate in a correctional context. The abattoir is expected to close (see Conclusion) unless the federal government intervenes to keep prisoners killing for the meat industry.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDER (“RAISON D’ÊTRE”)

Joyceville Institution is home to the last prison abattoir in Canada. From 1960-1995, the abattoir was operated by CSC and CORCAN (the agency responsible for prison work programs). Formerly known as the Pittsburgh Abattoir, the facility produced meat exclusively for prisons until 1995 when CSC introduced a Public-Private Partnership in an attempt to lower operating costs. CSC signed a contract with a private business, Wallace Beef Inc, to run the abattoir in a unique profit-sharing venture. While supplying CSC’s meat for prisons in Ontario and Quebec, Wallace Beef could sell “higher priced meats” commercially, using prison labour to slaughter and butcher animals for private sector farms.

Following the closure of prison farms (2009-2011), CSC introduced Food Service Modernization, a standardized industrial “cook-chill” food service. As CSC would no longer be producing its own food, the Joyceville abattoir was slated to close in 2011, but by then meat and dairy farmers had come to rely on it economically. Industry representatives successfully lobbied the federal government to intervene. The Joyceville abattoir was preserved, shifting to a fully commercial enterprise, while CSC remained contractually obligated to supply inmate labour for Wallace Beef.
The Joyceville abattoir was built in 1960. Joyceville Institution opened at the same time with the “primary function” of producing beef for CSC. In other words, the abattoir is the “raison d’être” of the prison.

While CSC claims it “does not slaughter animals,” its abattoir has been in operation for over 60 years.

The focus of this report, however, is the 27-year relationship between CSC and Wallace Beef – the longest Public-Private Partnership in CSC’s history – as revealed in highlights from 1000 pages of documents obtained by Evolve Our Prison Farms through Access to Information.

CSC’s prison farms suffered “chronic poor fiscal performance” and food safety issues (ex. high bacterial count in milk and butchering pre-deceased animals). When the Joyceville abattoir proved too costly for CORCAN to maintain, the joint venture with Wallace Beef was expected to reduce costs, but instead resulted in ongoing financial strain and food safety issues, as evidenced throughout this report.
UNDERSTANDING PRISON LABOUR IN CANADA

Prisoners in Canada are not legally classified as employees. They are not permitted to unionize or quit a job (though they may appeal for transfer to another job placement). Wages are not considered payment but rather incentive to participate in work programs that are generally required by CSC as part of each inmate’s Correctional Plan. Refusal to work adversely affects an inmate’s chances of parole.6

The maximum wage a federal prisoner can receive is $6.90 per day for full-time work (8 hours). This rate was set in 1981 based on 15% of minimum wage at the time. Fewer than 10% of prisoners receive this “Level A” pay.7 All prisoners earn less than $1.00 per hour before 30% deductions for food and accommodation and other administrative fees. The only exception to this is the Joyceville abattoir. CORCAN pays prisoners $3.00 per hour to work in the abattoir, while invoicing Wallace Beef at minimum wage (minus a training fee) per “offender” hour worked.

CSC’s abattoir revenue also includes an annual leasing fee ($61,245 in 2019) and utilities and property taxes ($70,962). Some versions of the contract also have CSC receiving $8.00 per animal processed. In exchange, CORCAN is contractually obligated to supply inmate labour for Wallace Beef.

A CORCAN staff member to work in the abattoir and to attend the Program Board to assess each Offender’s skills and abilities for employment in the abattoir. CORCAN will identify and make eligible a target number of 10 offenders for employment.

3) CONSIDERATION AND PAYMENT

a) The Contractor shall pay CORCAN $35,000.00 per annum for a per annum offender labour fee based on 10,800 hours at the current wage rate set by the Province of Ontario;
b) $8.00 per animal processed at the abattoir;
According to the United Nations International Labour Organization (UN ILO), prison labour may only be associated with the private sector if it meets specific conditions including voluntariness and freedom from coercion or fear of penalty, and working conditions and wages equivalent to free workers. If these conditions are not met, it is classified as forced labour and a violation of human rights. The Joyceville abattoir is owned by CSC and licensed to a private company, which operates a for-profit commercial enterprise employing inmates who are paid $3.00 per hour. Participation in prison work programs is a condition of inmates’ progress towards parole, and inmates cannot quit a job. The wages and working conditions imposed on Joyceville’s incarcerated abattoir workers are not comparable to free workers and as such this prison labour constitutes forced labour.

All other violations aside, the basic conditions of CSC's Public-Private Partnership with Wallace Beef is a violation of fundamental human rights that would be deemed criminal by the UN ILO.
From the 1970s to the early 1990s, an abattoir operated on the grounds of Ontario’s Guelph Correctional Centre, employing inmates in a joint venture with private companies Essex Packers and Better Beef Limited.

In this case, inmates worked alongside free workers and earned equal wages. It also set a historical precedent when the employees, inmates and civilians together, successfully unionized in 1977. No other attempts to unionize prison labour have been successful in Canada.  

Unlike the Joyceville abattoir, the Guelph abattoir met the conditions set by the UN ILO for private sector use of prison labour. Still, the program was fraught with challenges as the provincial government was criticized for “undue meddling in the free market.”

There were also complaints over job competition and prisoners earning higher wages than some free workers.

Critically, questions were raised about employing inmates in abattoir work, using knives, hooks, electric torches and saws to slaughter, hang, bleed out and butcher animals.

“We pass the narrow, steep-sided steel runways through which the animals will be driven one at a time to the polished steel kill box. A hog stands in it with its feet close together while a two-pronged “electric torch” is held to its head, sending 400 volts through its brain.

Then the stunned hog is hoisted on a chain with a hook. An electrically-driven overhead conveyor takes it to the blood bay where, still hanging, its throat is cut with a knife.

Boiling water

After it has bled, it goes into a scalding where boiling water cleans the carcass.

Superintendent Scott Keane, who took charge of the Guelph centre 18 months ago, tells us later he doesn’t like visiting the abattoir. He says he thinks he has heard the hogs still making sounds when they go into the scalders.

Cattle are killed differently, Ellis says. They’re stunned by firing a bolt four inches long and three-eights of an inch thick into their heads. Then they’re conveyed to the blood bay and their heads are removed with an electric saw.

“An inmate at Guelph Correctional Centre shows off the strength he uses to pry apart jaws of steer skulls at work at Better Beef Ltd., a private packing firm operating on the grounds of the reformatory.”
Photo Pat Brennan 1982
Correctional staff – who did not like entering the abattoir – addressed concerns about employing prisoners in slaughter work by admitting “there is a bit of risk involved” and “the inmates will have to be very, very carefully picked.”

By contrast, at Joyceville Institution, CSC staff flippantly admit that there is “not much consideration of crime” in assigning inmates to work in the abattoir.

Other Joyceville staff were conscious of the mental and physical risks of slaughter work. Some refused to conduct the required medical clearances and psychological screenings even though “it is in their contract.” Despite their objections, staff were pressured to rush psychological assessments to “meet financial targets.” Later, these assessments were discontinued altogether after “psychology... refused” (see Rushing psych assessments to “meet financial targets” and Discontinuing psych assessments “due to liability concerns”). Still, prisoners continued to be assigned to work in CORCAN’s abattoir.

While the abattoir remains in operation to this day, CSC and the Public Safety Ministry have given false, mistaken, or misleading information to inquiring politicians and reporters.
In 2003, the CORCAN abattoir was temporarily closed after inmates reported “inappropriate activities.” Allegations ranged “from improper slaughtering and meat handling practices, to money laundering and drug related activity to the general business relationship” between Wallace Beef and CORCAN.

The allegations were serious enough to trigger immediate investigations by the Ontario Provincial Police, Kingston Police, the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and Food, the Ministry of Natural Resources, and CSC’s “Pen Squad” investigative unit. The result was a month-long closure of the abattoir followed by a temporary agreement and interim security protocols.

Internal emails now reveal that the Warden was aware of the abattoir’s “larger issue of drug trafficking” long before inmates reported it.
TOBACCO SMUGGLING

Smuggling of contraband via the abattoir has been happening for years. This includes tobacco.

“Guys working in the abattoir might make three bucks an hour doing the work,” says a Joyceville inmate, “but they can make $300 or $500 a day bringing in tobacco.”

“Lots of guys don’t last a day or even an hour on the job. They can’t do it. They go to the Inmate Committee asking for help to get them transferred to another job. Some inmates who last long on the job are the ones making money on the side.”

This inmate alleges that Wallace Beef staff have been involved in contraband smuggling. “They both make a lot of money, the staff and the inmate. The Wallace Beef staff get escorted off the property, and the inmates get sent to higher security immediately.”

CSC staff have recognized that the abattoir presents a “means of inmate commerce” and a general threat to the safety of the institution. Security concerns were not limited to inmates, but also Wallace Beef staff, correctional officers, and farmers accessing the CORCAN abattoir.
INSTITUTIONAL VIOLATIONS

ALLOWING INMATES CONVICTED OF KNIFE OFFENCES

CSC’s policies require careful screening of inmates before assigning them to abattoir work. However, there is no available record of this screening having been conducted, and there is ample evidence that CSC has repeatedly disregarded protocol in order to fill abattoir jobs. This includes allowing inmates convicted of knife offences and other violent crimes to work in the CORCAN abattoir.

Documents show one Warden deliberately making exceptions to fill abattoir jobs, while another Warden objects to an inmate working in the abattoir given his offence, only for staff to dismiss her concern as not "serious."

---

**Warden Snyder**
Pittsburgh Institution
Re: Abattoir Employment

There have been a number of inmates denied employment at the abattoir, not because they failed the psychological evaluation, but because they used a knife in the commission of their offense. Now it appears you are about to make an exception and allow [blacked out] to work at the abattoir, even though a knife was his "weapon of choice."

Warden Snyder, should you allow [blacked out] to be employed at the abattoir, I will have no choice but contact a lawyer and seek full compensation for both my lost wages and the negative effect from the ensuing negative report.

I am sorry it had to come to this, but I am sure you understand my position.

---

I discussed [blacked out] case with his PO, Doug Roantree yesterday. Doug was aware that [blacked out] was in the abattoir. I pointed out your concerns regarding the nature of his index offence and his current job placement. Doug did not see reason for any serious concern. He does not believe there is a link between his job choice and his offence which involved the [blacked out].

---

This inmate has been assigned to the abattoir, yet [blacked out]. Could you please discuss with CMT, I think he should not be there...

Thérèse Gascon
Warden
Pittsburgh Institution
RUSHING PSYCH ASSESSMENTS TO “MEET FINANCIAL TARGETS”

CSC documents reveal the perpetual pressure to fill abattoir jobs to maintain profitability and meet contractual obligations. Prisoners in the abattoir often struggle to last hours or days on the job before appealing for transfer to another work assignment. Newcomers in particular are pushed towards abattoir work. These are the ones least likely to understand their rights or refuse a work assignment.

One former inmate explains: “Prisoners don’t have the right to say no according to CSC. If they say no then they’re going against their Correctional Plan [which is] ‘Do what we tell you, be a good boy and we’ll let you go home early.’ And you can’t say no because that’s not being a good boy.”

This is echoed by an anonymous inmate at Bath Institution in Kingston, who published an article in the July 2022 issue of Cell Count: “Prison labour is a joke. It is slave labor [sic]. We have to do whatever the man says, or else we lose; our pay, pay level, transfers, single cells, etc... Not to mention the suspension on your file which reads, ‘Refusal to participate in your correctional program.’”

Critiques of CORCAN prison labour are widespread. Prisoners frequently describe CORCAN jobs as “modern day slave labour.” In the academic realm, CORCAN has been described as “a contemporary mutation of slavery.”
DISCONTINUING PSYCH ASSESSMENTS “DUE TO LIABILITY CONCERNS”

The pressure to drive inmates into abattoir jobs is not only to meet financial targets but also to fulfil CSC’s contractual obligations to the abattoir operator. Fears have been raised about potential liability should CSC fail to supply inmate labour. This presents ethical, legal, and logistical challenges when CSC staff refuse to cooperate, and when abattoir work “does not appeal to anyone.”

PRISONERS WORKING UNSUPERVISED
As discussed in Legal Violations, the CORCAN abattoir was temporarily closed in 2003 due to inappropriate slaughter and illegal activities.

Citing concern for public safety, the closure occurred only weeks after inspectors had given Wallace Beef an “A” rating, according to the Report of the Meat Regulatory and Inspection Review.

The 2004 report, written by Superior Court Justice Roland J. Haines, highlights Wallace Beef as a case study in inadequate inspections, food safety issues, “criminal offences involving the mistreatment of animals,” and risks to “unsuspecting consumers.”

The CORCAN abattoir services hundreds of businesses across Eastern Ontario, including farms selling “local,” “organic,” and “halal” meat directly to consumers and restaurants.
IMPROPER DISPOSAL OF BLOOD

For years, the CORCAN abattoir was improperly disposing blood and “killer floor” effluent (dirty water containing animal feces, fat, tissue and urine) into the prison’s Wastewater Treatment Plant (WWTP). This jeopardized the health and safety of prisoners and CSC staff, and caused infrastructure failures.

From: Dally-Starna Corinna (ONT)
Sent: Wednesday, October 08, 2014 4:45 PM
To: Shepherd Dave (ONT); Oddie Lorrie (ONT)
Cc: Graves Don (ONT); Oddie John (ONT)
Subject: CR 590-09: problems at the abattoir--JI min

Thank you for bringing this to our attention! It is understood that under no circumstances is there to be any blood going to the sewage treatment plant via the sewer system. This needs to be urgently communicated to the abattoir operator, as Thursday may be a kill day. The abattoir can only be permitted to operate if a solution is found that fully protects the plant.

From: Oddie John (ONT)
Sent: Friday, October 10, 2014 11:09 AM
To: Dally-Srna Corinna (ONT); Oddie Lorrie (ONT)
Cc: Shepherd Dave (ONT)
Subject: RE: Wallace Beef Invoices

Thanks Corinna. Lorrie we will need to see similar information for September and October as this seems to be when the observations were noted by both staff and inmate. also is the vacuum tank not being used i would recommend that the www operators maintain a log as to when wash water from the kill floor is fed into the plant again i would think this would be done on a regular bases rather than fill the tank full and discharge all at once into the plant. can someone explain why the killing of lambs would cause an increase in the presence of blood in the waste steam or did we all just fall of the turnip truck and will accept any excuse .. jk oddie

From: Oddie John (ONT)
Sent: November 1, 2016 4:17 PM
To: Dally-Starna Corinna (ONT); Oddie Lorrie (ONT)
Subject: RE: Abattior Lease 2016-2017----dates reversed--amendments to ensure compliance with Wastewater Regulations and FHR

Thanks Corinna i agree there needs to be a clause to ensure Bruce Wallace is responsible for disposing -offsite all affluent being generated by the abattoir including waste water from the killer floor ..jk oddie

From: Dally-Starna Corinna (ONT)
Sent: Tuesday, November 01, 2016 4:03 PM
To: Oddie Lorrie (ONT)
Cc: Oddie John (ONT)
Subject: RE: Abattior Lease 2016-2017----dates reversed--amendments to ensure compliance with Wastewater Regulations and FHR

As the agreement gets amended to reflect the correct dates, I would like to request that the clauses cited below are amended to address the site’s previously identified concerns related to effluent entering the Wastewater Treatment Plant. As well, the licensee responsibilities should reflect the requirement to submit records and forms to the site to ensure compliance with the Federal Wastewater Regulations and Halocarbon Regulations.

5.2.5 Remove and dispose of effluent from the floor pit, in accordance with legislative policy, as required.
Further improper blood disposal practices have been reported. Inmates have witnessed CSC tractors picking up blood tanks from the abattoir and disposing the blood onsite by spraying it over the fields.

“CSC staff are spraying blood around the prison,” says a Joyceville inmate, who notes that this is being done in proximity to ecologically sensitive waterways. “We call them the lower fields, behind the complex on the road that leads down to the Rideau river. It happens every Thursday or Friday for sure.”

“Thursdays are kill days at Wallace Beef.”

Inmates and CSC staff have also complained of smell and pests attracted to the blood.

Evolve Our Prison Farms filed a complaint with the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food, and Rural Affairs (OMAFRA), requesting an investigation into CSC’s spraying of blood. OMAFRA said this is not common practice and the veterinarian responsible for inspections at the CORCAN abattoir “never issued any approval” for this form of blood disposal.

According to OMAFRA’s Area Meat Inspection Manager, “There is no protocol in place at the provincial level. At the federal level, it’s unknown, and unlikely.” OMAFRA noted that, given the uniqueness of this particular abattoir, it is unclear what authority would be responsible. Abattoirs fall under provincial jurisdiction, yet the CORCAN abattoir is owned by a federal agency and situated on federal land. Moreover, “OMAFRA’s jurisdiction only covers what happens within the boundaries of the abattoir itself. As soon as the blood leaves the abattoir, it’s not under OMAFRA’s jurisdiction.”

The case was referred to Ontario’s Ministry of the Environment, Conservation, and Parks, which indicated that “there is an approval in place” but “the details surrounding the approval are not clear.”

OPERATING WITHOUT A CONTRACT

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>From:</th>
<th>Boyce Cathy (ONT)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sent:</td>
<td>Friday, July 15, 2016 3:08 PM</td>
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<tr>
<td>To:</td>
<td>Oddie Lorrie (ONT)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cc:</td>
<td>Burns Rem (ONT)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subject:</td>
<td>RE: Abattoir visit</td>
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You didn’t miss anything. Well really you did, the smell.

Hi Cathy,

Looks like we are operating without a contract. Who do we contact to see where this is at?

Mike
Wallace Beef has been in repeated violation of contract conditions since the partnership began in 1995.

Year after year, CSC’s revised contracts with Wallace Beef demonstrate a high level of concern and distrust, inserting increasingly strong language underscoring the imperative to adhere to regulations and contractual obligations. Still, it is clear from internal communications that violations continued to mount along with the frustrations of CSC staff who were burdened by an endless stream of abattoir issues and unresolved problems with Wallace Beef that have “been going on for years.”

**Broken contractual conditions include:**

- Wallace Beef failed to adhere to institutional security protocols and CORCAN’s business policies.
- Wallace Beef failed to comply with federal, provincial, and municipal laws, by-laws and regulations.
- Wallace Beef failed to provide training to a minimum of 10 offenders at a time. (This was reduced in subsequent contracts to eight, then six, then two, and there were periods when no inmates were employed, leading to concerns that Wallace Beef could sue CSC for breach of contract.)
- Wallace Beef failed to supervise offenders.
- Wallace Beef failed to dispose all blood and effluent offsite.
- Wallace Beef failed to pay monthly rent on schedule.
Documents reveal a perpetual battle between CSC staff and the abattoir operator over contractual violations such as late payment, which should have been grounds for immediate termination of the contract. One email, however, suggests that there was a flipside to the problem of late payment: Wallace Beef intentionally withheld lease payments when CSC failed to supply an adequate number of prisoners to work in the abattoir.

It presents a problematic tug-of-war when CSC is unable to provide inmates to work in the abattoir, in violation of CSC’s obligations, leading to the abattoir operator withholding payment, in violation of the operator’s obligations. This kind of catch-22 dynamic and interdependency may explain CSC’s habitual failure to take decisive action over contractual violations.
Even the extremely serious violations leading to the temporary closure of the abattoir in 2003 failed to result in the termination of CSC's partnership with Wallace Beef.

Instead, a tentative temporary agreement was introduced, along with strict security protocols, followed by two more decades of contract renewals despite ongoing violations.

During the temporary closure, Wallace Beef's existing inventory of questionable meat was deemed safe for prisoner consumption but it was immediately taken off the CSC staff menu.

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**Temporary Agreement**

**Between**

Wallace Beef Inc.

**And**

CORCAN

This is a temporary agreement on the partial resumption of the operations of the abattoir facility at Pittsburgh Institution.

In view of the on-going investigations with respect to the operations of the abattoir, CORCAN and Wallace Beef Inc. agree to the following:

1. Until all investigations are completed, only operations authorized by the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and Food will resume.

2. No inmate will work at the abattoir until the CSC investigation is completed and proper security measures are in place.

3. a) All Wallace Beef Inc. employees, agents and representatives who are to be present in the abattoir will have to comply with CSC personnel security program for the purpose of security clearance or reliability screening before they can resume their work at the abattoir.

   b) In the event that an application for security clearance or reliability screening by a Wallace Beef Inc. employees, agents and representatives is not granted, CSC reserves the right to deny access to Pittsburgh Penitentiary to that employees, agents and representatives.

4. To ensure adequate oversight and supervision of this agreement by CORCAN, and to ensure the capacity of CSC to provide adequate supervision of access by employees, agents and customers of Wallace Beef to the Pittsburgh Penitentiary reserve, the normal operating hours will be restricted to Monday to Friday, from 8 am to 4 pm. Exceptions will be subject to a notice to and approval by the Warden or specified designate of the Pittsburgh Penitentiary.

5. All Wallace employees and all persons and vehicles coming for Wallace Beef Inc. will have to report to the main security building to sign register on arrival and departure, including temporary absences during breaks and lunch hours if they leave the institution reserve. Those found not to be complying may have their future access denied.

6. Wallace Beef Inc. agrees that the business arrangements between Wallace Beef Inc. and CORCAN will be reviewed with the objective to enter into a contract that will meet all government contract regulations, the Corrections and Conditional Release Act and Regulations as well as CORCAN's business policies.

---

From: Clark Janet (ONT)  
Sent: Thursday, October 09, 2003 3:52 PM  
To: Snyder Paul (ONT); Fairley Ron (ONT)  
Cc: CR-ONT-PI-Records  
Subject: CR 750-1 & 8040-8 FW: Wallace Beef Back in Store

I also personally went over to the Inmate Committee office at 3:30 p.m. and told them what we were doing. The Inmate Chairman indicated that was fine with the Committee as the population, in his view, was not concerned about using Wallace Beef.

So this is done but we will not serve Wallace Beef in the staff dining room pending investigation results as we announced at today's staff assembly that we are keeping the Wallace Beef on site in our freezers but will not use it for now.

---

From: Snyder Paul (ONT)  
Sent: Friday, October 10, 2003 8:30 AM  
To: Burelle Marc (ONT); Keyes Al (ONT); Alex MacNair; Glenn Chambers; Janet Clark; Robert Clark; Ron Fairley; Gerd Smail; Howard McGlynn; Judy Ryan; Katie Rad; Lorna Barker; Michael King; Tony VanVeghel  
Cc: CR-ONT-PI-Records  
Subject: CR 8040-8 FW: Meat from Pittsburgh Abattoir

Please note direction from RHQ re use of existing supply of meat. Note our menu is being adjusted in staff mess and the Inmate grocery store will have a selection of this product and alternatives.

Paul Snyder
MISUSE OF CSC PROPERTY AND IGNORING PROTOCOL

From: Graves Don (ONT)
Sent: Thursday, October 09, 2014 10:13 AM
To: Dally-Starna Corinna (ONT)
Cc: Oddie John (ONT); Shepherd Dave (ONT); Oddie Lorrie (ONT)
Subject: RE: CR 590-09: problems at the abbatoir--JI mhn

There is a sump pump in pit which we installed before we began our new system

If the new protocol is followed the sump pump is not required

If the operator is ignoring the protocol and diverting it he is likely using the sump pump to do so.

I would like to remove the pump. Are you OK with pulling the pump asap – I don’t believe it is needed for any contingency plan and if an emergency occurs and we need it we can easily and quickly re-install it

Don Graves
Chief Facilities Management/Chef gestion des installations
Joyceville & Pittsburgh Institutions | Etablissement Joyceville & Pittsburgh

From: Shepherd Dave (ONT)
Sent: Wednesday, October 08, 2014 3:33 PM
To: Oddie Lorrie (ONT); Dally-Starna Corinna (ONT)
Cc: Graves Don (ONT); Oddie John (ONT)
Subject: problems at the abbatoir

Our operators have informed me of the following:

There are now no inmates working at the abbatoir. The abattoir employees are refusing to vacuum out the blood tank, saying it’s not their job.

IT APPEARS THEY ARE DUMPING ALL THEIR BLOOD INTO THIS TANK AND NOT JUST THEIR WASH WATER.
The inmate at the treatment plant over this work.

Our guys can’t do this work and will eventually refuse. Pumping this tank out is the abattoirs responsibility.
As well they still have a sump pump in the tank and have the capability of sending it directly into our sewer system.
This sump pump must be removed so they can’t do this anymore.

We can’t treat all their blood, they are supposed to be taking it away.

If they start pumping it again into the sewers it will destroy our SBR’s and will cause a spill.

It should be noted that we haven’t had any reportable incidents since we started this system as opposed to 10-12 yearly before.
It works well and now the abattoir operators are
Their contract needs to be changed to reflect the amount of blood we take away

Why are we subsidizing a private company when they aren’t employing inmates.

“Why are we subsidizing a private company?”
“We cannot be policing the abattoir operations at all times. If the abattoir cannot function without placing undue stress on the plant, then consideration must be given to cease operation of that facility.”

From: Dally-Starna Corinna (ONT)  
Sent: Wednesday, October 29, 2014 3:37 PM  
To: Oddie Lorrie (ONT); Oddie John (ONT); Shepherd Dave (ONT)  
Cc: Graves Don (ONT)  
Subject: RE: vac pump

Could you please be more specific as to what support is needed.

The Environmental Officer doesn’t play a role in this. The problem has been identified. Region funded the vac trucks to provide the tools in support of a solution that helps out the abattoir operator and reduces his costs. The site staff worked out the procedures to further support the identified solution. It is my understanding that all this was communicated to Mr. Wallace and that he was in agreement. What is needed is for the abattoir to follow the procedures and to ensure that these procedures are followed at all times, i.e. that oversight by the abattoir operator is provided to ensure that all procedures are followed in a consistent manner.

There is nothing more that we can do at our end, as we cannot be policing the abattoir operations at all times.

If the abattoir cannot function without placing undue stress on the plant, then consideration must be given to cease operation of that facility.

From: Shepherd Dave (ONT)  
Sent: Wednesday, October 29, 2014 2:29 PM  
To: Oddie Lorrie (ONT); Oddie John (ONT)  
Cc: Graves Don (ONT); Dally-Starna Corinna (ONT)  
Subject: FW: vac pump

The stuff in the tank is supposed to be mostly wash water coming through the floor drains.

A big hard piece of cow? through the floor drains? I’m sure Bruce will find an [redacted]  

I don’t see how we can keep doing this, and if we don’t [redacted] again be out of compliance.

The last couple of weeks I had reports of “lots of animal debris on the surface”

At some point our guys are going to refuse to do this, it’s not what they agreed to.

“At some point our guys are going to refuse to do this.”
On Oct 31, 2014 10:00 AM, "Shepherd Dave (ONT)" <Dave.Shepherd@cse-scc.gc.ca> wrote:

When the WWTP failed last summer CSC paid to truck waste to Cobourg as our plant wasn’t operating in compliance.

The site put forward the idea to process blood water (only) in our digesters (tanks 104 and 105) which reduces the stress on our SBR’s. We believe the uneven loading (blood being sent to the plant in batches) was what caused the upsets.

The idea to process waste this way was supported by NHQ, RHQ etc. and turned out successful SO FAR. – HOWEVER

From the recent invoices it would appear that we are processing most of the abattoirs blood, not just the wash water. Once again, I’m sure the operator has as to why there are no invoices indicating blood shipments

From: Cook Pauline (ONT)
Sent: Tuesday, October 03, 2017 9:26 AM
To: Oddie Lorrie (ONT)
Cc: Burns Rem (ONT); Bennett Peter (ONT)
Subject: RE: (ONT2608) BRIEFING FORM/CERTIFICAT D’ENQUÊTE DE SÉCURITÉ -

Based on the response below, the best opinion would be to have a Corcan employee be present as this is a CORCAN training initiative.

From: Oddie Lorrie (ONT)
Sent: Monday, October 02, 2017 12:00 PM
To: Bennett Peter (ONT)
Subject: RE: Abattoir

We have zero dollars for CX overtime....

From: Oddie Lorrie (ONT)
Sent: Monday, October 02, 2017 11:49 AM
To: Bennett Peter (ONT); Leeder Brian (ONT)
Cc: Hartle Kelly (NHQ-AC); Cook Pauline (ONT); Wong Lincoln (ONT); Germain Chris (ONT)
Subject: RE: Abattoir

Just talked to my Warden. Another option would be to pull the two or three inmates working there this week and hire a Commissionaire....

From: Bennett Peter (ONT)
Sent: Monday, October 02, 2017 11:47 AM
To: Leeder Brian (ONT)
Cc: Oddie Lorrie (ONT); Hartle Kelly (NHQ-AC); Cook Pauline (ONT); Wong Lincoln (ONT)
Subject: RE: Abattoir

It turns out that we can’t use a commissionaire at the abattoir while we await the fingerprint process to complete.

I’m wondering if it’s possible to have someone from Corcan work from the abattoir while this gets resolved. Another option for us is to ask for CX staff but this is not desirable and will cause overtime issues at the site.
CSC HAS ATTEMPTED TO TERMINATE CONTRACT SINCE AT LEAST 1997

Bruce Wallace,
Wallace Beef Incorporated,
Burr Brook Road,
Kingston, Ontario

M. McCabe,
Farm Manager,
Pittsburgh Institution,
P.O. Box 4510,
Kingston, Ontario.

May 13, 1997

Re: CO-VENTURE AGREEMENT BETWEEN WALLACE BEEF AND CORCAN

Corcan Agribusiness does not wish to continue in its present Co-Venture arrangement with Wallace Beef Incorporated beyond August 26, 1997 which is the expiry date of the existing agreement.

Wallace Beef Incorporated

sincerely regret this action and trust you will co-operate in an orderly evacuation of the facility by September 1, 1997.
OMAFRA's Meat Inspection Manager for the Joyceville area says the CORCAN abattoir is old and dilapidated, with numerous issues of disrepair and inspection deficiencies. These have been a longstanding source of frustration for CSC, Wallace Beef, and inspectors alike. The owner of Wallace Beef – Bruce Wallace – is retiring soon. OMAFRA made it clear that anyone taking over the CORCAN abattoir contract would constitute a new operator, which would require a new licence, which would require bringing the facility up to current code, which would require “a huge influx of money.” In other words, according to OMAFRA, “It's Wallace Beef or bust.”
All other violations aside, the ethics of exploiting prison labour for the meat industry is profoundly problematic. Slaughter work is fundamentally inappropriate in a correctional setting. The research is established and clear: slaughter work is **psychologically damaging** and **criminogenic**. It is directly correlated with increases in crime, violence and domestic violence, and substance abuse. Compared to other sectors, the slaughter industry has one of the highest rates of workplace injury and one of the highest rates of worker turnover. This results in higher rates of unemployment, one of many factors linking slaughter work with increases in crime.\(^{22}\)

“CSC owns an abattoir located on the grounds of Joyceville Institution, leased to Wallace Beef Inc., where prisoners perform slaughter work as an ‘industry training program.’ Certain prisoners who have worked in the abattoir have detailed ‘dangerous and denigrating working conditions, as well as trauma related to inflicting or witnessing violence against animals.’\(^{23}\)

Studies have pointed to potential negative community impacts of the animal slaughtering sector, including documented increased crime rates. Those whose employment involves harming animals may also suffer psychological consequences [such as] somatization, obsessive-compulsiveness, depression, anxiety, anger-hostility, and psychoticism.”\(^{24}\)

– Dr. Amy Fitzgerald, Criminologist (University of Windsor)

“It is widely accepted that husbandry is not an example of therapeutic human-animal relationship. Rather, it creates what sociologists refer to as the ‘care-kill’ paradox, which arises in situations like farming and animal research in which humans are trained on the one hand to provide care to animals, while at the same time being trained to view them as products whom it is okay to harm, coerce and kill.

This leads to high rates of moral ambivalence, unease, cognitive dissonance and psychological disorder amongst workers in animal industries – a widely documented finding.”\(^{26}\)

– Sue Donaldson, Philosopher (Queen’s University), from testimony presented to the Correctional Service of Canada in 2017

“Our Research Division at NHQ has plenty of PhD social scientists with top-notch expertise in risk factors for reoffending, especially with violence. It’s beyond me how they could sanction any such callous violence.”\(^{27}\)

– Retired CSC employee (quoted anonymously)
TROUBLING TESTIMONIES AND INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVES

Evolve Our Prison Farms has interviewed CSC staff, inmates, and formerly incarcerated persons who have worked in or around the Joyceville abattoir. Here are some of their troubling testimonies:

- Reports of injuries sustained by staff and inmates in the abattoir.
- Reports of staff stealing meat from the abattoir and inmates being paid in meat.
- A CSC staff member “chuckling” about the “irony” of known violent inmates working in the abattoir.
- A vegan prisoner was pressured to work in the abattoir or be transferred to another institution away from his family.
- A Joyceville inmate described the trauma of being anywhere near the abattoir: “I personally could not be present in any area where animals are being killed. I have suffered a trauma so profound because of the offense I committed that just the thought of seeing any living thing die is unthinkable to me.”
- Another Joyceville inmate described a cow who escaped the abattoir and evaded capture for weeks: “No one wanted to send her back to the abattoir. Everyone agreed that it would be wrong to kill her after she fought so hard to live.”
- A retired CSC staff member was traumatized by hearing the cows in the abattoir: “It used to be just pitiful to hear the cattle bawling away in that building as I drove in to work and they waited for their death. I hate that place so much.”
- A formerly incarcerated person confessed to beating the cows on the prison farms before being assigned to work in the abattoir: “My immediate job was preparing cows for slaughter. It was my job to decide which seven cows would end up on death row on any given day. It was also my habit, while they waited to head down that ramp to their fate, to read the Bible aloud to them. I’d grown up a lot since the days when I was hitting the poor beasts with my fists.”
- Another formerly incarcerated person deliberately avoided transfer to Joyceville because he didn’t want to work in the abattoir, only to be placed in an abattoir job upon release: “I worked in a slaughterhouse when I first got out. I sat in a bobcat with a raincoat on because I was pushing guts off the floor, and I lost it after a couple of months. I just lost it. I broke down.”
- A woman’s incarcerated friend was sent from a CSC Indigenous Healing Lodge on “work release” to a commercial slaughterhouse: “Perfect, we lock a kid up after a childhood of abuse and sentence him to kill and cut up animals as rehabilitation.”
One testimony that stands out is from an Indigenous inmate at Joyceville Institution who composed a statement at the urging of a CSC staff member (“not coercive in any respect”) claiming that working in the CORCAN abattoir is consistent with his Indigenous beliefs.

Over 30% of Canada’s federal prison population is Indigenous even though less than 5% of Canada’s general population is Indigenous. This overrepresentation is reflected in CORCAN’s labour force.

Mi’kmaw scholar Dr. Margaret Robinson argues that using Indigenous inmates in slaughter work “ruptures Indigenous relationships to animals and contradicts the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Call To Action #42 regarding Justice.”
INDUSTRY CAPITALIZING ON PRISON LABOUR

Two days after the Indigenous abattoir worker’s letter was written, it was sent to Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale by the Save Our Prison Farms advocacy group which prevented the abattoir’s closure in 2011. The timing suggests that the letter may have been solicited (“without any prompting or information from us”) for political purposes in support of industry interests.

From: Bridget Doherty <bridget.doherty@providence.ca>
Date: January 24, 2018 at 11:01:02 AM EST
To: Poilievre, Pierre - M.P. <pierre.poilievre@parl.gc.ca>, Trudeau, Justin - Député <justin.trudeau@parl.gc.ca>, Griffin, Diane :Sen <Diane.Griffin@sen.parl.gc.ca>, Hon. ralph.goodale@canada.ca <Hon.ralph.goodale@canada.ca>, Pate, Kim :Sen <Kim.Pate@sen.parl.gc.ca>, Easter, Wayne - M.P. <wayne.easter@parl.gc.ca>, Goodale, Ralph E. - M.P. <ralph.goodale@parl.gc.ca>, Bernard, Wanda Thomas :Sen <WandaThomas.Bernard@sen.parl.gc.ca>, Gerretsen, Mark - M.P. <Mark.Gerretsen@parl.gc.ca>, Dusseault, Pierre-Luc - Député <Pierre-Luc.Dusseault@parl.gc.ca>, Holland, Mark - M.P. <Mark.Holland@parl.gc.ca>
Cc: Villeneuve, Justine (PS/SP) <justine.villeneuve@canada.ca>
Subject: Canada’s Prison Farms

Minister Goodale
Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness
House of Commons
Ottawa, Canada K1A 0A6

Dear Minister Goodale,

You invited us to sit on the Prison Farm panel with Correctional Service Canada (CSC) to explore rehabilitation programs for inmates including offenders struggling with mental health issues, Indigenous offenders and youth.

I have attached a letter from an inmate who is working at the abattoir. He wrote this letter on Monday. Without any prompting or information from us he so succinctly gives testimony to everything we have been saying since the closure of this valuable program.

We wait with great anticipation for the budget announcement and look forward to working with you as we bring the cows back to prison.

Best regards,
Bridget Doherty

On behalf of the Save Our Prison Farms campaign
Save Our Prison Farms and their affiliated Pen Farm Herd Co-Op are organized by livestock farmers and industry representatives (National Farmers Union, Frontenac Cattlemen’s Association, Dairy Farmers of Ontario) who rely on the CORCAN abattoir to “realize more profitability in their businesses.”

It is clear that there is a combination of financial and political pressure preserving the CORCAN abattoir.

Politically, CSC has made commitments to government and industry to keep the abattoir open. Financially, CSC is concerned that without a private sector abattoir operator, CSC would have “$0 leasing revenue for this purpose built building” and CSC would be on “the hook for all utility bills.”

In summary, I reflect back on the commitments made by the Commissioner to the Minister back in May 2009 to community to keep the abattoir open, compounded by the current thrust / vision being placed on Social enterprise partnerships. It would be a shame not to thoroughly reflect on this partnership. I am quite confident in saying this is the longest standing partnership with the private sector to provide employment & training to offender. As the alternative is that the building sit vacant with $0 leasing revenue for this purpose built building, which if he vacated we would the hook for all utility bills which he also currently pays. Not to mention the lost offender employment & training opportunities.

For your consideration.
Detlef

**STANDING COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC SAFETY AND NATIONAL SECURITY**

**TUESDAY, MARCH 30, 2010**

**Ms. Dianne Dowling (President, National Farmers Union, Local 316, As an Individual):**

You might ask why farmers care about the prison farm program. Our initial concern was about the potential loss of the farmland.

We also care about the possible loss of critical farm infrastructure. At several of the prison farms, there are abattoirs that are used by local farmers, at least in the Kingston area, to enhance their operations. Because the abattoir is there, they are able to sell their meat to local customers and therefore realize more profitability in their businesses.

The same industry representatives who have been active in preventing the closure of the CORCAN abattoir now sit on CSC’s **Prison Farm Advisory Panel** overseeing the implementation of a cow dairy research facility and 2200-goat commercial-industrial dairy operation at Joyceville Institution, which will capitalize on prison labour to supply milk for a Chinese infant formula factory in Kingston, Ontario.
Another supporter of Save Our Prison Farms is Dave Perry, a CORCAN Agribusiness Instructor employed in the Joyceville abattoir.

He is also a private sector beef farmer and President of Beef Farmers of Frontenac, an association which opposes the “ridiculous” and “unnecessary” regulation of abattoirs.  

While employed by CSC, Dave Perry arranged for Beef Farmers of Ontario to lobby the federal government in support of the Joyceville abattoir because it provides “significant benefits to the beef industry” and so-called “animal therapy” and “benefits to inmates.”

In a final blow, industry blames CSC for not providing enough “support” for the abattoir to remain viable.
On April 8, 2022, a Member of Parliament asked the federal government to offer a new abattoir licence after the owner of Wallace Beef retires. Public Safety Minister Marco Mendicino committed to engage on this issue, claiming that abattoir work equips prisoners with the “tools” they need to safely reintegrate into their communities. This, despite the established research showing that abattoir work is directly correlated with increases in crime, domestic violence, substance abuse, and unemployment.

The closure of the Joyceville abattoir has repeatedly been obstructed by political intervention in response to industry lobbying. Now, with the abattoir operator retiring, CSC and government face new financial challenges and logistical hurdles if they wish to continue the abattoir’s operations. Not only would it require “a huge influx of money” (see “It’s Wallace Beef or bust”) but CSC has tried to replace Wallace Beef many times over the course of their conflicted 27-year partnership, without success. No other company has ever wanted the job of running CORCAN’s bloody bad business.
The first edition of *Bloody Bad Business* was published in August 2021 and submitted to CSC and the Public Safety Ministry. Despite the violations that were exposed, CSC proceeded to renew its contract with Wallace Beef – now expiring September 30, 2022 – and the Public Safety Minister claimed that the abattoir provides inmates with the “tools” they need to safely reintegrate.

The Government of Canada is committed “to support initiatives that have been proven to reduce crime and keep our communities safe.” The closure of the Joyceville abattoir is aligned with that public safety goal. By contrast, if the government chooses to sustain the abattoir, it will be knowingly supporting initiatives that are proven to increase crime and make communities less safe.

With Wallace Beef retiring, the abattoir will close unless the federal government intervenes once again on behalf of industry interests. Any effort to preserve CORCAN’s abattoir will demand a significant investment of public funds and government resources, and carry risk of negative press, increased regulatory scrutiny, potential legal challenges, ongoing strain on CSC staff, and further psychological harm to incarcerated persons.
REFERENCES

Unless referenced here, the information presented throughout this report is from CSC documents obtained by Evolve Our Prison Farms through Access to Information.

Contact us for more information or to request any or all documents in our possession.

Evolve Our Prison Farms
57 Foster Street, Box 2012, Perth, Ontario, K7H 1R9, Canada
info@evolveourprisonfarms.ca
www.evolveourprisonfarms.ca

1. Email from Marie Pier Lécuyer, CSC senior media relations advisor, September 24, 2019.
3. Email from Marie Pier Lécuyer, CSC senior media relations advisor, September 16, 2021.
10. Ibid.
12. Interviews conducted by Evolve Our Prison Farms.
15. In a survey conducted by Evolve Our Prison Farms in 2021, numerous prisoners who provided freewill comments used the terms “slaves,” “slave labour” or “slavery” in expressing their opinion of CORCAN.
18. Phone conversations with Francois Malette, OMAFRA Area Meat Inspection Manager, June-July 2021.
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

CALVIN NEUFELD

is a social justice advocate, researcher, writer and educational speaker with a passion for human rights, animal rights, and the environment. In 2016, Calvin founded Evolve Our Prison Farms, a coalition of activists and academics advocating the transition of Canada’s prison farms to a therapeutic non-profit plant-based model serving a social justice purpose. Previously, he worked as a legal researcher and as an environmental consultant for the Ontario government building an innovation-driven bioeconomy. In the 2021 federal election, Calvin ran as the Green Party candidate for Lanark-Frontenac-Kingston where Joyceville Institution is located.
CLOSED?

Due to ethical, contractual, regulatory, institutional, legal, and human rights violations.

EVOLVE OUR PRISON FARMS
WWW.EVOLVEOURPRISONFARMS.CA