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The Evaluation of an Experimental Program  
Designed to Reduce Recidivism among  
Second Felony Criminal Offenders

by

Gerald R. Bergman

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Office for Graduate Studies,  
Graduate Division of Wayne State University,  
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CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

Out of necessity social systems develop a set of rules or guidelines which are instrumental in facilitating the goals or purpose for which the system was established. Among primitive people it was recognized that certain things must be done to protect the interests of the group, or the whole group or some members would suffer. These rules, when formalized and enforced by an accepted power structure, become laws. As societies became more highly organized, they found that more and more laws had to be developed to control non-functional behavior. As commerce developed, society developed rules about fair trade, honest weights, values of money, credit and interest, to name a few. The earliest law giver is generally recognized as Hammurabi, an early King of Babylon (1955-1913 B.C.). His code may still be seen in the Louvre Museum in Paris, carved on an eight foot slab of black stone. In 621 B.C. the Greeks developed a law code attributed to Draco. Evidently, this code was either unenforceable or was later felt to be too strict, as it was shortly replaced by the milder code of Solon (639-559 B.C.), and ever since this time the name "Draco" has stood for legal harshness.<sup>1</sup> Plato's revision of Solon's code was used in many nations until the Roman Emperors developed a new legal system to meet the needs of a larger, more complex empire.

By the time of Emperor Justinian, the European legal

system, which developed from the Roman system, had become so full of conflicting opinions and impractical laws that Justinian ordered it revised. Most legal systems today are based on the Justinian code as modified from time to time by edicts of Kings or acts of legislature. The American legal system is highly influenced both by statute law (law which is put into effect by an act of legislature) and common law (law which is developed by tradition and past court decisions). When the decision of a lower court is upheld by a higher court, or when a decision has gained general acceptance in many courts, or was made by the highest court in the land, the Supreme Court, it has a legal force close to laws enacted by the legislature. Common law has the possible advantage that courts can base decisions on new social conditions, influenced only to a limited degree by earlier decisions. The courts have generally shown themselves to be more flexible in adapting to changing conditions than the legislature. Nations with common law have been able to adapt the legal system to changing conditions quicker than those with only statute law.

Most cases dealt with by the criminal justice system are classified as "crimes against the state." Included are such crimes as murder, assault, and stealing, which, even though directed against a victim or victims, are threatening to the community as a whole. At one time these offenses were seen as harming only a small group, usually the victim's family. Consequently, the victim's family was entitled to take some

type of revenge, sometimes resulting in lifetime feuds between families. Each family was expected by social custom to retaliate with a similar assault upon the offending family. In time the state took the role of the victimized family, negating their need for revenge. It was hoped that this would prevent long feuds from taking place. Personal retribution was replaced by punishment administered by the court, so that, ideally, the punishment will be more just. This inherent function is still with us today, although it is less conspicuous. The victim and his family often show satisfaction ("Hope they keep him in there fifty years.") or even vengeance ("A life sentence isn't enough for me!") when the sentence is read, even in today's courts.

Legal machinery against a person starts when the police become aware of a crime, either through their own investigations or from a complaint by a citizen. Legal action can also be started by anyone by going to the police station and swearing out a complaint against the person he has evidence is guilty. If the complaintant feels he does not have enough evidence to request a formal complaint, he can go to the district attorney and, giving all the facts he has, request a further investigation. If and when the district attorney feels there is enough evidence to arrest the accused, they will request a "warrant for arrest" from the Prosecutor's Office. The Prosecutor's Office will issue a warrant if they feel there is sufficient evidence, enabling the police department to arrest the accused. From here the state or city takes over, treating an offense against a person

as an offense against "the people."

The need to maintain law and order is clearly established, but the problem of maintaining just law and order has been with mankind from the earliest recorded history. The recent dynamic increase in crime has caused crime to be one of the foremost concerns in American society today. Each year the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Report shows a sizable increase in the number of crimes and the cost. In 1970 over six million offenses were reported by the police, amounting to one major crime every thirty-nine minutes. The actual total amount of crime is unknown, although many estimations have been compiled from various studies. The President's Crime Commission estimates that:

Burglaries occur about three times more often than they are reported to the police. Aggravated assaults and larcenies over \$50.00 occur twice as often as they are reported. There are 50% more robberies. In some areas only 1/10 of the total number of certain types of crimes are reported to the police. 74% of the neighborhood commercial establishments surveyed do not report to<sub>2</sub> police the thefts committed by their employees.

For these reasons it is difficult to estimate even a general crime rate, but crime is, by any report, a major activity of millions of Americans. Relying on reported crime, the records show there is a forceable rape every thirteen minutes, a robbery every eighty-two seconds, an aggravated assault every eighty-nine seconds, an auto theft every thirty-four seconds, a larceny of \$50.00 or over every nineteen seconds, and a burglary every thirteen seconds.<sup>3</sup> The cost is also staggering. Organized

crime alone may net up to \$50 billion a year from such activities as labor racketeering, gambling, exploitation of legitimate business, and illegal sale of drugs. America's dollar loss attributed to drug abuse ranges up to \$5 billion according to police estimates.<sup>4</sup> The annual loss, according to the FBI Report of 1969, was over \$620 million for burglaries, \$86 million for robberies and \$140 million for auto thefts. Estimates of monies spent by federal, state, and local governments to combat crime range from \$7-8 billion. This figure is increasing by millions of dollars each year.

In 1971 over three million individuals spent some time in the jails, reformatories, work houses, or penitentiaries of America. Of these, between forty and seventy percent of all offenders released from the prisons were later convicted of another criminal offense, the rate being closer to 50% in Oakland County.<sup>5</sup> This rate of recidivism has caused many to refer to the prisons as one of the worst failures in comparison to all other institutions in American society today.

The profile of the Oakland County offender is similar to that of the American offender. According to the United States Chamber of Commerce, the state prison inmate population consists of individuals who are almost a total failure educationally, economically, and occupationally. Approximately 85% are high school dropouts and almost 18% are functionally illiterate. The average IQ is estimated at 85, although minority group status and environmental factors undoubtedly have lowered the

true potential of many offenders. According to the intelligence quotient concept, 20% are mentally retarded. Their work experience indicates that 40% have failed to develop a satisfactory work record. The home situation indicates that they often came from areas that are substandard. Almost 65% came from broken homes and a much higher percentage than would be expected are handicapped by minority group status.

While some individuals are highly involved in major crime, most people are generally uninvolved. The writer, while working in a community college library where students used a Xerox copy machine, found that the vast majority of students went out of their way to pay the correct amount even though they had to go to another part of the library to pay for the copies. In a detailed study, it was found that 98% of the student Xerox users reimbursed the college for the correct amount. On the other hand, there was a minority that were consistently dishonest and could not be trusted in this and other situations. The difference had nothing to do with punishment. The student's statements as to his activity while at the machine were always accepted without question. The immediate situation simply differentiated between the two modes of behavior that are dichotomized in the concept "honesty-dishonesty."

A relatively small number of offenders are responsible for a large percent of crime. The arrest of just one offender in Oakland County cleared over ninety armed robberies and four murders. Most offenders are linked to a number of offenses

before a conviction is finally made. The fact that over 80% of the adult offenders have juvenile police records, or records of serious difficulties in the school and community, coupled with the evidence that shows few first offenders become second offenders, but the majority of second offenders become third, fourth, fifth, etc. offenders, shows the importance of rehabilitation, especially in view of the extremely poor picture the typical offender presents. Ramsey Clark, the former U.S. Attorney General, estimated that over 80% of all felonies are committed by those who have previously been convicted of at least one crime.<sup>6</sup>

A significant increase in funds for rehabilitation is necessary to adequately fund the programs shown to be successful in lowering the recidivism rate. At present, barely 5% of the funds spent in corrections goes directly into rehabilitation.<sup>7</sup> Most researchers agree that the humane, non-punitive rehabilitation route is also the shortest route to cutting crime, and in the long run costs far less than non-rehabilitative programs.

It is sometimes suggested that the terrific expense of maintaining prisons could be lowered if more offenders were executed. But the cost of legally executing one offender, according to Anthony Amsterdam, a professor of criminal law, is conservatively between \$1 million and \$1.5 million! While he does not break down his estimate, the point is made that it is an extremely expensive proposition to execute an offender under the present legal system. He further states that:

Capital punishment represents all that is violent and irrational in our society. It shows our terrible propensity to deal with complex social problems by violence--by the simple expedience of gassing the guy who is the problem.

It is assumed that capital punishment is an effective deterrent and thus, in the long run, is justified. But there is much evidence to the contrary. A good example of the ineffectiveness of capital punishment took place in England several centuries ago. Picking pockets was such a flourishing business that the authorities decided to make an example of several convicted pick-pockets by publicly hanging them. A great crowd gathered to witness the hanging of the first pick-pocket. Unfortunately the authorities had to cancel other scheduled hangings of pick-pockets because so many persons in the crowd watching the first hanging had their own pockets picked--the pick-pockets in town felt that they would be so involved in the hanging that they would be easy game for their trade! Experience with capital punishment in several states indicates that capital punishment alone is not an effective deterrent. Punishment, in conjunction with other techniques, can be effective, although this has not been researched to the satisfaction of many probation workers.

In spite of the emotional beliefs to the contrary, the assumption that capital punishment is a deterrent is largely being given up due to recent evidence against the assumed effectiveness of capital punishment as administered in American society today.<sup>9</sup> Capital punishment is just one of many commonly held assumptions in corrections which cannot be supported by



research. To determine whether or not an assumption is true, a large amount of objective data has to be gathered and evaluated. Because many assumptions which were strongly held in the past have been shown not to be true when researched we should continually look at assumptions still held today, especially in the area of corrections where policy is still often made on the basis of emotion.

The benefit of capital punishment seems to lie primarily with those who are least likely to be faced with it, the "non-criminal" citizen. While Massachusetts has not executed anyone since 1947, due to reluctance of corrections officials to resort to capital punishment and their evidence that it is not a deterrent, the voters have refused three times to put an end to the penalty. Amsterdam states that it appears that where a nice, juicy, gruesome execution has not been performed for almost five years, people are sleeping on their duffs. While the voters often want to keep capital punishment on the books, correction officials recognize that execution does not help solve the original problem, often not even deterring future offenders.

An examination of criminal behavior must consider the offender's motives. In crime, a person can satisfy certain psychological needs that he is unable to satisfy elsewhere. When a drug user is asked: "Why do you use drugs?" he often answers: "Why not? Show me something better." Drugs are used by people to get a "high," to make them feel better, and often involves what are seen as positive energy levels and motivations

of the user. These positive effects result in continued use of drugs. Likewise, positive rewards perpetuate criminal behavior, especially larcenies, breakings and enterings, and other acquisition offenses. Even circumstantial offenses such as aggravated assault, murder, carrying a concealed weapon, and some drug violations are motivated, to some extent, by a reward.

When questioned, offenders often describe "an immense thrill," or at least a high degree of satisfaction in obtaining things without paying for them. This ethos is present in middle class society, but more prevalent in the lower classes. In middle class society there are greater inhibitions against obtaining things without paying for them, but there is still a great attraction to get something free. State lotteries are an example. Breaking into a house and obtaining a couple hundred dollars worth of goods without working for them is highly reinforcing to many offenders. When the exploit is recounted to ones friends, the illegal behavior is usually socially reinforced. An offender is not going to stop breaking and entering until he "finds something better." The key to stopping criminal behavior is focusing on "the something better," maximizing opportunities for experiencing satisfying legal alternatives. Once it is established that there are alternatives that can be rewarding, the next question is "which alternative for which offender?" In other words, the alternatives and offenders must be matched, just as probation officers and offenders were matched in some studies with good results. A learning process

called rehabilitation may have to intervene in order to alter motivations, enabling the offender to utilize the alternatives. This may require changing ones peers in an effort to change the reinforcement value of crime.

A powerful premise, which is part of some drug education programs, is that many individuals and especially children can be "frightened" away from drugs and crime. The research evidence has largely been disappointing, and there is even some evidence that movies on drugs, especially those designed to frighten one away from using drugs, make its use more attractive for those most likely to attempt its use in the first place, although it may reinforce the beliefs of those who already have a strong negative value orientation away from drug usage. Widespread anti-smoking publicity, which included many films based on scare tactics, and scare warning notices on all advertisements, billboards and cigarette packages, pointing out the dangers of smoking, has had only a small effect, if any, on the smoking habits of the average American. As one researcher said,

The case against cigarette smoking could hardly be much stronger and yet widespread anti-smoking publicity has made only a remarkably small dent in the smoking habits of those more 'respectable' citizens.<sup>10</sup>

Because the young are less concerned with death and sickness, partially because they are rather far removed from it, they tend to be more non-rational risk oriented and unbelieving, of especially information from authority figures. It is reasonable to conclude that publicity against drugs and recent

publicity against certain types of crimes would have the same effect that the extensive and expensive anti-smoking campaigns have had on the general public.

In working with a school district in a drug educational program, this writer found that showing movies designed to frighten students from drugs tended to dichotomize the class, creating **a desire in many** toward use, and in others only reinforcing their already strong feelings against use. Evidently, the producers of these movies, being already oriented away from drugs, found that this approach reinforced their own feelings and assumed that it has the same effect on most other viewers. One girl that this writer worked with was very active in a fundamental church group, working in the "rehabilitation" of drug abusers. Her associations with these drug abusers tended to influence her towards the use of drugs, and she openly admired anyone who was heavily involved in the drug culture. She often told of experiences "shooting up," hallucinating, accidents and "cool deeds" committed by those on drugs with pride and obvious satisfaction, even though she claimed she was working with these drug abusers to "reform their lost souls." Her later difficulties in the school prompted school officials to strongly encourage the parents not to involve the young girl in these activities because of the adverse effect on her value system. The mother, after receiving this information was shocked and simply refused to believe it, saying she was going to increase her own and her daughter's activities in

"saving these lost souls." This experience shows that a fairly well-off middle class student can be influenced by the values of a criminal drug sub-culture. This young girl was later caught stealing from several stores in the community, evidently in imitation of the things she was learning in her association with drug abusers.

The casework literature on criminal offenders, especially that intended for the public, often painted a picture of offenders who are have-nots, deprived of parental love, deeply hurt at home and in school, and failing at almost everything they try. Success stories relate how an offender is finally able to develop rapport with a caseworker, and turns out to have some pretty wonderful qualities in spite of the mean facade previously prominent. This investigator's experience in working with offenders is quite contrary to this often told "success story." This apparent contradiction, when further examined by delving deeper often finds not a contradiction, but a different picture at various levels of the offender's personality. Envy of the probation officer's position is sometimes present, but the feelings often conveyed is an offender who is indifferent to the probation officer's person. With an overt pride in himself and what he is, he reacts to the probation officer in a nonchalant manner, except when undesirable demands are made of him or when his needs are being met by the probation officer. Heavily committed

to a delinquent subculture, offenders find their rewards there, and often do not seek the rewards of, for example, educational advancements. School as a whole has either neutral or negative connotations in their value system. A college degree or beyond, as possessed by most probation officers, is an unknown experience to the offender. The offender may view the probation officer as a probation officer would view a New Guinea witch-doctor, generally with indifference, yet rather mysteriously, to be envied only when cultural links are touched upon, and to be feared only when the power structure is invoked. The contemptuousness springs largely from the probation officer's authority position, and not from the probation officer himself unless he attempts to force his value system upon the probationers by criticizing or ridiculing the probationer's value system. Generally they emphatically believe, or try hard to believe, that they are just as good as the probation officer, both from their own viewpoint and from the perceived viewpoint of their significant others. The helping role is based primarily upon the superiority role relationship it implies, and is thus resisted. One of the most functional offender-probation officer relationships has been developed by Slack (1960).<sup>11</sup>

The offender, almost invariably failing in the world of school, work and middle class society, may find acceptance in a criminal contraculture. Not able to develop the role of "a good guy" he finds he is able to develop the next best thing, the bad guy role. One offender, when asked what he did for a

living, proudly stated to the judge at his trial, "I'm a bank robber." It is often noted that the offenders will freely admit or even brag about their past offenses. Exacting confessions is not as difficult as the mass media has suggested. The offender is usually anxious to talk about the offense, and if he is not proud, he is usually ambivalent, building up certain facts to give the court the impression that he is a "rough, tough guy." Logically, it would seem that he would want to minimize his part in the offense. This is found more often among the offenders who are involved in "less criminal" pursuits such as a negligent homicide resulting from driving while drunk.

For the presentence investigation each offender is required to relate his version of the offense from which his current difficulties stem. Often he will relate in glowing terms the many places he visited, the friends he was with, girls he knew, and drinks he had before the offense in question was committed. A typical example of this is the following:

I got off from work early and went over to Bill's to meet with some of the guys. While I was there I saw a couple of girls I knew and talked with them for a while and had a few drinks. After that me and a couple buddies of mine went to Ducky's to have a few more drinks. While we were there I saw this broad I knew and we decided to go out and have something to eat. At the restaurant I knew a couple of the waitresses and talked with them for a while, and had a few more drinks. While there I met a few more friends and we decided to drive around for a while. While driving we decided we'd drop by the beer store and get a couple of six-packs. After we drank that we went over to Larry's house to watch T.V. and drink a few more beers.

The offender's description of the offense itself often continues

with an emphasis on knowing people, power struggles and drinking. One offender related

While we were over there this punk called my girl a name. I don't take that from nobody, so I smashed him. The guy had a knife so I pulled my gun and let him have it. The other guy started it and I don't let nobody call my girl a name. I'm glad I got the no good S.O.B.

An offense is the result of an individual's behavior, which in turn is the result of his environment, life experiences, and possibly genetic inheritance. Logically, the reduction of criminal behavior requires an evaluation of the individual and what factors caused him to become the way he is. While many factors are not identifiable, generally patterns can be seen. Once this pattern is developed, and further research is increasingly clarifying which factors are instrumental, a determination can be made of which new experiences or changes are most instrumental in changing the offender's behavior in a desirable direction.

Whether this change requires prison, jail, punitive punishment, fines, humiliation, physical maiming, etc. still requires a great deal of research. Only after we understand the influence of various techniques can an evaluation of the true cost, feasibility, time, and expedience be made. When the current project was established, community treatment was increasingly being considered, pending the assessment of the effectiveness of various types of CTP's, requiring a great deal of research, especially research comparing CTP to the alternative, institutionalization. The evidence



that institutionalization may, as a whole, be more destructive than rehabilitative was a motivating factor in the establishment of the CTP concept.<sup>12</sup> This evidence indicates that lengthy incarceration largely does not reduce recidivism, but often only delays the offender from re-entering the world of crime only as long as he is institutionalized. Viewed from this vantage point, this delay is a tremendous expense to society. Interestingly, recidivism rates are generally consistent for all states, despite tremendous variations in their sentencing and other correctional practices. Investigation indicates that reducing incarceration time does not have a significant effect in increasing recidivism.<sup>13</sup> Yet, today there is often a reluctance on the part of correctional officials to reduce sentence time, and this resistance was even encountered in the correctional programs with which this study dealt.

Often, in efforts at rehabilitating offenders, the treatment which develops from an understanding of what is necessary to change behavior to standards more acceptable in middle class society is interpreted by those oriented towards a vindictive, punitive typed punishment orientation as treating criminals with "pious bleeding hearts by sanctimonious do-gooders." The feeling that someone who transgresses from the social laws should be punished, or should suffer in some way, is deeply inherent in the American traditional system, and difficult to change. Western culture implies that one who is a "criminal" is "sinful, evil, corrupt and therefore should be

severely punished, preferably beaten, maimed, injured, or highly humiliated."<sup>14</sup> Albert Ellis summarized the problem when he said that the reasons elucidated by the public for the "bad or evil" behavior or "the idea that some people are bad, wicked, or villainous and therefore should be blamed or punished is irrational because there is no absolute standard of right or wrong and what is clearly seen as wrong or immoral is the result of stupidity, ignorance, or emotional disturbance."<sup>15</sup> Blaming and punishment does not lead to improved behavior, he argues, since it does not result in less stupidity, more intelligence or a better emotional state. In fact, Carl Rogers feels that blaming often leads to worse behavior and greater emotional disturbance. The rational individual does not blame himself or others, but tries to improve or correct his behavior. He also realizes that blaming others is an indication of disturbance in himself, and instead tries to understand, and if possible, help them. If this is not possible, he tries not to let their wrong or immoral behavior seriously upset him.

Some offenders have possibly been affected by the brutal experience they received in prison so as to have successfully avoided the crimes which merit a prison sentence. But all too many continue living their previous life-style, altering it only in such a way so the likelihood of "getting caught" is less. This is not rehabilitation, but only altering ones behavior to the extent necessary to avoid punishment. Little alteration of the behavior which involved them in the criminal

justice system in the first place is made. To determine prisons' effects, an examination must be made of a large number of offenders worked with under this type of correctional treatment. What percentage become highly resentful towards not only the system, but all those in authority? What percentage simply adapt to make the best of the situation while they are in prison, and then utilize what they learn in prison to avoid getting caught once they are out?

A number of elements are instrumental in rehabilitation including the offender's past environment, abilities, capabilities limitations, and cognitive style, to name a few. Rehabilitation is increasingly being viewed as an attempt to help the offender understand his own behavior and develop new forms of behavior which are acceptable so that he can be a fully functioning individual, without resentment towards the social system, and especially without resentment towards the criminal justice system. Ideally, the offender should, if he has an understanding of the criminal justice system's function and role, have a feeling of gratitude similar to the feelings a son ideally should have towards his parents when he is living on his own. While discipline, physical or otherwise, may not seem pleasant at the time, it is later often appreciated, but only if the father-son relationship is characterized by love, respect, and justice. Research today indicates that physical punishment leads to physically aggressive acting out behavior, regardless of whether the punitiveness originates from the parents or

parent substitute such as the school, penal system, or other institution.

In the mass media, as noted above, statements as the following are common:

All together too many courts are governed by stalking do-gooders who seem to think the murderers, the hijackers, and their relatives are the ones that need sympathy and attention. How about the families of the slaughtered victims who were buried in the ground? How about the associates of the dead, the maimed, the slaughtered and the innocent victims of these cold-blooded killers?<sup>16</sup>

Certainly the victims and the victims' families need help and sympathy. And increasingly it is being recognized that they are wrongly being neglected and recent legislation is attempting to remedy this injustice. But because the victim needs sympathy does not mean that the offender does not also need help or sympathy. In many cases he may need more help because his criminal situation is indicative of a pervasive personality or environmental mal-adjustment. Sympathy, at times, can be rehabilitative in helping the offender to avoid involving himself in similar types of crime. On the other hand, sympathy for the victim, aside from financial remuneration for his losses and help in overcoming emotional and psychological problems which may have resulted from the offense, does little good. The victim only needs to adjust to the change caused by the incident in which he was involved; but the offender needs a great deal of help so that he does not again become involved in an additional offense. Chances are that the victim will

never become a victim again, but the chances are extremely high that the offender will become an offender again, unless proper intervention breaks his cycle of offenses.

Statements that the courts "pity the man with a gun, the bludgeon, the crook, and robber, and the bandit" are highly misleading. While some laws and decisions, especially those emanating from the Supreme Court, may restrict some activities to the detriment of effective law enforcement, there is little to justify the feeling that offenders are pitied in Oakland County to the extent that it interferes with effective administration of the law. What "pity" does exist could be highly functional if it were transferred into direct action that aids the offender towards rehabilitation.

A strong impediment to any program is the public feeling that to be rehabilitative, a program must be strict, repressive, or in some way punitive. Programs which are evidently therapeutically effective, but apparently permissive in character, are criticized by the public due to the feeling that permissiveness does not stop criminal behavior. While offenders generally are quick to manipulate correctional workers, and definite rules must be established and upheld and penalties set up for disobedience, the goal of both the penalties and the rules should be therapeutic and not just to have rules.

The importance of an enlightened public attitude cannot be stressed enough. Recently a Detroit Recorder's Court judge

publicized his intention to prevent offenders from "copping a plea" by requiring the administration of uniform jail sentences to all convicted offenders, with no allowance for good time, special merit, or even disability. The Free Press in its "Sound-Off" column invited its readers to react to this statement. Surprisingly, 93% of those who phoned in or wrote to the Free Press agreed with the judge. While this sample was not a cross-section of the public's opinions, it is an indication of the tremendous amount of public ignorance about corrections. As Keve states:

Public ignorance of a social problem leads to public rejection of the people who personify that problem. This has been the condition of the published relationship to crime and delinquency, and until we bring the public into a far more intimate acquaintance with the new techniques, the programs will not achieve their full potential.<sup>17</sup>

The use of citizen volunteers has resulted in some improved public understanding of the programs in which the volunteers were successfully involved. This understanding often increases community support to improve the programs. A better public attitude not only produces more funds, but encourages research, influences legislation, and encourages a willingness to cope with correctional problems on a realistic level instead of desiring to send away the people who personify the problem. The problem of crime is everyone's problem and involves us all since we all contribute to it, although some contribute more than others. Physical punishment and briefly removing the offenders from society often only fulfills the neurotic needs

of the public, the offenders themselves receiving little or no benefit. Some correctional workers feel these methods probably result in an increase in some crime, making the problem worse.

An important step in increasing public awareness took place in Michigan in 1954 when lay persons were invited to visit and become acquainted with the offenders inside one of the state's penal camps, Camp Pugsley. The resulting public awareness of their problems has enabled the camp to provide more direct services. According to the camp's directors, because of this public awareness, the camp has been more effective in its goal of rehabilitation. It was claimed this program helped to reduce the inmates' feelings of rejection by increasing their sense of belonging to the outside world. Being comfortably acquainted with an "average everyday sort of person from the outside" could help reduce fears of the outside world and in addition reduce the fears outsiders have of those persons called "criminals." Probably the most important effect of this program was to produce greater community awareness of correctional programs and problems, and consequently greater support of them. Other programs, such as those in Sweden, also found that a volunteer program aids in developing good public relations and sympathetic support for innovative correctional programs. Furthermore, interested citizens, especially those in other professions, can generate fresh enthusiasm to the solution of correctional problems. These citizens can bring new ideas from their field and can resist the inertia of dead weight that concentration on old programs

seems to bring.

As noted above, attempts at rehabilitation which are directed at providing educational, economic, psychological, and medical services tend to be looked upon by the public and even some in the criminal justice system as "coddling criminals, going soft on law breakers." To produce a program that is effective in rehabilitating the offender requires the cooperation of all agencies connected with the criminal justice system. In many police departments, the attitude toward the probation department is epitomized by the statement of one police officer: "Our job is to risk our lives catching them and your job is to let them go." For the CTP concept to explore alternatives to incarceration, cooperation of several criminal justice agencies is necessary. True, during the offender's incarceration he is prevented from committing any crime (at least on the outside), but his isolation is only temporary since about 97% of the inmate population are eventually returned to the community.<sup>18</sup> Because the average prison stay is under two years, the prison experience causes only a slight delay in the criminal career of the average offender.

Some studies indicate that total abolition of the prison system would not increase the rate of crime, but only shift each offender's offense from the future to the present.<sup>19</sup> Research of various efforts to rehabilitate or change the offender so as to lower the rate of recidivism once the offender is released, must be increased if an acceptable alternative to prison is desired.



The present CTP's orientation was that rehabilitation should be the chief goal of the total criminal justice system. Thus if rehabilitation for some offenders requires institutionalization, prison should be utilized, but if rehabilitation can be more effectively facilitated by other techniques, they should be utilized. Only specific studies directed towards understanding this problem will produce a basis on which decisions can be made.

It is sometimes noted that offenders have a psychological need to do penitence in jail. This need, if it exists, could be used as part of a rehabilitation program. Even if this need is present in some offenders, punishment alone is often not effective rehabilitation, according to the NCCD Policy Statement.<sup>20</sup>

Studies indicate about 15-25% of all offenders should not be punished at all, as punishment seems to be detrimental to rehabilitation. These include many psychotic offenders who probably should be given primarily medical assistance. A small percentage of offenders are involved in offenses evidently because of their psychological need for punishment. These offenders commonly utilize the psychological defense mechanism of undoing to help them adjust. In these cases, punishment might benefit the offender instead of only the community. An excellent example is the work detail or driver education programs which may be viewed as punitive, but which benefit the offender. Another example is when a fine is collected to reimburse the victim for his losses and to pay for the court expenses, putting the burden of supporting the judicial process on those convicted offenders

who have utilized it and not on the population as a whole, most of whom do not use the court.

As long term confinement replaced other methods of punishment, the purpose of confinement became primarily to punish the offender and to deter others from transgressing against the state. By design, the punishment was not for the purpose of re-educating or rehabilitating the criminal. In fact, this idea is relatively recent. The present research is in response to increasing concern over rehabilitation. There is still a great deal that needs to be done, as this discussion will attempt to briefly delineate, before the system is truly structured towards the primary goal of rehabilitation.

In examining some of the problems of rehabilitation in prison, Auerbach says:

Paradoxically, men seem to become more delinquent in prison, because they are taught there by other more experienced criminals, the better and "safer" ways to commit a crime.<sup>21</sup>

She further stresses that offenders' attempts to be "somebody" in the only way they know, through crime, is often a response the prisoners make as a result of the degradation and humiliation they are forced to endure in prison. Many of the activities in prison are unique to institutionalized living. Even occupational pursuits such as making license plates or mail bags are largely irrelevant in dealing successfully with problems encountered upon release, occupationally or otherwise.

Prisons are characterized by many as "schools of crime"<sup>22</sup>

since the offender returns to society more mal-adjusted than when he entered prison. The feeling among many correctional workers that a prison experience is often harmful was summed up by the director of the President's Crime Commission:

If we take a person whose criminal conduct shows he cannot manage his life, lock him up with others like himself, increase his frustrations and anger, and take away from him any responsibility for planning his life, he is almost certain to be more dangerous when he gets out than when he went in.<sup>23</sup>

This may account for the increase of aggressive crimes, especially murder and armed robbery, among prison veterans.

Comparisons between probation recommitments and parole recommitments show that adults with institutionalization experience have a three to five times higher recidivist rate, judging by new offenses. For example, in a recent year Philadelphia had a 65% recidivist rate for parolees compared to a 16% recidivist rate for probationers. When making comparisons, it should be kept in mind that parole and probation offenders are not strictly comparable. Offenders receiving probation are generally first offenders and there are usually factors present which are felt to preclude a likelihood of recommitting a criminal offense. Those sent to prison are often more seriously involved in crime, have longer records, and are older and have a lower status in society both occupationally, economically, socially and otherwise.

At any rate, most offenders return to their former criminal ways upon release from prison. This result is largely what

would be expected, according to those who have studied the penal system and in view of the offenders' experiences in prison.

Considerable doubt even exists as to whether rehabilitation is possible in the typical prison.<sup>24</sup> A recent study by the California Assembly Committee on Criminal Procedure concluded that no evidence was available that the correctional institutions in California were effective in rehabilitating the offenders under its care. Incarceration time was not found to have a significant relationship to decreased recidivism rates. The study's statistics show that, for example, persons serving prison terms of six months or less before parole had a violation rate of 9% compared to a violation rate of 64.5% for those serving five years or longer. The comparisons are not strictly comparable because offenders with shorter prison terms, in most cases, committed less serious crimes, have a shorter criminal record, are younger, more amenable to treatment, and less criminally oriented. Thus a different population is being considered when six month sentences are compared with five year sentences. But the differential sentence is designed to account for this, the five years theoretically needed to rehabilitate one offender as only six months should be needed for another.

An interesting study was done in California in which offenders were randomly assigned to either probation, jail, or probation plus jail terms. The results show that the probation group had the lowest rate of violations during the first year (34%). The second highest success rate was for

the probation and jail group (48% violated), and the lowest rate of success was for the jail only group (59% violated).<sup>25</sup> The study concluded, all things being equal, jail adversely affects success rates.

Several other studies indicate the less involvement the criminal justice system has with the offender the better.<sup>26</sup> Most studies show those on probation do not show any significant difference when compared with offenders given other or "more intensive" forms of punishment. One study found that when incarcerated felons were released for reasons other than their individual records (as because of some form of celebration or amnesty), reconviction rates are not significantly different. This supports the contention that most existing programs are not effective and in order to be effective must be far more intensive and extensive. Programs where an offender is placed in the care of a "juvenile liason officer" on a form of "informal probation" in which there is no finding of guilt, found that recidivism rates were essentially no different than other programs. The research indicated that the program was not intensive or individualized enough.

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) maintains that imprisonment is necessary only for offenders so dangerous that they would pose a serious threat to society if allowed at large.<sup>27</sup> NCCD has for many years supported most types of community treatment as well as increased use of probation, parole, halfway houses, educational and work releases and so on. While these types of treatment

are definitely more economical, whether they are more effective is presently being researched. The main impediments to increased use of community treatment is tradition, especially the fear judges have in releasing certain offenders into the community, and psychological need for prisons by the general population.

Because those offenders who are institutionalized are perceived to be more of a threat to society than those on probation, more money is allocated to the prisons even though their first priority is confinement. A NCCD national survey found that 81% of the total correctional expenditures were allotted directly to institutions, even though they care for only one-third of the offender population.<sup>28</sup> Judges are reluctant to place offenders on probation because probation services are limited, due to limited funds. But where probation services have had the money to expand and upgrade, judges have made greater use of probation, suggesting that if alternatives are available to incarceration they will be utilized.

Modification of the traditional approach will not necessarily be better but should be viewed as one of many experiments that must be tried before the best system is found. As a chemist must continually try different approaches, a sociologist must continually work with new theories until he finds the best solution. Before disregarding institutionalization, one must be certain that the alternatives are at least as effective.

(ideally, more so) and be able to demonstrate this to the community. Mass abandonment of institutionalization may create more problems than present evidence indicates it will solve, not necessarily for the offenders, but for the victims, the community as a whole, and other offenders and would-be offenders who are not now being dealt with on a large scale in the correctional system.

If resocialization replaces the traditional punishment concept, research programs such as the present study will probably increase in order to clarify the long term goals that a correctional program can reasonably fulfill. The present project emphasized rehabilitation defined as a permanent change in certain behavior of the offender but unexpectedly the focus of corrections has recently shifted (Martinson, 1973, 1974). This researcher has worked with many offenders who had a long criminal record in the community, yet once in prison made an excellent adjustment, according to prison officials, only to recidivate on parole after going back to their old environment.<sup>29</sup> One offender's progress was reflected in his work assignments which he performed with "enthusiasm, vigor, and a mature responsiveness that would be expected from the better members of society. After two years in a work-study program, with no violations, an excellent record, and high recommendations from his teachers, counselors, social workers and even the prison guards, the offender was recommended for parole. While on parole, however, he was returned to the old environment, and the old criminal

ways were easily picked up again, the offender resuming the only kind of life he knew. Many of the offenders fit this pattern and many are reconvicted and sent back to Jackson, where again they make excellent adjustment, surprising the staff by their vast changes in a structured environment. In Oakland County several offenders have lived most of their lives in prison (one offender from the ages of sixteen to sixty-eight) by repeating this pattern, staying out of prison not more than six months or a few years. Others seem to stay clear of police involvement, but by no means do they stay clear of criminal involvement. They are more wise of the ways of crime, involving themselves in activities in which they are less likely to get caught. Without rehabilitation, little more can be expected when an offender is put back in the same environment which initially created his problems. It should not be surprising that he often goes back to his old way of living. It is difficult to believe that one or even two years in a prison is going to radically change a life-style which took twenty years to develop. Offenders successful in avoiding crime after their release from prison are usually middle class, and thus better able to avoid the environment which was instrumental in producing their criminal behavior. Many offenders who succeed after a prison term were involved in "a once in a lifetime offense" such as killing a spouse or stealing in financial desperation, most have a relatively clean record otherwise. For many offenders, a structured setting away from



their old environment may be one of the most effective means of rehabilitation. But it may possibly take ten or twenty years for the offender to develop a totally different life-style and fully internalize his new functional non-criminal way of life, ideally having experiences while in prison which make him feel grateful, not bitter, towards the prison system.

A theoretical advantage of the CTP concept compared to institutionalization is that while institutionalization removes the offender from the community and puts him in a totally foreign environment which requires him to learn few skills which are necessary in the outside world, the CTP places the offender into the same environment which he will have to satisfactorily cope with after his probation term. But a serious disadvantage of the CTP concept is that the offender lives, while in the program, in the environment that produced his criminal behavior in the first place. Efficient treatment will probably be more difficult if the old environment is still influential. For this reason, recidivism may be higher at least during the early period for a CTP. Yet, since most offenders must return to this environment under the present system, treatment in the community may be an advantage in that the offender can be helped to adjust to this environment so as to avoid illegal behavior while in the environment.

Ideally, the offender could be taken out of a negative environment and yet be retained in the community by use of a halfway house or relocation. Being taught to develop useful

skills and coping with life in the community, the offender would have a better chance of succeeding after the termination of probation.

Prison is a world of its own, commonly developing its own status system. For example, property offense criminals enjoy higher status and strongly object to having derelicts placed in the same cells with them. Many people adjust to the prison world, even finding some security.<sup>30</sup> One offender stated that he was disappointed that he was not incarcerated after he was convicted for breaking and entering. When interviewed for the pre-sentence investigation (PSI), he stated that he wanted to go to prison because he felt he could not cope with the outside world, and he felt secure in prison. This attitude is not rare. One offender openly stated that if he were not imprisoned, he would return to his criminal activity until he was. A workable plan for him on probation was set up, but he refused to cooperate, and was later sent to prison.

Making prison an unpleasant place may help in deterring some offenders, but probably mainly deters those who are less likely to end up in prison in the first place. Once one realizes the factors that produce an offender, and is aware of the offender's situation, he ideally has more empathy for the offender, tending less to place the blame on "the corrupt soul of the offender," but on a set of real conditions outside of the offender. One of this

researcher's colleagues, after graduating from college, assumed a job with the welfare department working with welfare cases in improving their economic and social status. After several weeks of this employment, the colleague expressed contempt for "the poor people" who, as he stated, "lacked motivation, had low moral standards, and felt the world owed them a living." After one year his perceptions and attitudes changed markedly since he was then much more involved in their lives and was more able to sense the problems and realities as the poor people face them. He then could genuinely respect these people. His insight into their problems helped him have empathy for their life situation.

A possible negative effect of isolation from the community includes the severing of family ties and other non-criminal beneficial associations, contact with the institutional culture and, importantly, after serving time the threat value of impending institutionalization is diminished.<sup>31</sup> When treatment is in the community, local industry, universities, hospitals, educational and other agencies are usually more available. Prisons are often constructed where land values are lowest, usually in a remote part of the state, isolating the offenders from many community resources.

A strong argument CTP supporters use is CTP's lower cost. Working with a juvenile in an institution costs an estimated ten times as much as a similar program when implemented for a probationer. For adults, state institutional costs are about six times that of parole and about fourteen times that of

probation.<sup>32</sup> The CTP advocates feel the savings could be used directly to help the offender in a community program, enabling the offender to adjust more adequately to his situation by providing him with services and not just custodial care. The largest "savings" according to the NCCD is the cost of building new institutions, estimated at \$40,000 per bed.<sup>33</sup> Support for the offender's family when the bread winner is in prison is estimated at over \$3,000 per family, per year. According to Morris, it takes about \$10,000 per year to confine each offender in a modern penitentiary<sup>34</sup> and some estimates run as high as \$20,000 per inmate.

The negative effect of prison is such that the NCCD concluded, relative to juvenile offenders, that:

. . . it would be better if many delinquents were never apprehended because they deteriorate rather than improve under the guardianship of the state. The public probably would receive better protection by releasing young offenders back onto the streets rather than sending them to institutions, where they become more dangerous and more adept at crime.<sup>35</sup>

This view partially accounts for the efforts of the late sixties to develop and research the feasibility of community treatment not only for juveniles, but to a limited extent for adults.

Last June in Cambridge, Massachusetts, fifty-eight lawyers, professors and public officials convened to discuss the many problems involved in the penal system in America. A question asked was "What does the caging accomplish?" Professor Gerhard O. W. Mueller of New York University said in summing up the research,

If there was the slightest scientific proof that the placement of human beings in boxes or cages for any length of time, even overnight, had the slightest

beneficial effect, perhaps such a system might be justifiable. There is no such proof.

Mueller urges research on the effects of incarceration, and development of more effective ways to change the offenders' behavior for the good of society, and for the good of the offender. If studies conclude that rehabilitation is possible through imprisonment, Mueller stresses that a program should be set up to research the aspects of imprisonment which work. All research, he felt, should be supervised by a judge.

Opponents of the prison concept often charge, sometimes incorrectly, "how can stripping a person of his right to read, have normal sexual relations, communicate, work, earn a living, walk in the woods, and contribute financially to his family and his nation have a beneficial effect on anyone?" They feel that often the very reason an offender ends up in prison is that he is unable to perform these very functions in the first place. Why not put him in a position in which he can read more, have more normal sexual relations, communicate more and more effectively, work longer, earn more money, improve himself, and contribute more economically both to his family and his nation, they ask, While these over simplifications distort the prison situation, it is largely agreed that experimentation with alternatives to full-time imprisonment must be continued since imprisonment plainly is not working. Mueller recommends:

the release of the majority of the prison population, coupled with a provision of community programs and services, would not increase the danger to the public, and ultimately would enhance the public safety.<sup>36</sup>

The belief that maintaining an offender in the community is often preferable to removing him and then trying to bring him

back into the community supports the conviction that community services should be strengthened. While removal from family tensions and school and community pressures might enable a youth to deal with personal problems first, the same youth who is kept facing these tensions can be more willing to accept help to deal with these tensions. The incarcerated offender is no better off when released unless he is specifically helped to deal with these problems. It is a common observation that institutional experience is detrimental to many prisoners, seemingly has no effect on others, and has beneficial effect on others. To utilize the possible benefits from institutionalization, further understanding of what type of offender succeeds in prison and which may possibly be damaged from it is necessary.

The American Correctional Association has recently stated that there is a national trend toward community based treatment of criminals, especially at the juvenile level, and increasingly at the adult level, trying to rehabilitate instead of just removing the offenders to bastille-like prisons in the boondocks. They stressed that, as mentioned above, removing offenders to a far off place satisfies primarily the needs of the general population especially the vindictive or punitive needs of the victim and/or others who are affected by crime.<sup>37</sup> The knowledge that the one who has violated society's norms has been "sent away for a long time" in effect rewards the non-criminals' good behavior. The removal of someone from the community, including to mental hospitals and homes for the retarded, indicates inadequacy or fear of the community to deal with the problem. When the offender is removed from the community, one need not concern himself

anymore with the offender or his problems. By getting rid of him, the community can concentrate on matters which are more of an interest to its individual members. Advocates of the CTP concepts believe that the large number of services available in the community could help the offender if he were a community resident. These services include vocational rehabilitation and educational, medical and psychological services.

Community treatment (CT) generally refers to placing an offender under supervision within the community he resides in. In most cases, the offender can live at home. Restraints over the offender's life, such as where he may live, what he may do, or with whom he may associate can be imposed as in regular probation. Each charge can be regularly seen by his probation or parole officer and may be required to undergo some type of therapy, participate in a training course or in any number of ways adhering to some rehabilitation plan. When necessary and if available a halfway house or foster family can be utilized. Unfortunately, some needed programs are seldom used, due to the higher cost (as for halfway houses) and there is at times less than full commitment to treatment on the part of many officials.

Because the offender is worked with in the community setting the staff is sometimes able to work on the areas in which the offender is maladjusted that are more difficult to work on in a prison setting. The prison officials rarely are able to observe an offender in a situation which caused him to get into difficulty in the first place, and thus it is difficult to judge his probable adjustment to the community, except by evaluating his adjustment to the institution, which is admittedly a

different world. As noted above, it is not rare for an offender who has a superior adjustment in prison, taking advantage of many programs offered, almost immediately upon release to the community to involve himself in some type of difficulty. The pattern of repeatedly adjusting in prison but not adjusting in the community again, it is argued by advocates of the CT concept, illustrates the need to train an offender to adjust to the outside world. According to the CT concept, hope should be given in the community towards helping the offender control his own actions, adjusting to situations as they occur as part of the therapeutic road to a full community adjustment.

An important impediment to the offender's community adjustment is his lack of sellable skills. The fact that a prison record is often an impediment to finding a job is indicated in statistics that show the ex-offender unemployment rate in 1969 was five to twelve times as high as among the rest of the population, according to the National Clearing House on Offender Employment Restrictions.<sup>38</sup> While this comparison does not reflect just the handicap of a prison record in that offender employment rates should be compared with a comparable group, controlling for such factors as education, employment and skill level, it does reflect part of the problem of adjusting after incarceration.

The results some community treatment projects indicate is that recidivism, controlling for the type of offender, is essentially no different for the CTP group than for incarceration. Community treatment can ideally avoid some of the disadvantages of prison while, it is claimed, safely retaining the offender in the



community at a much lower expense, theoretically enabling rehabilitation to be concentrated upon. Thus, they argue, it is actually unnecessary to demonstrate that recidivism rates are lower in a CTP, but it is enough to demonstrate that they are at least the same as the prison rates. Community treatment also has a possible advantage in that experimentation and research can work at the heart of the dynamics of the development of criminal behavior.

A study conducted by the District of Columbia Department of Corrections claims the direct cost to the state for each lifetime criminal career of a typical offender was over \$31,000, ranging from around \$113,000 to \$168,000.<sup>39</sup> The projected lifetime cost to the state for a select twenty-five criminals was estimated at \$10 million. They concluded that reducing continued contact with the criminal justice system is the most effective way to lower this high cost. As a result of juvenile CTP programs, according to the California Correctional Commission, a savings of several million dollars in capital outlay needed to build detention facilities was realized. The treatment cost comparison was about \$5,900 per institutionalized offender compared to only \$2,300 per CTP offender. California concluded that because the CTP treatment is at least as effective as institutionalization treatment the real savings are probably substantially more. The results of California's first CTP were favorable enough that the CTP advocates convinced the California Youth Authority to begin operating five CTP programs with plans to open up several others.

A further development resulting from the CTP in California

was the Probation Subsidy Bill, which makes available a maximum payment of \$4,000 to counties within California for every juvenile or adult offender who is not committed to a state correctional institution who would normally have been incarcerated, according to his past criminal record. Forty-one of California's fifty-eight counties were, as of 1969, participating in the Subsidy Plan, representing 95% of the state's population. The reduction in the number of commitments for the first two years, it was claimed, was around 1,600, saving the state an estimated \$4.3 million.<sup>40</sup> The original California differential treatment facilities (part of the California CTP) are now being used as a base for training the employees of other probation departments, largely from California, (although the use of the training program is increasing outside of California) in the CTP concept.

A seldom looked at result of the CTP concept is that its utilization should leave fewer offenders in the state institutions, and of those left, a higher proportion are those more in need of more intensive assistance, according to the treatment model, and would more likely receive this assistance if the present institutional staff and available services were not significantly reduced.

Community treatment, especially that in lieu of incarceration elicits negative feelings in many community segments because it implies that "the offender is being let go scot-free without having to pay for his crime." Advocates of the treatment model retort with "Why is it necessary for an offender to pay for his crime?" Treatment model advocates feel this idea dates back to the "less civilized" concept of "if one does harm to others,

some harm must be done to him in return." If I were to knock someone's tooth out, my tooth in turn must be knocked out. While this may have been an effective deterrent in certain societies, especially in view of the background of war and brutality present in many early societies, advocates of treatment feel punitive punishment is no longer effective in western society. Few would argue, they say, that a person who, through negligence, damages the side of another person's car and severely injures him, should therefore himself experience a similar "accident" from the first victim.

In crimes of theft the traditional concept of paying back twice what was originally taken to the victim would not be functional. Most B&Es net under \$100 and the persons responsible for the vast majority of B&Es (up to 98%) are not apprehended. When the offender is apprehended, the sole punishment would usually be less than required for normal court costs alone. This system would probably actually give sanction to his criminal activities because the chances of getting caught are negligible and once he is caught the penalty is low.

In spite of the success of some projects, research on caseload size has demonstrated that reducing caseload alone effects little influence in reducing recidivism. Small case loads seem to make little difference in rehabilitation for many offenders. A study in Alameda County in California compared the outcome of probation for an experimental thirty-six unit caseload with a seventy-two unit control caseload and found no overall difference between the parole performance of the two groups. It should be kept in mind, though, that

intensive supervision probably increases the likelihood of the officer's awareness of any new offenses, and rates could differ because different departments use different criteria for violation. A comparison of any violations must be broken down into the type of offense committed and the circumstances of each offense, among other factors, before any comparisons can be made.

Another study, which was more intensive, compared minimum supervision in which the offender was required only to submit a monthly written report to the probation office, to intensive supervision in which weekly contact was required and an ideal fifty unit workload was maintained. Again, little difference in violation rates was found. When cases were randomly assigned to four different degrees of supervision, it was found that there was little difference between the four groups. The results concluded that "some offenders will succeed under supervision regardless of the type of supervision they are placed under, while others will violate no matter how much treatment they receive." With identification of each type of offender, officer-time could be allotted to give the most attention to those whose success depends on the presence of certain types and amounts of supervision. It was found that treatment should be individualized, and what is needed depends primarily upon the individual offender. Research of this type was partially responsible for the matching system later developed in California. A later study found that when intensive supervision was used, low risk probationers seldom violated, high risk

probationers continued to violate, and the middle risk cases compared with the previous year's middle risk cases performed distinctly better. This research probably demonstrated the ability of the department to classify offenders according to risk level more than the ability to determine levels of supervision necessary for various types of offenders. Determination of risk, if this can accurately be done, would help allot the needed resources to those offenders who can most benefit from the treatment available. A large number of offenders are of the low risk category and would be successful if they were on either a high or low supervision level caseload.

This research indicates that treatment and type of supervision should be based largely upon the individual needs, not on the particular crime apprehended for. Thus an individual who breaks into coin machines in laundromats may be much more incorrigible and is actually more of a threat to society than the offender who committed murder after an argument with his wife. By basing sentencing on the needs of the offender and less on the specific crime involved, the sentencing would become only a legal requirement to involve the offender in a therapeutic program designed to permanently change the offender's negative behavior. By focusing upon the individual, rehabilitation does not imply exclusion of the victim. As has been discussed, adjustment can be made in such a way that the primary goal is in redressing the wrongs committed to the victim, helping him maximally, not for the sake of punishment according to a set

of priorities which are more traditionally oriented than therapeutically oriented.

In the CTP of California, the success rates showed that certain types of youths did especially well under a given set of treatment conditions. As in education and in the behavioral sciences in general, it is increasingly being recognized that few principles can universally be applied to human behavior. There are always many contingencies which affect our behavior, producing wide differences in learning, which in turn affect rehabilitation. Rehabilitation includes learning new values, a new way of life, new orientations to previous stimuli, new sets of behavior, new perceptions of ones self and new perceptions of others. Increasingly, in education it is being recognized that no one method of teaching is superior for all students but that the most effective method of learning depends upon the individual's background, his perception of the teacher, his own individual cognitive style (which has to a limited extent been mapped in a system called Cognitive Style Mapping) and in his orientation towards the subject. Many of these individual traits are learned, and many are a constant part of the individual's environment. Many are considered innate, but most traits can be influenced to some extent by learning.

Community treatment, in the past, has been used largely with juveniles or adult misdemeanants. The Oakland County CTP was the first attempt to utilize this type of treatment for adult second felony offenders. It is thus necessary to do a complete research

study to fully evaluate the outcome of the various aspects of the Project, so that future projects can utilize the experiences learned from this pioneering project. This study was undertaken to lay the groundwork for future research and development of theory in the field of community treatment.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this review of the literature on the various projects that relate to the present study, the research done by the projects' own staff has been relied upon in preparing the summary because there are very few studies done by outsiders. When reviewing research done by insiders, outside researchers often conclude that many of the treatment programs "have not been rigorously evaluated." A summary by the National Clearing House for Mental Health Information (Rockville, Maryland, 1971), stated:

Assessments of effectiveness, where this has been attempted at all, frequently are not very useful--no control group is used, the groups are not comparable, or assignment is not random. Many descriptive studies merely report the respective judgements of staff or the observed changes in arrest patterns over the time of the project participants. This means that much of the 'community treatment' literature must be guardily interpreted; but is still useful in suggesting the variety of intervention alternatives which have been and which may be duplicated elsewhere.

Unfortunately, often researchers, and sometimes even publishers, have a vested interest in "selling" their project to other correctional authorities or to the community as a whole. Good research should have as its only goal the discovery of "what actually exists," and should not be undertaken to change, prove, or alter the ideas of anyone. While this ideal is seldom reached in the social sciences, correctional research often does not even attempt to approach this goal. While the



literature often sounds objective, greater familiarity with the project itself, which can be gained through interviewing individuals involved with the project, reveals a number of flaws and significant problems in the research and even the project itself. These flaws, if known, cause the researcher to place less credence in the written research reports.

The majority of projects in this section deal with juveniles convicted of misdemeanor offenses, and the alternative to CTP is a boys' training school or other type of live-in community placement. Most programs work extensively with the juvenile while he lives at home. Most of these projects differ from the current study as the current study deals with adults convicted of two or more felonies and all offenders were tried in adult courts. Many faced long-term incarceration.

#### Summary of Related Research

To date no research has been done directly on the CTP form of treatment for adult second felony offenders, but numerous research studies have been done on approaches that CTPs generally utilize. The main research is as follows:

1. The Saginaw Probation Demonstration Project utilized basic probation services for adults with one basic innovative technique: small caseloads, enabling the probation officer to spend more time with each case. The following results were reported (Dale, 1971):
  - a. Extensive probation services reduced the rate of expected recidivism, and
  - b. Cost a fraction of routine imprisonment (the 88

dispositions saved the State or Michigan one-half million dollars, and eliminated the building of a forty-two million dollar prison).

2. A similar project is the Probation Subsidy Program in California. While research has not yet progressed beyond a cursory examination of already routinely gathered statistics, what research has been done indicates recidivism is lower than the prison population. Under California's special probation program, the state pays a pro-rated fee to counties for each offender that is not sent to prison that normally would be. The up to four thousand dollars paid per offender is used for extensive counseling, psychological services, drug clinics, educational development, work training programs, general job counseling and placement, and other services deemed necessary for this minority of probationers, currently about seventeen thousand or ten percent of California's total probationers. As a result, the number of inmates in California prisons is the lowest since 1960 (19,000), with an estimated savings of 126 million dollars. Recidivism rates are felt to be lower than the rate for similar institutionalized offenders.
3. Volunteers In Probation was studied by the National Institute of Mental Health in an eighteen month study by administering psychological tests to the project population in Royal Oak and a comparable city. While there has been some valid criticism of this research, the results indicated that "seventy-seven percent of the Royal Oak group showed definitely improved social attitudes at the end of the test period compared to a regression of forty-eight percent in the comparable city." Only misdemeanor offenders were utilized. The project made available psychiatric and psychological services, counselors, untrained volunteer assistance, marriage and family counseling, employment counseling, and other services. These were obtained from individuals who volunteered their services.
4. Vernon Fox (1962) concluded that in utilizing group methods with criminal offenders, "group methods appear to work better than individual counseling among correctional clients" because in a group "the therapist is less threatening" and the effectiveness of treatment improves when the therapist's goals are sanctioned by an offender's peer group.
5. Bensing (1960) and others conclude that there is a high positive correlation between non-organized crime

and poor standards of living, large amounts of non-constructive leisure time, minority group status, low home stability, and lower income, occupational and educational levels. They conclude that improvement of these factors reduces recidivism.

### Volunteers on Probation

The use of volunteer probation officers in the United States goes back to 1841, when the judge of a Boston Municipal Court put an offender convicted of drunkenness under the care of a bootmaker, John Augustus. He served without pay and later worked as a volunteer counselor with numerous other misdemeanants. A few years later, a statewide probation service was established in all lower courts in Massachusetts. In the twentieth century, the practice of meaningful probation for misdemeanants was largely abandoned, partially because the bureaucratic structure of the court system was designed primarily to enforce the law and not help the offender. Only felons were placed under the supervision of paid probation officers, partly because the lower courts often did not have the financial means to support a probation department. Also their offenders are not as threatening as the higher courts'. It was not until 1960 that significant use of both probation and volunteers for misdemeanants was developed and promoted by Judge Leenhouts in Royal Oak, Michigan.

The rising rate of crime (especially the skyrocketing rate of youthful crime) and the realization that this is related to the growing number of emotionally disturbed young

persons throughout the country, has caused increased attention in the lower courts. Judge Leenhouts, cognizant of the helplessness that most small municipal courts had in dealing with first offenders, endeavored to develop a program that would enable the courts to more effectively deal with the problem. The Federal Bureau of Investigation found that recidivism rates of those under twenty in a study of 1,700 convicted offenders released from correctional care in 1963 were so high that 75% of the offenders were charged with one or more new crimes during the five year follow-up, from 1963 to 1968. Eight out of ten major crimes are committed by persons under twenty-five who have previously appeared in lower courts. This means that dealing effectively with the problem at the lower courts would, according to this study, effect a major reduction in serious crimes. The Royal Oak Court, like most lower courts, does not have the time to deal properly with the large number of minor offenders they are faced with, especially because the court process is only one of many bureaucratic departments in the large legal structure. Many offenders comment that they are very disappointed with the brevity and the seemingly indifference of the judge to their individual case. On an average day in a city of 100,000, a court may have from 100 to 200 traffic tickets and a daily docket of up to 500 to 600 cases.<sup>1</sup> Some courts resort to "cash register justice" in which those who want to plead guilty hold out their hands and plead guilty in mass, and then line up to pay an automatic

fine. Without a presentence investigation the judge knows almost nothing about the defendant except the charges, the comments by the arresting officer, and the boy's answer to his questioning. He has no way of knowing which answers are fabricated and which conform to the reality of the situation. Morris states the judge's situation this way:

The judge has a minute, two minutes to watch and listen and probe the boy's character. He must make up his mind in even shorter time, literally in seconds, when deciding the sentence. Time is pressing. Dozens of other defendants, lawyers, and arresting officers are waiting, and here is a young defendant-- perhaps frightened, perhaps ignorant but certainly in dire need of help. In such circumstances not even the wisest judge in the world can confidently determine what is best for the young offender and for society.<sup>2</sup>

The effect this has on the offender is often negative, resulting in a feeling of resentment. This happens even where the offender normally is an exemplary citizen, as in the case of traffic violations. The feeling is conveyed that the defendant is unimportant to both the court and society. In about 10% of the lower courts a probation department of some type has been set up. Most of these programs are limited in actual treatment administered, only requiring the offenders to report once a month by phone, mail or occasionally in person for one or two years, and each month complete a form requiring the offender to answer a short series of questions relative to new offenses, his past month's work record, current place of residence, etc. The caseload typically runs from 100 to 200 offenders.

One case Leenhouts faced, as related by Morris,<sup>3</sup> was an

eighteen year old boy charged with breaking into a sporting goods store (B&E). The boy was arrested wearing a new baseball cap and carrying a first baseman's glove that showed no signs of wear. The conversation between him and the judge, as related by Leenhouts, is as follows:

"You are charged with a serious offense, a felony," Leenhouts said. "Do you want a preliminary hearing before this court or go directly to a higher court?"

Jim looked down at the floor and mumbled that he was guilty.

"Where did you get the baseball glove?"

The boy was silent.

"Do you play baseball?" the Judge asked.

"I'm a first baseman," the boy said looking at the Judge and speaking up for the first time. "You see, I'm left handed and. . ."

"I see. Where are your parents?"

Jim looked down at the floor again. "I don't know. They--my mother left me with my grandmother six years ago, and she hasn't come back," then he looked up again, almost proudly, "she sends money whenever she can."<sup>4</sup>

This is, in many aspects, a typical example of a boy before the court. Raised in an environment laden with problems, possessing few skills, social or otherwise to overcome his many problems. While the offender typically tries to appear scornful and indifferent, this offender could not hide the fear that many really feel. The tragedy of his situation was more apparent than that of many offenders, but not any less real. Yet this boy was not stupid and there was a spark of

pride, according to Leenhouts, that could be developed into self-respect. What can a municipal court judge do to provide the needed help? Because his record was bad, and he was in possession of stolen goods, the charge could not be dismissed, but it was difficult to see how an adjudication would help the boy. The boy could not be put on probation as the court had no probation department. Actually there was only one thing the court, according to the present legal system, could do: bind the defendant over for trial in circuit court. The Judge felt that a change in the boy would require someone to show an interest in him, listen to him, and encourage him, so he could become a self-respecting citizen. But what had the Judge done to help him? Nothing. "I'll never forget that boy," Leenhouts said later. "I felt I might have been in his place and he in mine, except for my good luck in parents and his bad luck in parents." Later the Judge went to the jail to see the offender and found a frightened depressed boy who was glad to see the Judge. During a conversation of more than one hour, the boy talked about himself, about his mother, and his grandmother and their fatherless household. He told Leenhouts about his ambitions to be a baseball player, and about the only world he had found acceptance in--the neighborhood group which was frequently in trouble with the police.

The writer has seen hundreds of cases appear and reappear before the court, and has found that these observations are also true at the Circuit Court level. Most current approaches

are actually little more than a bureaucratic shuffling into a cursory treatment program that has little research support, reliable or otherwise. A good example at the Circuit Court level is the administration of a jail term to offenders who put on "the hard-core facade" and are more open about displaying their emotional feelings before the probation department and the judge. A jail term is seen to somehow help him. Comments similar to "we should give him a sixty day jail sentence, that'll teach him we mean business!" are often heard. A probation supervisor while doing research to determine the effectiveness of this approach, related to me that he found a total void in psychological, criminological and corrections literature on the effects of a short term jail sentence as part of a regular probation sentence.<sup>5</sup>

While there are a large number of general studies with many good observations in corrections on various treatment approaches, there is only a small body of research on specific treatment methodologies with a delineated type of offender. Thus, the judge had little research to guide him in developing a program for the Royal Oak Court. As the municipal court simply did not have the money to hire even one probation officer (about \$14,000 per year), it was decided that the only alternative would be to use volunteers. On April 15, 1960 the approval of the Michigan Corrections Commission was given to institute a new type of probation program utilizing eight volunteers, each of which would donate a maximum of five hours



per month to supervise a maximum of five probationers each. As the program gained momentum, a staff of over 350 volunteers, including twenty-five volunteer psychiatrists, ten volunteer psychologists, two staff psychiatrists, and five psychological and psychiatric clinics were recruited. Later expansion included an employment counselor, a women's division, a work detail, an alcoholics anonymous chapter, and even a retired person to do presentence investigations on most offenders. The needed financing came from volunteer contributions and a limited budget from the city of Royal Oak. The use of retired individuals who worked under the limits required to receive Social Security (\$100 per month or 60¢ per hour) enabled the program to save even more money.

At the core of this program was the utilization of the volunteer. In time a philosophy of the volunteer's unique contribution to correctional community treatment evolved. The approximately 125 community volunteers active at any one time during the Project served in a capacity much like a Big Brother for a number of probationers. The volunteers were selected by the staff and the Judge. The desirable qualities included sensitivity, warmth, dedication, concern and a sincere desire to do the job. Most of the volunteers were already involved in some phase of counseling, including public school counselors, doctors, attorneys, etc. The volunteer supplied a unique aid in correctional treatment: he should be foremost the offender's "friend" and companion, helping the offender

relate interpersonally. He was not to be an authoritarian figure. The Judge must fulfill this role, and the volunteer should be fairly nondirective. "If the probationer does not realize that he has done something wrong by the time he gets to the volunteer, it is doubtful that the volunteer can convince him."<sup>6</sup> If the volunteer feels that the probationer should be punished, this should be kept between the court and the volunteer. The court purposely remains aloof and punitive. Experience has shown that the court cannot deal informally and with compassion, and still function in its judicial role. At the same time, the volunteer cannot carry out his function of a friend and carry out a judicial role.

Some feeling for the relationship between the volunteer and the offender can be gleaned from the words of one volunteer:

Our first three meetings were difficult for him and difficult for me. Two different people, two different worlds, John couldn't see past today and the only thing that mattered was today's pleasures. He has a mother and a father, but it would appear that he was alone in society. He had no one with whom he could equate his own actions except his contemporaries. As I recall, our fourth meeting was one at which I told John how very difficult I was finding it to talk with him. I told him that he knew a lot of things about life that I didn't and that I would be interested in learning a little bit more about that side. At this point he seemed to open up and almost eagerly demonstrated the ease at which a young man can 'put on the make' on girls his own age and younger. This pleased John and he opened up even more, and from that point on we seemed to be able to communicate quite freely. . . John is now married, has a baby girl, has a job, and has three promotions, and when I saw John yesterday he told me he would be a foreman before the end of the month. . . If I am a good listening post and

sounding board for them, fine. . .I believe that this is an important part of the successful volunteer.<sup>7</sup>

All volunteers carefully studied a booklet, prepared by a volunteer psychologist, which explains what to expect and how to cope with the type of youngsters the court typically dealt with. The booklet also acquaints each volunteer with basic counseling concepts. An outline of those stressed follows:

1. Empathy - An attitude of attempting to put oneself in the offender's shoes, trying to imagine how the client must feel in his situation by imagining how you would feel if you were in his situation.
2. Concentrate on the emotions - By trying to understand the underlying feelings, not being overly concerned with the actual words. Words are used to convey ideas, many of which are emotionally laden. It isn't always what is said, but how it is said that is important. We should listen for feelings so we can ascertain what is really important to the client.
3. The qualifications of the counselor - The single most important qualification is to be a genuine human being, possessing the qualities of honesty, integrity, fairness, objectivity, kindness, and understanding. Endeavoring to develop and utilize these qualities in all areas is important in establishing an influential relationship with the client.
4. Show respect for the client - Respect his individuality and his right as another human being. To view him with dignity, even though he is in trouble and possesses few of the attributes which are deemed socially desirable is important in developing proper rapport. Attitudes of prejudice, provincialism, and haughtiness must be removed. If you dislike a client, you must endeavor to resolve this with yourself. If you are not able to, it is best not to work with him.
5. Identification - Your effectiveness will depend on the utilization of the psychological concept of identification or a tendency for the client to pattern his own behavior after the counselor's. He will to some extent assume mannerisms, ways of thinking, and

the value system of the counselor if a good relationship is established.

6. Advice - Advice should not be given unless the problem is fully understood, particularly from the client's point of view. Advice can be given in tactful or indirect ways, for example, by relating your own or other's experiences, by suggesting alternative behavior and by endeavoring to sympathize with the client, giving advice from his point of view. The counselor must keenly be aware of the background of the offender in giving advice. Thus, the giving of advice should be withheld until the volunteer has had sufficient experience with working with offenders, and then only when he is on good terms with the probationer.
7. Listening and defining the problem - One of the most important techniques employed is listening in spite of the tendency to want to offer advice. The tendency to pass judgement and moralize should be controlled. An effective technique is to carefully listen and then redefine the problem so the offender is able to clearly see the situation and evaluate it using his own value system. Utilizing Carl Rogers' technique has been very helpful in establishing rapport between the volunteers and the probationers.
8. The client must work with you - Since the client has originally performed the anti-social act, you must work with the client in changing this. Taking over and doing things for him may do more harm than good. Concentrate on the disturbances of the individual rather than individual behavior. This is necessary because antisocial activities are an indication of a disturbed personality. Endeavor to obtain an understanding of the client's potential and how you can help him improve his total adjustment.
9. Set up realistic goals - It is important that the volunteers understand the clients' situations, his capabilities and inadequacies. Suggestions that he finish school and go on to trade school may simply not be realistic in view of a low IQ, total lack of basic skills, or a very negative attitude towards school. Suggestions should involve tentative goals or avenues of change, not affirmative commands.
10. Use simple language - Since the educational and cultural level of the offender is apt to be considerably below average, it is important that communication be in

simple, non-technical language, no matter how astute or correct the observation or how well you are able to formulate the problem. The counselor should endeavor to be familiar with the argot of the offender so he is able to understand the meaning of what the offender says. If the volunteer does not know, he should feel free to ask the offender. His asking may be viewed by the offender as a compliment. Because clients are apt to come from a different socioeconomic class, the volunteers should be careful that he does not try to foist his middle-class value system on the offender unless the values are directly instrumental in improving the offender's adjustment to society.

Experience has shown that the best sponsors are adults who had a difficult time growing up, but were successfully helped by an older person. This has been found to be true in most areas of probation, even in narcotic and alcoholic counseling. The counselor serves as an example to the offender, and the offender is able to identify with the counselor because the counselor has experienced much the same difficulty the offender is now experiencing.

It is stressed that the volunteer say with his heart, "You are important. I will listen to you. Your problems are important and you are worthy of my time." The importance of listening in the rehabilitation was thoroughly stressed in the training programs. That this can be effective was summed up by one offender when he said, "You have enhanced my dignity by listening to me."

A case history by one volunteer shows the effectiveness of this technique. The volunteer described the offender as a short, skinny, tough, dirty kid with a fugitive look in his eyes. At the first meeting the offender immediately began

testing the sponsor to see what he could get away with, speaking in a very tough and profane way. The volunteer counteracted in a firm but accepting manner, letting the offender ramble on as long as he pleased. Later he was told that his sponsor had refused to read his file because he did not want to know anything about his past record. At the next meeting the offender was less hostile, asking his sponsor if it were true that he had refused to read the file. The sponsor replied that he was not interested in the offender's past, but was "interested in you and your present." This helped the offender loosen up and talk more freely and less profanely, even later discussing his past actions. He could talk about himself and the lawlessness of the gang he ran with from a detached point of view, even criticizing his past values. He usually left the office with a smile and a word of thanks. The sponsor stated, "He obviously felt better, but I felt worse. I hadn't really done a thing except listen and occasionally nod my head or mutter an encouraging word." The sponsor reinforced the offender's negative comments about his past criminal behavior as well as positive values. Thus, knowingly or unknowingly, selective reinforcement caused the offender to change his conversation in an effort to gain the approval of the volunteer whom he has come to respect.

Using volunteers could create some conflicts with regular probation officers. Professional probation officers sometimes regard volunteers as unqualified interloopers, meddlers who threaten their own job security. The volunteer program purposely

gave the volunteer a role which was not filled by a professional, and unlikely would be in the future. The volunteers were to work with the professionals providing additional services, services the professionals normally would not provide. Professionals who objected to volunteers possibly are inefficient and insecure in their own role. Placing the volunteer in a position requiring his reliance upon the professional actually gives the professional the added status of being in a supervisory capacity.

The Project found that the volunteer probation program could not operate efficiently without professional direction, and the total value of the services administered by the professional, probationer, and the volunteer team, far exceeded that which could be administered by a professional alone. Communities using volunteers are more inclined to hire more professionals, as hiring each professional means the program could utilize a larger dollar amount of volunteer resources. Most small cities have little difficulty obtaining volunteers. Once the volunteer movement got started there are usually hundreds of individuals who are anxious to contribute their time, energy, money, and efforts towards helping boys in trouble.

#### The Presentence Investigation

An important aspect of this program, required in most higher level courts but which is rarely implemented in lower level courts, is the presentence investigation (PSI). This

investigation by a probation officer or some other court officer on the offender's background and the present offense gives the judge a better basis on which to sentence.

The PSI done in the Royal Oak Court is rather extensive compared to that done by the few lower courts that do a PSI. Usually, the offender's parents, his wife, friends, school teachers, and the police or others felt helpful are interviewed. Traffic and criminal records are consulted, and the high school counselor is routinely contacted. The PSI includes evaluations by volunteer psychiatrists, especially in the case of drinking, assault, or sexual offenses. Psychological testing is utilized if there are indications that it is necessary. The PSI also contains a recommendation by the probation officer and the psychologist to aid in sentencing. This has the effect of transferring the focus of the court process from the interests of society to both the offender and society. In addition to developing a treatment program, the PSI serves to select the most appropriate probation officer and volunteer sponsor. With this factual background on each defendant, the judge can take into consideration the offender's physical, mental, and emotional needs, and sentence to rehabilitate, using punishment only if punishment is functional towards rehabilitation.

Many offenders feel they may be able to influence the probation officer's sentencing recommendation, and in many cases they can. The individual doing the PSI is not bound by a set of rules or judicial law, but is able to recommend



almost any sentence he feels appropriate depending on the charges. Often he conveys to the offender the feeling that "If you can prove to me that you can make it in this program, I'll do my best to make sure that you get into it--but we have to work together." Thus, in harmony with the probation officer's purpose, the probation officer is able to work with the offender in developing socially acceptable goals for him. This helps the offender look at the court more objectively, viewing his offense more in terms of his relationship to society, as opposed to viewing the court as a bothersome negative influence from "big brother," infringing upon him for much the same reasons he infringes upon others. The PSI indicates that over half of all offenders could be helped by some medical, training, or therapy program in addition to being assigned to a volunteer sponsor.

Experienced counselors were hired, each working with a caseload of approximately eight to ten probationers for a total of twenty-five hours a month to enable the counselors to have adequate time to spend with each probationer. When a probationer needed additional in-depth counseling, an associate staff counselor was available. A total of twenty-five professionally trained counselors volunteered to spend about five hours a month with a caseload of not more than one or two probationers.

While the judge does not have the time to spend with the offender, the volunteers and professional staff do. Contact with the court, via the probation officer, is usually favorable

for the offender and is instrumental in developing a more positive attitude towards the entire judicial system. Here is an individual who is willing to listen to the offender's side of the story, and can easily and appropriately empathize with the offender's problems and background.

### The Work Detail

One of the most widespread problems encountered by the court is the extremely poor work records most offenders have; the majority were almost totally without job skills. One program that has been very successful in teaching the offenders the responsibility and initiative required for occupational success was the Work Detail. This complex program was instituted in Royal Oak in 1965. The program operated under the assumption that punishment can, in some cases, serve as a useful means of rehabilitation if the punishment encourages future activities which are conducive to non-involvement in criminal activity. The Work Detail was psychologically designed to aid the offender to not only change his attitude about work, but also to punish him in such a way that he accepts the punishment as legitimate, and yet does not have a criminal record to hinder him later on.

The program works as follows: A misdemeanant that either pleads guilty or is found guilty is placed on a delayed sentence, pending the PSI. If the investigator recommends the Work Detail, the judge may consider the defendant as a candidate. The offender must have either no record or a minor record, and there must be

some expression of parental concern that the offender be accepted. If his school or job record indicates that he has the ability to succeed in this type of program, he is usually recommended and given an application. The court stresses that it has no legal right to put anyone on the Work Detail, but can give the defendant the opportunity to earn a dismissal while his case is given a delayed sentence, a legal procedure that courts sometimes use. Each work crew, made up of five probationers and one supervisor, worked on Saturdays for at least one month. The city government purchased an insurance policy to cover any work related injuries. The minimum number of Saturdays worked was four, the maximum twenty-four, depending upon the seriousness of the offense. In addition to paying all court costs and restitution, the offender had to pay \$12.00 for each Saturday worked to cover insurance, administration, supervision, etc.

This program costs the city nothing because the \$48.00 monthly fee was used to pay regular city employees overtime to work on Saturday to supervise the work crew. Work is done that regular city workers do not normally do, such as cleaning parks, painting city property, repairing sidewalks, removing snow or working on various beautification projects. Thus, there is no threat to city employees. At the end of the first year these offenders gave over \$10,000 worth of labor to the city, working over 2,500 hours performing work that ordinarily would not have been done. Of the 163 assigned, only

one committed a second violation while under the program and only two were removed from the program because of lack of cooperation. Of the 350 misdemeanants that had been found eligible for the work program, 340 or 97% applied, and all who applied were accepted. Leenhouts' evaluation points out that:

This program shows that they do care and they are willing to work hard to avoid a record. They stick with it, too. In the first two years 98.2% successfully completed their terms of probation.

A second follow-up study involving 620 misdemeanants showed that the record of successful completions remained very close to 98%.

It is evident that the city also benefited from the program, as it is estimated that an average of \$70-75 thousand dollars worth of services were obtained each year because of the program.<sup>9</sup> This is an important point in that very rarely is the community reimbursed in any way from convicted offenders; often even the victim is not compensated for his loss. Requiring the offender to reimburse society as a means of punishment "enables the probationer to come into the court with dignity, pride, and self-respect. I paid for my crime and now you can't punish me any more." The court stressed that "you earned this dismissal, you can be proud of yourself. You have every right to be proud of what you have accomplished."<sup>10</sup>

If the defendant performed his work satisfactorily, abided by the regulations of the probation department and avoided

further criminal convictions, upon the recommendation of the Probation Department the case was dismissed and a permanent court record avoided.

While offenders with records can get jobs and promotions, a record, nonetheless, serves as an impediment towards obtaining satisfying work. An offender is required, if he is asked about his past record, to honestly state that he has a police record and the nature of the offense. Many offenders are able to falsify this information and get away with it. If it is investigated (which it seldom is) or if an employer wishes to fire an employee because of a conflict of interest, he is easily and legally able to if he is able to find a police record which was not listed by the employee on the application form. Most employment applications specify that falsification on the application is sufficient grounds for dismissal.

When evaluating the effectiveness of this program, it must be realized that only the misdemeanants who had a better record and background were recommended for this program. Quite possibly a large percentage of those who were recommended would have succeeded on probation without the program. In order to fully assess the effects of the program, it is necessary to utilize a control group, randomly assigning 50% of those who applied and were accepted into a control group which receives regular probation and putting the other 50% into the work detail. A follow-up comparison of the two groups would ascertain the effect of the work program alone. The follow-up information

could include psychological testing and comparisons of recidivism. A three or four year follow-up study, comparing work records, adjustment in the community, and new offenses is necessary to know the long-range effect of the work program.

### Employment Counseling

A retired citizen, formerly with the Michigan Employment Security Commission, directed the employment counseling service. He tried to help each probationer identify his talents, using aptitude tests and personal counseling, then giving information on how to go about getting a job. When working with offenders, one is often amazed at the lack of not only work skills, but even skills needed to find a job or fill out an application. Training in improving manners, attitude, filling out employment forms, and presenting themselves in such a way as to appear to be a desirable potential employee has been a prime task of the Project. Because a large number of volunteers were affiliated with the Project, many of whom were businessmen in the community, a large number of leads were available in obtaining employment. In many cases the department knew of an employer who had a definite need which the probationer could fill. No research was done on the specific contributions the employment program made in reducing recidivism, but increased income and community responsibility were felt to be highly instrumental in the low recidivist rate the court obtained.

### Alcohol Groups

The vast majority of offenders were convicted of offenses involving the use of alcohol. It was therefore felt important to develop a chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous that was affiliated with the court. A citizen who was once a highly successful salesman, but because of heavy drinking lost a number of jobs, and was, after many years as an alcoholic, finally successful in overcoming his liquor problem through the help of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), was recruited. His services were used to start a chapter of AA affiliated with the court. The success ratio of the court chapter was found to be close to the success ratio of AAs throughout the country. After completing fifteen months in the program, most offenders were discharged from probation. If the probationer had made sufficient progress, he was given a certificate of appreciation, which means a lot to some former alcoholics. About half of the referrals were reasonably successful resulting in a success rate considerably higher than experienced by most courts without the use of AA programs.<sup>11</sup>

### The Women's Division

Even though less than 5% of the total caseload were females, in the fall of 1963 it seemed advantageous to the Project director to add a women's division. A retired school counselor volunteered her services in assisting some ten women in the community to develop a program. One of the most important treatments developed was instituted for younger women probationers--

a charm school. It was found that few of the girls on probation had learned much about social graces. They were inclined to dress and act in a way that they believed was most agreeable to the boys who dated them. As a result, they were not well accepted in the community as a whole due to "overdoing almost everything from make-up to mini-skirts." The first charm school had a class of fifteen female misdemeanants. The class members were recruited by telling qualified girls that they made such good progress with the volunteer sponsors that they had been rewarded by free admission to a "special charm school." The course was eight weeks long and met from 1:00 to 4:00 p.m. every Sunday in a room provided by a church. The director, a high school counselor, said that "The probationers really had no woman image. They did what the boys wanted. We tried to give them self-respect." Much of the discussion and instruction centered on what role a woman should have in society. Instruction was given on what kind of clothes to wear, how to use make-up effectively, how to walk, sit, serve a meal, entertain, etc. The group also served as a rap session in much the same way that the group counseling for the males did. The women also had available employment counseling, psychological services, the work detail, etc., but the women's division enabled the court to take care of special problems that were unique to women probationers.

The women sponsors, in reaching out to help female offenders, encouraged development of mutual respect. One young woman who



was on probation for some time was making slow progress. The volunteer encouraged the offender to call her any time, day or night, if she needed help. One morning at 2:00 a.m. the offender called the volunteer and told her that her baby was very sick and that she was frightened. Since the offender did not have money for a doctor or transportation, the volunteer drove her to the hospital and took care of the doctor's expenses. The baby was seriously ill, but survived, probably because treatment was rendered in time. The sponsor noticed that the girl's whole attitude changed after this experience. The probationer's identification with her was now positive, and transfer was evident in the probationer's behavior changes.

#### Drug Programs

Drug abuse was a serious problem among most misdemeanants. Although most offenses involving misuse of narcotics are felonies, many young misdemeanants appeared in lower courts on charges related to marijuana and hallucinatory drugs. Halfway houses where narcotic users can live under supervision while learning to live without narcotics, were available to the court, as were medical and psychological services and several community drug programs. A large effort was made to solve the problems that caused the offenders to misuse drugs. Instead of using punitive methods to stop an offender from utilizing drugs, the reasons behind individual drug use was sought, and ways in which to deal with these problems were explored. Occasionally, it was

necessary to commit the individual to a hospital where the needed treatment was available. Once the medical problem was under control, the offender could utilize the services of the volunteer.

### Trade Programs

The problem of finding work was compounded in that very few offenders were high school graduates. Having done poorly in school, most offenders dropped out of high school at around the ninth grade. Few had much job training and few had any job skills. Even when they did try to work, it was often not easy for them to catch on. The Michigan Employment Security Commission tested probationers looking for jobs, endeavoring to place them directly into either a job or an on-the-job training program. The Division of Vocational Rehabilitation (DVR) was often utilized for both testing and training. While D.V.R.'s services are available to all of the community who qualify, many offenders are not aware of these services. Even if they were, it was usually difficult to persuade them to avail themselves of the services without some court persuasion. Utilizing delayed sentences and the social persuasion of the volunteer worker, many offenders were involved in D.V.R. programs, some doing quite well. The volunteer worker kept in close touch with the offender to insure that he completed any programs he started.

D.V.R. paid a part-time psychiatrist to conduct personality adjustment groups for the court's program. Those eligible for

the groups were youngsters who were employable in all ways except for adjustment patterns which impede employment opportunities. The purpose of the sessions was to help them become employable and tax-paying citizens (which is the reason D.V.R. was set up). The training available from D.V.R. included sending the offender to a trade school, community college, or a regular four year university if the offender qualified. D.V.R. paid most of the expenses during training, including, if necessary, room and board. This program gave over three thousand dollars to the court's probationers and has been a great asset in dealing with the employment problem among offenders. If it were not for the Project, few offenders would have availed themselves to the opportunities that D.V.R. offers.

#### Group Psychotherapy

Group psychotherapy was developed for use with Project offenders by Dr. Gordon Crandall, a psychiatrist. The groups were made up of eight to ten misdemeanants and met one evening each week. The offenders were selected on the recommendations of the psychiatrist. They were, for the most part, guilty of violent offenses, and had a problem that was felt to be amenable by group therapy. The first six weeks were utilized primarily to "blow off steam." Talk was largely confined to expressions of hostility towards society (and all authority). The therapist utilized a non-directive approach, challenging irrational statements such as "all cops are crooks

and sadists" with "Well, maybe so, but maybe not." Statements like these were usually challenged by other members, and, in this particular case, a boy who had been befriended by a policeman endeavored to modify the original statement. When the correction comes from the group, it is seen as more valuable by the group. The therapist encourages the members to examine their own attitudes and actions, using the principle of reality testing to encourage the offenders to examine their own situation, set of values and beliefs. The recidivism rates of the group members dropped to less than 3% over the three year period. The group leader stressed that by expressing ones feelings of aggression and still reasoning on these feelings, statements made by ones peers often forced offenders to modify their statements and adopt a much more functional view in orientating themselves to society.

The court also worked with local schools to develop a school program. Because about 10% of the volunteer sponsors were school employees, the court had the pull needed to enroll several probationers in adult educational programs. When a school is unable to effectively deal with a student, it is typically forced to expel him. The court, though, can supply the discipline that the school does not have. A number of youngsters who were expelled from school and later appeared in the court were able to effectively re-enter the school and satisfactorily complete programs due to the structure and legal guidance given by the court. The public schools' adult education

program was so effective that the court never found it necessary to start its own adult education classes.

### Psychological Services

The psychiatric and psychological services available included a complete evaluation and individual treatment by a volunteer psychiatrist or a partially paid part-time staff member. Individual therapy was also available on a private basis. The fee was determined on the basis of the probationer's ability to pay. Group therapy, conducted by the staff psychiatrist at no cost to the probationer, was also available. Approximately eighty-five probationers were in treatment with a psychiatrist at any given time. Referrals were also made to one of the thirty local private psychiatrists who cooperated with the program.

### Marriage Counseling

One of the chief counselors, a certified marriage counselor, worked solely with the discordant young families that appeared before the court. Marriage strife was an important factor in many offenses. Marriage counseling lasted from six to eight months, and required a great deal of frank discussion of the many marriage problems, including sex problems, the dynamics of psychosocial behavior, healthy and unhealthy psychosexual development, and adjustment which required an understanding of male and female ego needs to reduce conflict. Participation was expected from both parties and mutual agreement to accept

marriage counseling from the court was required before counseling began.

#### Alcohol-Drug Information School

The use of alcohol and drugs is one of the most frequent direct or indirect causes of criminal offenses, especially in the lower courts. The increasing popularity of the use of drugs in the late 60s resulted in large numbers of teenagers appearing before the court. To cope with this problem, an alcohol-drug information school specifically designed to deal with these problems was established. The purpose of this school was to instill in the young person practical insight and realistic concepts about the short and long range effects of the use and abuse of both alcohol and other types of drugs. Attendance at the school could be enforced as a term of probation. A \$15.00 tuition fee was charged to pay for films, a text book, and guest speakers which included medical doctors, psychiatrists and members of AA. At the start of the first lesson, a probationer was given a test which was self-graded so that only he knew his score, which was usually quite low. The stress on understanding with a lack of moralizing and condemning were felt to be instrumental for the low failure rate. Out of a total of 505 students in the program, only six appeared before the court on a drinking charge during the follow-up period, a failure rate of only 1%.

#### The Research Study

Many of the concepts used to develop this program (and many

other correctional programs) are not supported by scientific research, but are supported largely by tradition, intuition, and other nonscientific methods of knowledge. In an effort to determine the effectiveness of this program, a grant was obtained from the National Institute of Mental Health to statistically measure possible differences between the Project and a comparison court to determine whether citizen participation is effective in reducing the recidivist rate. A court was selected which was somewhat comparable to Royal Oak: the annual budget of both was about \$17,000 and the crime rates were similar. The comparison court, during the study, had only one probation officer and some secretarial help, whereas the Royal Oak Court had six full-time probation department administrators and some five hundred volunteers providing services costing an estimated \$250,000 per year. The study used a pre-post-test with the experimental and control groups plus comparison of recidivism rates, work records, etc. As extensive use of community volunteers was non-existent prior to the inception of the Royal Oak Program, the research developers did not have any studies to fall back on for methodology. Even the use of probation in the lower courts is extremely limited, and no precedence could be located here either.

The sample was limited to white males since less than 5% of the total caseload was female. The racial makeup of both cities was predominantly white and the age range was from seventeen to twenty-five. The study included all 119 misdemeanant

appearing before the Royal Oak Court during a six month period beginning in October, 1965, and all 102 misdemeanants appearing in the comparison court during the same period of time. In order to control for normal changes with age, a third group consisting of eighty-seven eleventh grade Royal Oak high school students was selected.

Before being tested, all subjects completed a questionnaire about their education, religion, social participation, police record, and other information. The initial descriptive characteristics of the three groups are shown in Table I.

TABLE I

Initial Descriptive Characteristics of the Three Study Groups

	Royal Oak Court	Comparison Court	High Schools
Group Means:	N = 119	102	87
Subject's age in years	18.6	19.4	16.2
Father's age in years	48.5	51.0	46.7
Mother's age in years	45.1	47.5	43.7
Father's education, grade level	11.6	10.8	12.5
Mother's education, grade level	11.5	11.3	12.4
Father's occupational class*	13.0	14.3	10.9
Subject's highest grade completed	10.8	11.1	10.0
No. of grade failures (no. of cases)	47 (39%)	33 (32%)	8 (9%)
Wonderlic percentile rating	50.0	56.6	57.3
No. of cases with previous convictions	51 (42.9%)	39 (38.2%)	----

\*Class rating according to Hollingshead and Radlich.

Both court groups were classified as lower middle class on the Hollingshead and Radlich (1958) index of social position (see table 2), while the high school control group was classified at the lower end of the middle class range.



The court found character disorders, with personal and social conflicts were predominant features of most offenders. The test battery was designed to measure these and other factors which were seen to predispose an individual to criminal behavior. The first test administered was the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, which measures a variety of personality factors. The rest of the test battery consisted of the following tests, selected to inventory social and personal characteristics, intelligence level, and academic abilities.

1. Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory containing 75 true and false statements to determine the specific areas of hostility: (a) verbal hostility; (b) irritability; (c) guilt; (d) assault; (e) indirect hostilities; (f) suspicion; (g) resentment; (h) negativism; (i) total hostility.
2. W.W. Cook Hostility Scale utilizing 50 true and false items to measure general hostility.
3. Edwards Social Desirability Scale composed of 39 true and false items measuring the need to obtain approval by identifying with cultural modes of behavior.
4. Marlo-Crowne Social Desirabilities Scale utilizing 33 true and false items measuring attitudes which are considered desirable in middle class society.
5. Frank Barron Ego Strength Scale measures the individual's adaptability and resourcefulness. This scale is also useful in predicting responsiveness to psychotherapy. Contains 68 true and false items.
6. J.A. Taylor Personality Scale of Manifest Anxiety 50 true and false items used to measure individual's levels of anxiety.
7. Welsch Factor Dimensions of Anxiety and Repression composed of an anxiety scale utilizing 38 true and false items, and a repression scale of 40 items. The scales measure the anxiety level and the level of denial of innate emotionality.

8. H.G. Gough Socio Economic Status Scale based on the individual's need to identify with the cultural hierarchy. Uses the principle that social status is an important variable in determining ones behavior. Composed of 34 true and false items.
9. W.W. Cook Phasisaic-Virtue Scale attempts to reveal the individual who tends to be preoccupied with morality and the extent the individual is bothered with tension and/or fear as a result of his morality preconceptions.
10. Wonderlick Personel Test measures mental ability levels in the following areas: arithmetic, analogies, analyses of geometric designs, proper interpretation, definition, judgement, spacial relations, and other general intelligence measures. A timed test of 50 items.

The Royal Oak court group at the start of the study presented a significantly greater initial pathology than the control groups on several scales. They were higher in schizophrenic and compulsive behavior, tending to be more impulsive and self critical. Because the Royal Oak group showed more instability, it should have posed greater treatment problems than the comparison court. Retesting showed that the Royal Oak group showed significantly greater declines in total hostility, negativism, and antisocial attitudes. According to the anxiety manifest scale, the Royal Oak group was increasingly more concerned with their relationships with other people. A high score is a good indication of succeeding on probation because increased anxiety indicates a greater concern for oneself and ones future. More of ones actions are part of long-term acceptable goals.

The Royal Oak group also showed a statistically significant decline in hostility, acting out, and other common criminal

behavior pathology.

The table below shows the number of cases and the percentage lost from each group. The armed services claimed most of the subjects lost and the remainder were either violated and sent to prison (six cases), or were deceased (three cases). A few cases left the court's jurisdiction.

TABLE II

Comparative Pre and Post Probation Data  
on Total Number of Study Subjects

	<u>Evaluation I Number of Individuals</u>	<u>Evaluation II Number of Individuals</u>	<u>Number of Individuals Lost</u>	<u>Percentage Loss</u>
Royal Oak Court	122	92	30	25
Comparison Court	102	82	20	20
High School Students	87	74	13	15

The following table presents all the descriptive data, adjusting for cases lost.

TABLE III

Social Data

Comparative descriptive characteristics of all three groups at the start and end of the study, correcting for lost cases. Except for annual income, all data are in percentages:

	<u>Royal Oak</u>		<u>Comparison Court</u>		<u>High Schools</u>	
N =	92		82		74	
	<u>Start</u>	<u>End</u>	<u>Start</u>	<u>End</u>	<u>Start</u>	<u>End</u>
Belongs to a social group	26	25	33	18	36	47
Identifies with some religion	94	84	90	82	89	84
Attends a church	47	46	72	51	77	69

TABLE III (con'd)

	<u>Start</u>	<u>End</u>	<u>Start</u>	<u>End</u>	<u>Start</u>	<u>End</u>
High school dropout	40	45	33	37	-	-
Completed H.S. before study	30	-	57	-	-	-
Completed H.S. during study	-	25	-	6	-	100
Total H.S. graduates (end of study)		55	-	64	-	100
Claims a health problem	16	13	10	11	5	5
Uses alcohol	40	59	46	56	23	28
Gambles	15	32	13	20	22	39
Owens a car	66	81	43	80	7	40
Has a savings account	42	68	38	56	78	80
Has some indebtedness	53	64	32	60	3	7
Subject's annual income	\$2780	\$4270	\$2380	\$3380	\$420	\$660
Presently employed full time	53	81	48	62	-	14
Presently unemployed	26	11	39	32	-	-
No. of previous convictions	45	-	39	-	-	-
New offenses during study period	-	32	-	46	-	10

The Royal Oak group showed little change in group belongingness while the comparison court had a considerable decrease and the high school group showed a significant increase, from 36.4 to 47.3. As used here a social group is a formal or informal set of individuals who meet for some socially accepted purpose. Belonging to an accepted social group is considered positive because involvement in social relationships and beneficial activities works against criminal involvement. Most of the interest group members possess socially desirable attitudes, discouraging criminal behavior and encouraging neutral or beneficial behavior.

A large number of each group identified with some religion. The use of a high school control group was a wise decision, as the process of becoming eighteen months older appears to have had several effects on the subjects in all groups, irrespective of their probation status. Church attendance is regarded by

the court as a positive factor because of the church's moral instruction and church association which generally does not involve those heavily involved in antisocial behavior. The decrease in church attendance in the Royal Oak court group was rather slight, from 47% to 46%, but the decrease in the comparison court was substantial, 72% to 51%, and the high school comparison group had a medium decrease, 77% to 69%. Evidently other positive social groups sometimes replaced the church after the student graduated from school.

Twenty-five percent of the Royal Oak group completed high school during the study compared to only 6% of the comparison court. A larger percentage of the comparison group had already completed high school at the start of the study (57% compared to 30%), but a larger percentage of the Royal Oak group should have graduated from high school due to, as a group, being older. The researchers concluded that the extensive probation services in this study did not significantly influence the Royal Oak group to complete high school, although comparisons would be easier to make if the groups were more nearly alike in age and in the number of high school dropouts at the beginning of the study.

The Royal Oak court group was able to take care of a larger percentage of its groups' health problems. The high school control group remained at the same level of reported health problems and the comparison group increased, but the Royal Oak court group decreased, indicating the medical services

were effective. An unexplained phenomena was that the use of alcohol increased more among the Royal Oak group than among both the comparison court and the high school group. This could be due to more contact, resulting in more awareness of use, or a real increase for Royal Oak. As expected, the use of alcohol was twice as high among both the Royal Oak and the comparison group compared to the high school group. Gambling more than doubled among the Royal Oak group as it did among the high school group, less than doubling among the comparison group. Using the high school group as a model, increased gambling was viewed as an indication of social acceptance and a lower predisposition towards crime. Automobile ownership, sometimes seen as a negative factor, was significantly greater among the Royal Oak group at the start of this study, but decreased proportionately to about the same level as the comparison group, even though the percentage of increase was not nearly as great. The high school group had a significantly lower number of car owners at first, but after graduation the number increased over six times.

Indebtedness among the Royal Oak group, while originally greater, did not increase as much as the comparison group. The employment statistics show that a significantly greater number of the Royal Oak group were employed full-time towards the end of the study. Employment is a positive factor if the offender is not in school. The high school group's level was rather low because most were full-time students during the

study and were not able to carry a full-time job; at the end of the study only 14% were employed full-time. The unemployed rate was only 20% for the Royal Oak group at the end of the study, compared to 32% for the comparison court.

The following is a table of the various treatment techniques utilized in the Royal Oak court group, the number of cases involved in each specific technique, and the percentage in each treatment compared to the total number of cases in the study.

TABLE IV  
Royal Oak Court Treatment Techniques  
Showing Type of Program and Frequency of Use

N = 92

<u>Treatment Techniques</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Percent of Total N</u>
Regular probation	36	39
Term of adjournment	68	74
Work detail	65	71
Chief counselors	47	51
Volunteer sponsors	44	48
Administrator	79	86
Group therapy	16	17
Psychiatric evaluation	14	15
Private psychiatric treatment	5	5
Alcoholics Anonymous	6	7
Psychiatric hospital	3	3
Division of Vocational Rehabilitation	4	4
Employment assistance	2	2
Fine	34	37
Jail	21	23
Drivers school	18	20
Suspended license	14	15
Restitution	4	4
Additional time on work detail	2	2
County probation	1	1

Adjournment was used in 74% of the total cases. Administrative probation workers were used in 86% of the cases, and volunteer sponsors were used in 48% of all cases. Work detail was used

in 71% of the cases and vocational rehabilitation, employment assistance, alcoholics anonymous, psychiatric treatment each were under 7%.

The recidivist rate of those who used only volunteer services was only 8%, a lower rate than when both professional and volunteer services were utilized (29%). The highest recidivist rate was found where professional services only were utilized (43%). Ostensibly, this may indicate that volunteer services are very helpful and "professional services only" are the least helpful technique. Those offenders who utilized "professional services only" were more serious cases, having a higher propensity to recidivate according to the judgement of the probation department, thus requiring more extensive professional services and showing, not unexpectedly, a higher rate of recidivism. Offenders utilizing only volunteer services were originally better adjusted and as a result had a lower rate of recidivism. A probationer is classified as a recidivate when he has a new legal conviction for a crime committed during the study period that results in a fine, jail, or prison term. The total cases that recidivated in Royal Oak was 23% compared with 46% for the control group and 9% for the high school group. These rates counted all known offenses committed. The records are not complete because many agencies do not keep records of misdemeanors; therefore, each department had to rely, to some extent, on the offender's own admission. We can assume that the level of dishonesty was similar in both courts. The rate of cases lost (most new minor



convictions do not result in a violation) for the Royal Oak group was 7%, very low compared to a level considered by probation officials indicative of a good program of 25%. Prior to this study the Royal Oak group had a 45% rate of recidivism and the control group had a 39% rate. The recidivism rate for the Royal Oak program was half that of the conventional program. This is more significant in that the conviction record of Royal Oak compared to the control court was higher prior to the experiment.

Although recidivist rate comparisons are an important index of success, the recidivist rate does not tell the full story. The total progress of the offender must be considered, requiring an examination of job records, the type of new offenses, and contributions to the community before and after the program. Several case studies have been recorded from the Royal Oak program which show that many offenders were able to significantly improve their work record, attitude towards the community, marriage, and other life areas, but were arrested and convicted on minor offenses such as Drunk and Disorderly or Loitering. Statistically these cases are failures, yet in many ways they are a success.

The researchers concluded that the study supported the hypothesis that community participation in probation does significantly increase personal adjustment, resulting in reduced recidivism among young adult misdemeanants.

It was found that there is a statistically significant

correlation between the frequency of contacts with volunteers and other probation workers, and the reduction of offender anti-social behavior. The high school control group showed that most youths increase their social participation and increasingly accept positive social goals in the course of becoming eighteen months older. The reduction of unacceptable behaviors was greater for the Royal Oak group compared to the control court. A significant reduction in hostility and anti-social attitudes was found in the Royal Oak group, whereas no significant change occurred in the control court. The data showed that the Royal Oak subjects had a significantly higher rate of annual income and a much higher rate of employment, which is more significant in view of the fact that the Royal Oak subjects were somewhat younger than the comparison court. Dropping out of school and not participating in acceptable group activities was positively related to delinquent behavior.

There was no significant difference between the two court groups and the percent who earned a high school diploma. As expected, the dropout rates for both court groups were much higher than for the country as a whole. That neither probation program was very effective in combating the school dropout problem suggests that additional methods must be utilized. Since dropping out of school is not usually the court's concern, the burden will probably continue to rest directly upon the schools.

## California Community Treatment Project

California established a CTP in 1961 which will be considered in detail because it "in the opinion of many. . .has been one of the most successful correctional programs of recent years. . ."12 The main difference between the present Project and the California CTP is that the California CTP dealt with juveniles and used a system of "matching" as one of the main treatment paradigms. The average age at first commitment in the project was fifteen and one-half years and the majority of offenders were between thirteen and nineteen. The four Project locations were Sacramento, Stockton, San Francisco and Modesto, each handling a maximum of eighty to eighty-five cases.

Full support and little resistance was given to the California CTP by most police and probation departments, and other key agencies. The Project was financed by the California Youth Authority. A National Institute of Mental Health Grant financed a very thorough research program which has produced several important studies. Unfortunately, the main research study is not yet complete. The Project attempted to "determine how many more offenders can safely be left in the community, avoiding costly expansion of institutions. . .[and] attempted to. . .demonstrate what further gains may be achieved by differentiating types of personality problems and matching those with differentiated treatment methods."<sup>13</sup>

The California CTP was one of the first projects to utilize

a workable theoretical base which developed both a causative theory of delinquency (broken down into nine subtheories of delinquency) and a corresponding pattern of treatment which depends upon the specific adjustment problem. A system of delinquency classification was necessary to provide a set of stable guidelines to move forward in the direction of meaningful, individualized treatment.

Treatment was individualized partly by matching probation workers with offenders after a set of offender and probation officer characteristics were determined. Thus the Project combined (1) community treatment, (2) differential treatment based upon the needs of offenders, and (3) efforts to match the probation officer with the offender according to specified individual characteristics theorized to facilitate treatment.

Phase one of the Project attempted to answer two questions: (1) What is the overall operational feasibility in handling delinquent youths in community based treatment? and (2) What is the effectiveness of this approach compared to traditional institutionalization? Phase two of the program further explored specific factors which were seen as instrumental in achieving the goals of the program, and assessed the generalizability of the results to other CTP Projects.

The program individualized treatment in order to maximize the youth's strengths, taking into consideration his limits and interests. Differential treatment, as this is called, requires classification of the offender after interviewing

and testing provide a picture of the major needs or difficulties which led to the individual's delinquency. The program used long term intervention, ranging from two to four years. The program had counselors available whenever it was felt their help was needed. Placement was based on the probationer's needs in such areas as employment, school, and psychological and social services. Small caseloads were utilized and a high degree of program flexibility was built in. The flexibility resulted partially from an absence of constraints which arise when only certain theories are stressed. Several more traditional programs were available, including temporary or long term out-of-the-home placement and individual, group, and family counseling. The counselor met, if necessary, with the offender on a daily basis at a convenient location. Extensive supervision of the youth's community activity, accredited school programs located within the treatment center (including individual and small group tutoring), recreational and co-ed activities both in and outside the treatment center, and even a control-oriented detention center at a nearby facility were available. The program stressed intensive treatment which exercised a great deal of control to change any detrimental factors, including, if necessary, the entire offender's environment. The fact that placement could be made at the detention center at any time was used as a "threat" to help insure maximum cooperation after sentencing. Because greater cooperation can be demanded and more funds and other resources are available at the juvenile

level than adult level, research with programs at this level should be applied with extreme caution to other programs.

In corrections, as in other fields, it is increasingly being recognized that no single across-the-board approach is equally effective with all, or even most, offenders. Depending upon the offenders' needs, background, abilities, goals, etc., there are some programs that are highly effective for some offenders, and detrimental for other offenders. This presents the problem of determining which type of treatment results in the maximum amount of benefit at the minimum cost, and yet is still practical. An important factor in determining which programs are implemented is the direct cost. Financial support of a treatment program depends on a community's understanding of criminal behavior and its ability and willingness to support available programs.

The Project accepted male and female "incorrigible" offenders who normally would have been committed to a state correctional prison. Of the total pool, 35% were ineligible because of the violent nature of their offense, or because of an expected negative reaction from the police, probation department, or from other community groups. The remaining 65% were randomly assigned to either the experimental or control group, resulting in 450 experimental cases and over 300 matched controls.<sup>14</sup> The average prior criminal record was close to five known prior arrests. Property offenses accounted for around 60% of the total offenses and person offenses 5%. Running away and the

label "incorrigible" accounted for 35%. Over 80% were from the lower socio-economic status and only 2% from the upper socio-economic status. The racial composition depended upon the treatment center. According to the California Test of Mental Maturity, the mean non-language IQ score was 89.

Youths not diverted into the program (the control group) received an eight to ten month institutionalization sentence and then were returned to the community and put in a traditional non-intensive, large caseload parole department. The CTP utilized the following innovations with the experimental group:

1. small caseloads of twelve youths for each parole agent
2. psychologically matched placement with a probation officer
3. use of group homes and other out-of-home placements
4. accredited school programs located within the CTP treatment center, including tutoring, arts and crafts, regular academic work and vocational trades
5. a variety of recreational opportunities
6. contact with the schools and other community agencies for other services including employment opportunities and education.

The above treatment techniques were felt to be practical within a treatment-oriented residential setting with youths that are difficult to treat successfully according to their past records. Those referred to the Project spent about four weeks at the reception center and then were placed directly back into their home community. The Project offenders, who were legally on "parole," were then involved in a treatment

program averaging two and one-half to three years duration.

An effort was made to select parole agents that were able to work effectively with the youths in an intensive treatment program. All offenders were screened to work with a "theater" of about twelve youths in which it was expected that their unique personalities and value systems would be beneficial. Each theater consisted of one treatment supervisor, one case carrying agent supervisor, and six line parole agents (usually five males and one female). While in the theater, a treatment strategy was developed which reflected the youths' overall level of maturity and major pattern of response to others, taking into consideration each personal self image and life situation.

The vast majority of both juvenile and adult offenders that are apprehended function on the lower need levels. Numerous fixations are present at the lower psychosexual stages. According to Havighursts' developmental educational task theory, the typical offender shows a serious lack of development of most medium level tasks, development usually stopping below the mid-adolescent tasks. Maslow's hierarchy of needs scale places most offenders at the first two need levels, i.e., primarily concerned over avoidance of pain, satisfaction of hunger, thirst, and basic sex needs, and, at the second level, safety needs, including striving for security, stability and order. Often concern over intellectual, social, and educational needs is almost totally absent. Utilizing this information,



California's CTP developed an elaborate classification system which divided the offenders into three main groups: high, middle, and low maturity. This division is determined from a set of criteria based on observable traits and interviews with each offender.

The scale further divides the three main groups into seven successive levels of interpersonal maturity, or integration levels called "i levels." The seven successive stages range from the least mature, in which the interpersonal reactions are like those of a new-born infant, to a conceptualized ideal of social maturity that is seldom reached. These stages are operationally defined according to behavior expectations. Experience has shown that 99% of the delinquent adolescents studied fell within either the second, third, or fourth of the seven levels. The "i levels" attempt to classify the dominant way in which the individual interprets his environment, and how he reacts according to this interpretation. A variety of biological, psychological, and environmental factors are used to rate the maturity level of each offender. While the scale was not designed to measure the progress of the Project, utilization of the scale has shown that the Project does cause change to occur as "change from one level to the next is not at all rare"<sup>15</sup> and can be used to measure progress. The three basic levels in the Project are outlined below:

Maturity Level II - tends to view objects primarily as either a source of short term pleasure, neutrally, or as a

source of frustration. Neither "givers nor withholders" have a conception of interpersonal refinement beyond a low level of frustration tolerance. They have little capacity to understand their own behavior as well as the behavior and attitudes of others, and especially behavior directed toward them and show a serious lack of insight into their own and other's behavior.

The youngster at Level II, the lowest level of functioning for the age level the Project worked with, are very hostile and difficult to control in a community setting. Even though the officer has to pacify those who suffer from the child's aggression (this includes teachers, police, and others), research has shown that these cases seem to show the best level of success, possibly because, being lowest on the scale, they have the most maturing to do. Treatment focuses on lower need levels, which are generally more concrete and easier to implement, and there is a greater total positive influence when placed in a "normal" environment.

While offenders at Level II appear either openly hostile or resentful, they are rarely dedicated delinquents, but wander into delinquencies or are "used" by other more sophisticated delinquents. Whether or not this offender becomes delinquent depends upon the immediate circumstances. Generally, a low intelligence level, often mental retardation, is manifested by this group. They are usually unable to explain, understand, or predict the reaction of other persons, and are extremely

self-centered, generally unaware of the effects of their behavior on others.

The delinquent subtypes are: (1) anti-social, aggressive (Aa)--responds with active demands, open resistance, "malicious mischief," or aggression expressed either verbally or physically when frustrated; (2) asocial, passive (Ap)--responds with passive resistance including complaining, pouting, and marked withdrawal when frustrated.

Maturity Level III - Beginning at this level is the recognition that certain aspects of ones behavior can be used to control the rewards one receives from others. However, the offender tends to see others as objects to be manipulated and conforms to rules only to obtain rewards or avoid undesirable results. There is little permanent behavior change, the offender often behaving like a "confidence man." Interaction is primarily in terms of rules and formulas, which are oversimplified in contrast to the more desirable set of relatively firm but generally more complex internalized values. His orientation is generalized to others, assuming that peers and adults operate largely according to the rule-oriented oversimplifications that he does. He often uses intimidation based on simplified concepts of power, not understanding individuals who differ from him in terms of motivation. The delinquent subtypes are:

(1) Immature Conformist (Csm) - responds with strong compliance and occasional passive resistance to those he perceives as having power. Sees himself as deficient in

know-how, and usually expects rejection for what he does.

(2) Cultural Conformist (Csc) - has a self-image of being "delinquent and tough." Conforms highly to delinquent peers.

(3) Manipulator (Mp) - attempts to undermine or circumvent authority and has strong desires not to conform to peers or adults.

Maturity Level IV - At this level increased internalization of realistic standards which are used to judge the behavior and attitudes of oneself and others are present. Recognizing interpersonal interactions with compliance based on motives other than hedonistic or monetary reward are often present. Increased understanding of the underlying reasons for behavior results in an increased ability to respond to the complex expectations of others. The delinquent subtypes are:

(1) Neurotic Acting Out (Na) - attempts to deny or distract himself and others from his conscious feelings of inadequacy, rejection or self-condemnation. An example is where an offender verbally attacks others in an attempt to compensate. Included are more subtle methods of manipulation.

(2) Neurotic Anxious (Nx) - manifestation of the more traditional psychological neurotic and psychotic disturbances confounded by feelings of failure, inadequacy or conscious guilt.

(3) Situational-Emotional Reaction (Se) - uses acting out to respond to family, social, or personal pressures.

(4) Cultural Identifier (Ci) - identifies with contra-

cultures or some anti-middle class value system. Activities include acting out in commonly unacceptable ways. He often sees himself as confident and occasionally a leader among his peers.

Several years of experience with these classifications has shown them to be useful in matching offenders with known characteristics of the probation officers. Implimentation of the matching requires a well defined classification system, as was attempted above, a high level of clinical skill, direct experience with utilizing the "i level" concepts, and observing representative youth types after they have been assigned to insure proper assignment.

Matching was used to capitalize on the positive factors in the treatment personnel which have been found to facilitate treatment with certain types of offenders while being cognizant of any possible negative effects. The system is admittedly imperfect, but utilizes many accepted basic psychological concepts. The officer selected for supervision had those qualities most conducive to successful therapy with a particular offender. For example, the Project found that officers most successful in working with the Neurotic Anxious category had a greater degree of interest in helping the youths improve their feelings about themselves, especially in dealing with hostility, aggression, guilt, or rejection. They expressed a lesser degree of "firmness - finality" and demanded less closure, being more "easy going," prepared to tolerate ambiguities.

The Manipulator-Cultural Conformist workers focused upon issues relating to external controls and maintained a greater degree of social distance, but were more likely to be forward, direct and outspoken. Those successful with Maturity Level II were less likely to focus upon issues relating to external controls, showing little interest in working with the youth's feelings about himself and others in relation to his aggression, hostility, guilt, and/or rejection.

The success of matching was demonstrated by a fifteen month follow-up study comparing a group closely matched with the parole agent, with a second group which was not matched. The closely matched group had a failure rate of 19% compared to the control group's failure rate of 43% (.01 level). The success of the total CTP Program was partially because of the matching program and the ability and perceptiveness of the officers hired for the Project. Treatment prescriptions and individualized programming involving intensive and/or extensive intervention by officers into several areas of the youth's life were not studied separately. As a whole, this approach would seem to be as effective as institutionalization, which in effect alters many of the same elements that were altered by the Project's intervention, only without many of the negative factors.

During its nine years of existence, the CTP underwent change according to the feedback from the ongoing research, but the basic objectives have remained unchanged. These

objectives are to provide youths with:

1. a variety of healthy socializing experiences;
2. the opportunity to relate with adults in satisfactory ways in contrast to their highly conflicted and often chaotic family situations;
3. an atmosphere to break down the stereo-types which many youths have of authority figures and adults in general;
4. a place to test the concern of other people in a safe atmosphere;
5. a place where those not employed and/or not attending school can beneficially spend a sizeable portion of their time, avoiding negative influence.<sup>16</sup>

The community center day room established in one project was located so that youths who were not employed or in school could beneficially spend a sizeable portion of their time there. Aside from serving as a recreational and meeting area, the community center helped provide several needed services. Physically, the main room of the day room was a single, large non-partitioned room to which was attached several other rooms, including a rest room, an arts and crafts classroom, and a room where a combination classroom and teachers' offices were located. The California CTP employed a full-time teacher and literally had a school system within the Project offices. An effort was made to make the general environment supportative and comfortable, with the teacher gearing his approach to the needs and special problems of the offenders, as most of the offenders were considered problem children when they were in the public schools and the majority possessed a low level of

academic skills.

In the corner of the day room was a coffee bar, ping-pong table, pool table, and a number of chairs. The parole officers' offices were located directly off the day room so the activities could be supervised and to help develop the atmosphere and activities that would benefit the offenders. An underlining aim was to permit the CTP youths to let down their defenses, even revealing their worse side, expressing their personal disturbances in a non-retaliative setting. This helped the officer determine his probationers' internal feelings, aiding the direction of therapy. It was also felt that by allowing the expression of these feelings in the day room their expression would be reduced on the streets, a more dangerous place to express them. The boys' expression included marked profanity, painting pictures directly on the day room or office walls, and aggressive behavior which was channeled into sports or useful physical activity. Thus, the underlying thoughts and feelings were worked with in a therapeutic way rather than reacted against by suppressing or denying them as often is the case. Behind the offices was a baseball field and other facilities for outdoor recreation, useful for this purpose.

Informal contact with the day room participants was encouraged on the part of the teachers, ministers, aides, and other staff. All the staff endeavored to be accepted and respected by the offenders, and it was felt that this was achieved to a large extent. The female parole agent endeavored



to be "a mother, sister, and friend" and the male probation agents "a father, brother, and friend." Importantly too, the offenders had an opportunity to observe a wide range of personalities as most worked formally or informally with several parole staff members and other workers. Interestingly, many youths commented that, to their amazement, many of the staff had, when they were younger, many of the same kinds of problems, ideas, and interests that youths do now.

The day room contained recreational equipment, including scrabble, dominoes, phonograph records, a television, and reading material. Most of the staff felt that the day room atmosphere was enhanced by the presence of the school program, particularly by the arts and crafts classes where various paintings, drawings, and other projects were displayed, giving the offenders pride in acceptable activities, often for the first time in their lives. As the day room activities did not stop while school was in session, the staff felt some day room activities made it difficult for the CTP students to concentrate. For this reason an effort was made to accommodate the two activities. The staff utilized the activities in the recreational area, including numerous small incidents, to begin discussions focusing on relevant issues within the school setting.

Importantly, the informal discussions were frequent and covered a wide range of topics such as sports, movies, making money, war, sex, use of drugs, the police, the Black Panthers,

and Brown Beret movements. Because the staff encouraged discussing "personal" information, such as home problems, delinquent behavior in general, and other fears, the informal discussions were more than just an information exchange. The Black Panthers were invited to speak, and after having lunch with the offenders and others who were invited, they answered questions and participated in discussions used to facilitate an understanding between the two groups. Ideas directed towards social improvement, rather than the selfish ideas generally presented to many juvenile offenders, were focused on during these meetings with controversial groups.

An effort was made to eliminate many formalities (as calling the parole officers "mister"), which created several problems which resulted in some of the informality being relinquished and minimal standards developed, especially on neatness, personal appearance, and certain physical activities. These changes were instituted partially to satisfy the community expectations and the image that the California Department of Corrections felt necessary to present to the public, but primarily to satisfy certain health and safety factors which are required in a heavily used area. Nearly all the CTP staff felt that some boisterous behavior, sloppy appearance, and even apparent lack of structure were actually needed to some extent if the informal atmosphere which was seen as therapeutically desirable was to develop. Thus there was some conflict between the rules insisted upon by the public and the feelings of the

administration staff and offenders. These differences were adequately resolved in most areas through a series of informal, often one-to-one, discussions with the Project Director and the various parties in question.

The staff wanted to keep the Project open to the neighborhood because the Project was anxious to gain full acceptance in the Oak Park community. As this was one of the very few recreational facilities within the Oak Park area, there was a large number of community youngsters using the facility's resources, later even to the exclusion of some CTP youngsters.

Another serious problem was the noise level, which often interfered with the school program, the staff involved in the continuing research operations, and other personnel working for the Project. After mounting dissatisfaction with the steadily increasing noise level, which was partially due to increased activities as a result of the growth of the Project, it was decided that a set of guidelines which would discourage neighborhood youngsters from using the room during class periods would be established. The neighborhood youths were even asked to leave if they became too disruptive. Group supervisors insured that the noise level was kept down to certain minimum standards. The record player was only to be played during the noon lunch, eliminating one of the most pervasive noises. Because the I-4 youngsters in particular exhibited a lot of impulsivity and aggression and were frequently threatening or intimidating to other offenders, a basic resolution was made

which involved hiring a group supervisor and working through him in placing limits on, especially, the I-4's behavior. Thus external requirements forced some limitations on the spontaneity the Project had originally encouraged, resulting in a balance between the various goals and needs of the Project. Except for these two limitations, the offenders were given almost total freedom to utilize the facility, the Project hoping that both the neighborhood and CTP youths could utilize the facility to the greatest possible extent. While this solution largely resolved the problem, certain youngsters were still quite disruptive, many quite persistent in their desire to utilize the day room.

The research concluded that the day room "appears to have its definite areas of applicability as well as utility" and, "for certain youths, but by no means all, is an important adjunct to community treatment." A sizeable number of the CTP youths have made substantial use of the day room which helped them satisfy a wide range of personal needs and desires. The day room was one of the more widely accepted of the several innovations that the CTP program utilized, and although not absolutely essential except at certain critical periods, it was viewed as virtually indispensable for many offenders.

One problem that the Project had was the stigma attached to the "probation office." In Stockton's CTP the officers were in a storefront one story building, with the reception areas and waiting room in the front and the officers' offices

in the back where space for a schoolroom, craft-shop and the general recreational areas were also located. The environment was designed to encourage the offenders to play ping-pong or "just hang around" giving the officer opportunities to observe the progress each offender was making and to encourage him to talk about whatever he wanted, especially as events occurred. Locating the Project offices next door to a pool room or other youth hangout would facilitate the increased presence of probationers at the Project site, but a regular poolroom or other hangout owned by the Project would enable the Project to control activities. In the Stockton CTP, most offenders hung around the center almost daily, giving the officers a wide range of behavior to sample, more contact, and consequently, more influence in the offender's life. The advantage of seeing the offender in natural group activities and normal peer relationships was important for treatment feedback and evaluation of the offenders' progress. The agent must, at times, alter the treatment program according to his observations. A serious handicap in demonstrating the effectiveness of intensive supervision is that it seems likely that the offender who has weekly (or even daily) in depth contact would be able to hide less and as a result the research may show a greater rate of failure for intensively supervised cases than is actually the case. Yet, the CTP researchers feel that the technique is so vastly superior that, in spite of this handicap, the research will demonstrate at least equal, if not greater,

effectiveness than institutionalization. Research with juveniles in intensive supervision has indicated that this is the case.<sup>7</sup>

The conclusions of the research on the CTP are that, so far, the program has been able to handle the majority of eligible youths (89%) at least as effectively as the traditional program of institutionalization at a far lower cost and with significantly lower rates of recidivism during the time the offenders are on parole after the program. The experimental group improved in several more variables than the control group. The recidivism rate was considerably lower as was the unfavorable discharge rate. The experimental group showed substantial test score improvement, although there was little change in the favorable discharge rating and the post discharged arrest level. During the period the offenders were involved in the program recidivism was at a low level, but after discharge from the program many of the negative influences and the offenders' previous coping styles evidently still existed.

Individual treatment was felt to account for the fact that 39% of the boys did considerably better within the experimental program, but 10% did considerably better within the control program. This indicates that no one program is "the answer" for all offenders. Some actually do better in what we consider "an inferior program." Thus, many different programs are necessary, including minimal supervision and possibly institutionalization. The important variables which influence behavior, as well as the efficiency or practicability,

of the treatment available must be considered in developing a program for an individual offender. Thus, some 27% appear to do equally well in both the experimental and control programs and 24% did equally poorly in both programs.

Some attempts were made to isolate factors which may be contributing to the program's effectiveness. An important variable, as discussed above, was the technique of matching according to the qualities of both the parole worker and the offender. The percentage of change in psycho-social developmental levels before and after the Project experience was very encouraging. During the Project 60% in the second levels improved to the third level, 21% in the third level improved to the fourth level, and 4% of the fourth level improved to the fifth level. Half of the second level who had progressed to the third level subsequently proceeded to the fourth level while still in the Project.

A summary of the experimental and control groups show that for the fifteen month follow-up study the experimental group had a 32% rate of recidivism, compared with a 52% rate for the control group. The twenty-four month follow-up study showed a 41% failure rate for the experimental group compared to a 62% rate for the control group. Of the experimental group, 56% were rated favorably at discharge compared to 42% of the control group. Of the control group 15% were rated unfavorably at discharge compared to a 7% rate for the experimental group. Comparison of psychological tests revealed that the

experimental group had a higher pre-post difference compared to the control group. While the Project did not specifically define all the ramifications of the rating scale, in the opinion of many correctional workers, the raters, the University of Southern California's Research Department, can confidently be relied upon.

The great expense compared to regular probation in providing this additional care for offenders is often criticized, but for the population which the CTP is directed at, comparisons should be made with institutionalization, a much more expensive program. Comparing the failure rate of around 50% for former institutionalized offenders while on parole (the control cases for the California CTP had a failure rate of 42.4% while on supervision), to the much lower failure rate for the CTP treatment, reveals that the actual cost of CTP in terms of rehabilitation is much lower than prison. The cost usually stays below \$200 per offender per month compared to an institutionalization cost of over \$352 per offender per month. Actually one of the main arguments for the CTP is its lower cost. Estimates of savings calculated from the California CTP experience range up to several million dollars, based on a cost of \$2,300 per CTP offender, compared to \$5,800 per offender for treatment within the regular institutions, and \$400 per offender for regular parole care. The \$400 regular parole cost does not take into account the large number of offenders who fail parole and are sent back to the institution, a costly procedure. As



much as three-fifths of all discharges are returned to a state or federal correctional institution before completing parole. The \$400 cost is only a small part of the total picture. Despite these advantages, it was felt that comprehensive utilization of differential treatment and matching appears to be somewhat beyond the reach of most probation and parole departments in the United States. Adaptation of the basic CTP approach and increased implementation of community-based treatment, though, are feasible approaches for many future programs.

The realization that a treatment method which works for one offender may have little or no effect on another was not systematically studied. The efforts were directed primarily at individualizing treatment based on the results of the maturity level scale. Future research should include efforts to delineate the specific factors and personal characteristics which enable an offender to benefit from a given type of treatment.

More recent studies on the California CTP population found that the difference in recidivism between the experimental and control groups was reduced in time. The experimental group actually did poorer in some areas. The evaluation utilized a post-discharge analysis in 1969, and then compared those that were in the CTP with those that were institutionalized. This comparison showed that there were few differences in the average number of new offenses when the seriousness of the original offense is controlled for. The differences that were found earlier were evidently due to the different programs, in effect, serving to differently select offenders. This study

of almost five hundred offenders concluded that there were no substantial differences between CTP treatment and institution care. For the twenty-four month follow-up the experimental group committed an average of 1.41 post discharge offenses, against only 1.30 for the control group. Twenty-four months later the number of new offenses averaged 2.31 for the experimental group and only 2.0 for the control group.

A second study, comparing matched with non-matched groups, found that 50% of the matched group committed one or more post-discharge offenses compared to 72% of the non-matched group. These rates represent a significant difference and support the use of matching. Research done by the University of Southern California involving extensive studies of 178 juvenile probationers and 26 probation officers on the effects of matching concluded that the supervision effectiveness was increased and the recidivism rate was lowered. Matching was one of the most important types of treatment the Project used.

#### Other Projects and Studies

##### The Community Delinquency Control Project

Similar to California's CTP is a project called the Community Delinquency Control Project (CDCP) sponsored by the California Youth Authority. While similar to other CTP projects, the CDCP Project did not utilize either interpersonal maturity scales or matching. The CDCP reduced the overcrowding of the youth authority institutions in order to effect significant

and lasting behavior change from treatment that included increased overall supervision, intensive individual counseling, group and family counseling, remedial tutoring, psychiatric treatment, group work, foster and group home placement, and various activity groups. The research design utilized an experimental and control group. Offenders were randomly assigned to each group to determine whether there is any real difference between the CDCP and the regular Youth Authority Program. The first results showed that 27.3% of the experimental group violated compared to 29.4% of the control group. Special CDCP units for poorer risk offenders worked with males released from the institution and reported a violation rate of 41.6%. Without a control group it is difficult to draw any conclusions about poor risk offenders but a violation rate this high is not encouraging.

#### The San Francisco Rehabilitation Project

Another project similar to the Oakland County CTP is the San Francisco Rehabilitation Project (SFRP) for Adult Offenders. Like the present Project, SFRP worked with adult offenders diverted from jail or prison and focused on changing patterns of behavior. While it was hoped that the sample of 109 subjects would be representative of offenders normally institutionalized, this goal was not achieved due to the legal requirement of mandatory minimum sentences for some offenses and the reluctance of judges to permit some offenders to enter the Project. As

a result SFRP cases were somewhat younger, had fewer minority group members, a higher number of property offenders, and a lower number of narcotic offenders than the offenders institutionalized. The Project concluded that "Intensive counseling by professionally trained workers can reduce recidivism at least as effectively as imprisonment."

#### Group-Home Placement and Foster Homes

A form of community treatment usually called "Group-Home Placement" consists of placing offenders in some type of live-in situation outside of their parental or guardian home, combining the many advantages of community treatment with some of the perceived advantages of institutionalization. By having the offender remain in the community, the problems related to removing him from the community are avoided.

The concept of Group-Homes includes what is normally termed a "foster home," where one offender is placed in a volunteer's home in the community, and a group foster home, where a house is built to house from four to fourteen individuals ranging in age from eight to eighteen, most commonly from fifteen to eighteen. Local courts place the offender in a group foster home in lieu of, or subsequent to, institutionalization. Other placements include community mental health centers, relatives and even interested citizens.

Most home group research studies have, unfortunately, been used only on juvenile homes. These projects were primarily

in California in connection with California's STP. At present a wide variety of Group-Homes are in operation, sponsored by both the court and by private agencies, including citizens who take one or more offenders in and work with them in specially set up "homes" similar to halfway houses. "Group-Homes" are usually institutional dwellings rented by an agency or corporate group, containing house "parents" and a full-time staff to provide casework and psychiatric services. "Foster homes," on the other hand, refer to private families who volunteer their services and generally take on younger offenders involved in less serious offenses. The choice of some type of foster or group home, in lieu of institutional commitment, is highly desirable. Remaining in the parental home, which is usually detrimental to the offender's progress, is avoided as are some of the negative aspects of prison.

Evaluations of home placement conclude that this is a satisfactory alternative for a substantial proportion of youths, many of whom normally would be institutionalized. It is interesting that when home placements have not succeeded, the failure was found to be associated with either lack of community acceptance of the home itself or an offender's poorly fitting into either the group home or the programs' objectives.

Many adolescents "are disturbed to the degree that they cannot tolerate the intimacy of family life in the foster home,"<sup>18</sup> and must be placed in the Group-Home. Traditionally,

foster homes have been utilized only with reservation in placing delinquent, pre-delinquent, dependent or neglected children, and then only by the court in cases where serious neglect or delinquency is proven. Group homes are an effort to utilize temporary home placement as a therapeutic tool with delinquents or, more appropriately, pre-delinquent children. The home problems must be considered serious, and specific criteria must be met before the court can legally take away a child from the parental home and order placement in a group home. Much resistance to this concept has been expressed by various civil liberty organizations and it is not difficult to imagine numerous abuses that could conceivably take place by unscrupulous law authorities. Balance, outside control, and accountability are necessary to avoid abuse. Research has produced solid evidence to support the advantages of home group placement, but it is necessary to establish a locally acceptable guideline and a set of workable controls to enable the court to carry out its duty without being hampered by outside agencies while insuring proper control by outside agencies against possible abuses.

The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Acts of 1968 facilitated the establishment of several group-homes by issuing federal grants to the extent that over twenty states now are, in some form, utilizing group-home placement. Outside the United States several nations, including England, Australia, New Zealand, and Israel, have successfully utilized

this concept for a number of years.

A recent home group project was researched in an effort to find out how to most efficiently utilize this potentially valuable but, as some corrections workers feel, potentially troublesome innovation. Adolescents from the local courts with records ranging from two or more police arrests, (averaging five) excluding serious or assaultive cases (armed robbery, forceable rape, murder, etc.) were sentenced to a demonstration program which focused on the feasibility of establishing various types of group homes for the more seriously delinquent male adolescent. The research concerned itself with the impact of these homes within the California CTP setting.

A unique type of therapy was experimented with in the California home-group projects. This therapy, called "differential treatment environments," utilized the maturity level classification system, which was previously discussed in relation to California's CTP. Five types of homes were developed which differed from one another in the following ways:

- Home 1 - Protective: Attempted to develop normal non-disturbed family living for offenders whose family background involved neglect, brutality, or other serious parental abuse.
- Home 2 - Containment: Attempted to provide clear structural limits, operating on a non-family basis, emphasizing concrete and attainable demands for socially acceptable behavior. Largely for use with those who are psychologically labelled "defective character disorders," "psychopaths," or "asocial character disorders."
- Home 3 - Boarding: Attempted to provide a "YMCA Hotel" atmosphere while encouraging development of

personal relationships, helping interpersonally immature youths who are able to maintain themselves to some extent in an independent placement.

Home 4 - Temporary Care: Designed for youths who need a temporary placement, but who are able to function quite well in a regular CTP program.

Home 5 - Short Term Restriction: Designed for youths in need of a fairly restrictive set of limits, but who are able to function outside of the extreme restrictiveness of a jail.

A control group was not built into the program, limiting the validity of the research, but a rough comparison between the home group sample and between offenders in other types of treatment was made. The project was designed to:

1. determine the feasibility of home-group treatment
2. develop an environmental taxonomy
3. evaluate the impact of the home-group experience
4. assess the general worth and utility of each specific type of home situation
5. assess the effectiveness of the various inputs and programs available within the entire CTP structure.

The home-groups used in this project were operated by non-professional husband and wife teams without volunteers or para-professionals to stimulate the factors which are traditionally provided in the "traditional" American family. Actually the home-group operators tend to come from the lower-middle socioeconomic class, having an average of eleventh grade education. The majority (71%) were Caucasian, and the average age was forty-four. Most of the operators were married couples having two or more youngsters of their own living in the home. The



operators worked in conjunction with the CTP parole agents who had the primary legal responsibility for the youths.

Negative community reaction was virtually absent, partially because there is more understanding and a more tolerant attitude towards juvenile offenders compared to adult offenders. Most communities accept the importance of a satisfactory home placement and recognize that few of these youths had a good home.

In the group home daily living proceeded in a rather predictable and acceptable manner from the standpoint of both the youth home operators and outside observers. The background of most of the youths involved serious difficulties, but few problems materialized during the home stay. The few difficulties that did emerge were largely within the control of the operators, although the offenders were capable of adversely affecting the total home atmosphere. It was found that the optimal number of youths in one home was three or four, with rapid deterioration when the number went past five or six. Most, though not all, of the youths seemed "able to profit from an extensive or intensive exposure to a husband and wife combination," and, compared to independent placement, placement with relatives, or in an individual foster home, the home case placement "appeared to have definite advantages over most others."<sup>19</sup>

The study was successful in beginning to delineate some of the influential factors and the various conditions which were instrumental in using the group-home as a therapeutic community. Involved in the success of community placement

when live-in facilities are provided is the quality of the substitute for normal family life. The close relationships and constant informal business of family life contribute to the conclusion that this program "may be the most richly satisfying program to be found."<sup>20</sup>

In a program set up by the American Friends Service Committee, called the Crenshaw House, a male director and his wife were hired to work closely with the offenders, endeavoring to be natural, warm and dedicated so as to provide the family feeling usually lacking in the environment of most offenders. The importance of the personality of the substitute parents was emphasized when the husband and wife team left and the house failed due to the difficulty of finding a married couple who could immerse their personal lives with the offenders so as to effectively form a parental surrogate as the first team were evidently successful in doing.

An example of a successful combination of several factors is provided by a local couple who operated an Italian restaurant. Their interests in helping delinquent boys prompted them to open a large foster home. They had the rare ability to function as substitute parents, developing a warm, accepting atmosphere for most of the offenders, even supplying many offenders with jobs in their restaurant business. The couple could thus develop close rapport, utilizing the advantage of a large number of hours spent with the delinquents. Care, though, must be taken because a functional close relationship is often

difficult to achieve, especially if a boy has never had a close parental relationship and longs to develop one. In these cases psychological help may be necessary. The desire for emancipation from adult domination and increased desire for support from ones peers is paramount in most young adults. The family relationship would have to develop on a mature but somewhat independent level and still function in a supportative way. Many offenders have a strong feeling for at least one of their parents, especially their mother, and when placed in a group-home and confronted with a substitute mother, an internal emotional conflict may develop. The resulting guilt has produced many negative behaviors, especially among younger juvenile offenders, erupting in such behavior as running away or rebelling within the home. For these cases many substitute parents endeavor to develop peer relationships with offenders. Offenders often show a better responsiveness to volunteers who are seen as closer to their own age than to adults playing the parental role.

Those involved in crime often have lacked a steady home background, never having developed rapport with their parents and as a result most received little real guidance. When children from fairly well adjusted homes make mistakes they are often able to learn from them if guided by the parents. They take it for granted that when disciplined the parent still loves and cares for them. An offender who has weak parental attachments may be severely alienated from a worker with whom

he has developed a parental-like relationship when discipline is administered. Having little history of continued acceptance, he may interpret discipline as the parent-surrogate's rejection of him as a person. The need for good family relationships is especially true in the case of drug addicts and sex offenders, who are typically a product of a very damaging family relationship. According to psycho-analytic theory, this conflict must be resolved either in therapy or, as suggested by most developmental theories, by the formation of an adequate family relationship to enable development to proceed to a higher, more utilitarian level.

#### Des Moines Community Corrections Project

Several projects have recently been developed which incorporate some aspects of the basic CTP design. One example is the Des Moines Community Corrections Project (DMCTP) which developed a feasible system whereby offenders can be released to the community after apprehension and until the court trial.

The time between the initial hearing and the trial ranges anywhere from several weeks to several months, but is generally over one month. Those offenders who are able to afford bail are usually able to get out of jail by paying 10% of the total bail to a bail bondsman, who gives a certain percent of the total bail to the court. If the offender absconds, the bondsman must pay the full bail. Traditionally, the bondsman has fewer restraints than the state in apprehending absconders and can,

if necessary, use unconventional means. With the help of other bondsmen and the police departments, he can apprehend the offender and bring him before the court, regaining the bond money forfeited. Less than 5%, and usually around 2%, of the total caseload jump bail. Most of these are apprehended later as few successfully elude a bondsman. The bondsman determines if the defendant is a poor risk and will refuse to post the bond if there is any indication that he is not a safe gamble. Ironically, some bondsmen refuse to write bonds because the original bail is very low and the 10% premium does not fully cover their expenses.

The present problems in Detroit emphasize the plight of those who are not able to post bond and must wait in jail for the days or months until their trial. The outcome of the trial is not critical, as most defendants have served their time anyway. A national study by the National Bureau of Standards found that in 1968, of those held in jail, more than 40% were never convicted. A substantial number of offenders, primarily the very poor, are unable to post bond and must suffer in jail, only to be acquitted later. Besides creating a high degree of resentment against the criminal corrections system, this system is very expensive and, in the opinion of many correctional workers, contributes to crime. Many innocent individuals are jailed because of poor associations, even though they themselves were never directly involved in the crime. Migration and population increases of the poorer classes in

the cities have caused the inner city jails to be crowded and below standard while many of the suburban and rural cells are going unused.

Under the DMCTP, after one charged with a crime is taken into custody by the police, a preliminary hearing is held during which a committee tries to determine whether a crime has been committed. If there is evidence that the accused before the committee has committed the crime, the judge determines the conditions upon which the accused may go free until his trial. If sufficient evidence is not found, the accused is released. If sufficient evidence is found, verified information is gathered on the defendant's community ties, including his family, residence, social, criminal, and employment history, as well as his current residence, friends and job. After the obtained information is reviewed by the Project Director, a court liaison officer and the jail interviewer decide in concert whether to recommend release. The primary release consideration is "can the client be safely released and will he show up for his trial?" The final determination to release or jail the offender is made by the court. If a release is granted, the offender must sign a performance contract which typically involves reporting every day to a counselor and some participation in a program, which may include spending some evenings at the Project's office for classes and films on such topics as use of legal counsel and welfare services, the effects of marijuana and alcohol, planned parenthood, medical insurance, vocational

rehabilitational services, and remedial education. Also available are high school equivalency courses and courses offered by the local community college.

A highly successful sub-program consisted of a six-part package designed to help the offender understand the criminal justice system. The program included discussions by the police, a representative of the court, and other correctional departments. Referral to other agencies for employment, budget planning, child care, drug or alcoholism treatment, psychiatric diagnosis and therapy, medical treatment, remedial education, vocational evaluation and training, and other areas was utilized as needed. The purpose was to upgrade the offender according to his interest and potential and encourage him to develop stable community ties.

An important factor operating in this Project that the offender was normally aware of, is that his participation in self-improvement programs will undoubtedly favorably affect the outcome of his trial. Those offenders who have not had previous prison experience are often motivated to do well in the program to avoid prison. While this can produce overt compliance and innate resistance, it undoubtedly is instrumental in genuinely motivating some offenders to do well. A file is maintained on each client to record his progress in the programs he is involved with. This file is used to help evaluate the client, if convicted, when sentenced. The program released, after investigation, 38,000 people without bail.

Only 2.4% failed to appear for their trial, a rate similar to that when the bail system is used. Another six hundred posted bail on their own, leaving four hundred offenders. Later, an additional program was set up which endeavored to work with the remaining four hundred, comprised of those who could not afford to post bail or could not be released on their own recognizance under the current court standards.

While some individuals argue that this program is expensive, several factors must be considered before the true cost can be ascertained. Project officials generally conceded that the Project payed for itself. Expenditures in 1971 were \$144,000, but the saving of 3,343 defendant jail days, including 1,231 days that would have been served by defendants who were found not guilty, realized an actual savings of \$135,000 just due to work days not lost. Importantly too, the Project kept many clients from losing their jobs, and in some cases, prevented hardships to their families, many of which would have had to go on welfare. Hardships from a court trial often cause the home and family situation to deteriorate, especially economically. The detrimental effects are often greater than any beneficial effects from the court process in rehabilitating the offender. A savings of over \$100,000 in fees that would have normally been necessary to obtain a bail release was realized by the offenders. The court costs, bail fees, and other expenses associated with the trial are generally a heavy burden upon a group of individuals who are often not able to afford even



the necessities of life. More people released to the Project were financially able to provide their own defense attorneys than would have normally been the case, saving the court a considerable amount of money. An offender who hires his own attorney has the freedom to replace him if he is dissatisfied with his service and feels less powerless, realizing more fully that his initiative and actions can directly influence the outcome of his case. The attitude among many offenders is that they are powerless to change their situation. This attitude is partially a result of a real inability to control many of the factors that influence their life. A court appointed attorney is often viewed by the offender as a representative of the court and as "being on their side, and not mine." As in most CTPs a savings of hundreds of thousands of dollars was realized by not constructing new jail facilities, as more would have been needed to accept the increase in crime the DMCTP saw.

An examination of the 1971 cases showed that none of the defendants scheduled for trial absconded, and only five or 8.2% of the defendants were charged with committing a new crime while they were in the program. Researchers for this Project concluded that there was no increase in the failure to appear at the trial, nor was there an increase in new offenses, compared to the previous system where a much larger number were jailed until their trial. The rate of the Project's clients appearing for trial was similar to the rate for those

released on bail. There were indications that selection decisions tended to be accurate. Those rejected by the Project and later released under bail had the highest rate of pre-trial new offense allegations (39%). It was also conceded that the Project effected a lower prison sentencing rate. The offenders' success in the community after the offense evidently influenced the judge to sentence probation for many offenders normally going to prison. In 1972 the Project was expanded to a sixteen county area, with a population of over one-half million persons. Of the state's present prison population, 30% were from this sixteen county area.

In summary, the Project endeavored to render rehabilitation services between the period of apprehension and sentencing, a period during which most offenders are in limbo and nothing is done to rehabilitate. While limitations, such as the shortness of time the offender is within the court's jurisdiction for treatment, limit the success of the program, the results were very encouraging.

#### Project Rodeo

Recently there has been a limited use of offenders as paid staff members outside of prisons, especially as assistants to probation or parole officers. One program, called Project Rodeo, utilized indigeous workers to provide services for delinquent minors in a CTP.

A total of forty-nine former offenders supervised 116

probationers, parolees, and mandatory releases. A control group of a similar size was used that did not have the benefit of the additional services rendered by the ex-offenders. The clients generally represent the conventional criminal population but excluded professional racketeers and white collar criminals. The offenders meeting the specified criteria were randomly assigned either to the experimental or control group. Conclusions were made from a comparison of the two groups. An important aspect of this Project was that research was a built-in part of the Project. Project Director Ruth Rushen stated:

The directors built-in research from the first day of the Project, a move that enabled us to have constant feedback and kept us from making false assumptions about our cases or the results we were getting.<sup>11</sup>

By utilizing the research feedback, modifications in the program could be made as the program developed and the progress of the offenders could be analyzed, enabling the staff to objectively look at the effectiveness of the various programs. The Project utilized many former offenders, although not without some objection from the community and other probation officials. The Project Director stated:

One man I hired was on active probation for burglary and the department balked on him. I said, 'Look if we expect others to hire these men, then we have to put our money where our mouth is.' The department agreed.<sup>12</sup>

This program not only emphasized the use of former offenders in rehabilitating new offenders but also, referring to the former offenders, emphasized that "the key to unlocking the

intense idealism and dedication of community people is to give them meaningful jobs and roles in dignity with dignity." The former offender's role would undoubtedly be rehabilitative for them. This Project has had marked success in raising the aspirations of the former offenders. As lack of education was a major barrier, six hours were given off each week to gain additional formal education. While most of them have less than a high school education, many were able to gain entrance into a junior college with the eventual goal of largely overcoming their present educational barrier.

The selection of the former offenders was rather ingenious in that they were recruited from neighborhoods around the Project. The qualifications were that they must be an ex-offender have no record of treason or bribery of a government official, not currently be under correctional supervision (the discharge date must have been at least one year ago), have some positive community references, and not display any evidence of psychopathology. A rather sizeable waiting list developed filling these qualifications. The only difficulty in recruiting has been obtaining an adequate number of white workers. Evidently there was some discrimination against white former offenders, partly because white applicants generally have more skills, and were able to find a better paying level of work if they are able to meet the qualifications for P.O. assistants.

The training of the former offenders helped to increase

their knowledge and understanding of their role in helping offenders in the correctional setting. They had to understand the type of offenders with whom they were dealing, the resources available, the referral procedures, their role in a crisis situation, the limits of their authority, and their relationship to the staff, client, and the community as a whole. There must be some training in decision-making, record-keeping, reporting, problem identification, use of material and the importance of confidentiality. Too much training, though, was threatening and possibly boring to the indigenous workers, and extensive formal training may bleed out the very qualities for which the ex-offenders were recruited. It was stressed that they had a great deal to communicate by simply being genuine human beings, an orientation similar to that the Volunteers of Probation in Royal Oak utilized. By stressing this one goal and keeping the training to a minimum, the research will be able to evaluate primarily the unique influence that ex-offenders can have on the clients' behavior. Interestingly, it was felt that a legitimizing ceremony was necessary before the newly recruited ex-offender was to work with his first client. A formal oath of office was administered by the chief Probation Officer and his deputy. This was done with great dignity and seriousness, impressing the ex-offender with the fact that he was now a representative and officer of the court.

With few exceptions the clients have been receptive to the ex-offenders' supervision; and in particular, rapport between the black client and black ex-offender has been high. The ex-offenders have diligently endeavored to develop close supervision, but in time bewilderment and often outright frustration confronted them when they were faced with the task of dealing with a myriad of problems, not only those of the client but also those of a complex bureaucratic structure. The failure of a client was often taken personally and steps had to be taken at times to allay the sense of inadequacy and failure that often resulted.

While the research has not been completed, it seems that the former offenders have been able to establish a positive working relationship with their clients and in many cases showed greater skill and eagerness in meeting the external concrete needs of their clients than the professionals. Comparisons will examine the ex-offenders, the supervising probation officer, and the effect of use or non-use of ex-offenders in supervision. Such factors as client outcomes, recidivist rates, job performance, level of job satisfaction, and aspiration will also be compared. The impact of the project on the ex-offenders themselves will be explored in many of the same areas that the offenders they are working with will be explored. Interestingly, several ex-offender counselors were able to enroll in college and eventually become full-time

adult probation officers. One former offender was named director of a newly created program for helping alcoholics recover. An examination of the change in the ex-offenders' attitudes will be made to try to determine changes in techniques with increased experience, endeavoring to answer the question "does an ex-offender become professionalized so that the attributes which were expected to be most useful are, in time, obliterated?" Ideally, the experience would simply polish and enhance the original edge the ex-offender had on the professional staff.

#### The New Careers Development Project

Several other research and correctional programs have utilized ex-offenders. Among them the New Careers Development Project (NCDP) is a good example. The research background and experience of its directors insured a built-in plan for a critical evaluation and a high level of competency in developing and completing the research design.

The object was to develop in a group of potentially able but untrained prisoners a marketable degree of skill in the analysis of the social problems of crime, delinquency, and their related areas, and the capacity to initiate and follow through desirable change in the ways of dealing with these social problems. Successful completion of the program required an understanding of research, study methods, and

skills required to interview, observe, organize, and present the results of the research in writing. The knowledge and ability to work with groups and organizations in facilitating positive change towards a demonstrated goal were systematically studied. Group planning sessions were developed concerning program content, training needs, resources, study teams, and utilizing consultant services. The Project originally was to bring together an experimental group of twenty-five inmates in a "social development center" for a period of six months. Graduate students were to participate in the development of a program with the inmates, after which they were to be paroled to the community for an additional six months for combined work and training. A control group of fifty offenders was chosen at random to be paroled at the same time that had neither institutional or community training, nor community placement assistance. Unfortunately, the well-planned research design was contaminated by a series of modifications which were required by social and bureaucratic pressure. Later it was necessary to give up random selection for reasons that are not made fully clear in the research report.

The results generally show that the program was a success, even though there was a wide range in the success, and that new life styles were assumed by the former prisoners. Some of the men purchased "dark suits and attaché cases;" others left a great deal to be desired as far as their appearance



went. Some had been placed in good positions, whereas others saw their work as part of a larger movement of cause toward which they were working. The Project concluded that "as a group the trainees have acquired some impressive skills." Several have developed and written proposals which resulted in the funding of several training, job development, and community organization projects. Several have developed and administered training programs for non-professional community workers and aids in human service agencies, and several even have done some staff training seminars. Fifteen out of eighteen trainees were employed with salaries ranging from \$5,500.00 to \$13,000.00 and several are working as product managers, professional assistants, teacher counselors, and training assistants, often enrolling part or full-time in a university program working towards a degree.

As a group there were several skill defects; the most obvious was in writing. They have not as a whole done well in systematic data collection, nor do they read a great deal. Although they read much more than they did previously, they do not always keep themselves fully informed in their immediate field. Another problem is that they are working in an area in which there are few precedents and little available professional skill. The skills they do have are in demand with the result that many of the former offenders are moving into positions of substantial responsibility. It was found that if good supervision were available the former prisoners did

well on the job, but there were sometimes anxiety about having too much responsibility. Interpersonal frictions on the job were a main problem partly because of the great difference in values between the new worker, who was usually from the lower class, and the middle class employee.

Probably the most impressive trait demonstrated by the offenders was their willingness to work extremely hard and put in long hours on their own initiative to meet a deadline, even though the work may have suffered in quality because of both their hurriedness and their lack of understanding of the bureaucratic organization they must work under. The follow-up study of the program showed that all but three out of eighteen former offenders had professional or semi-professional jobs with a mean salary of \$9,000.00 per year. The control group largely involved themselves in menial laboring jobs, with almost 50% involved in further jail or prison sentences. While the exact incomes of the control groups are not available, the mean was quite low. One offender made \$220.00 per month before he disappeared and another made \$19.00 per day, but few made much more.

Several other offender-initiated programs have been developed in the community to help offenders with other problems, including several programs in which previous offenders have established, various training programs, rap sessions, and programs that involved former offenders in the community. Research shows that offenders in the programs experience a considerable

reduction in recidivism. A primary research problem is that association with the program is initiated by the offender. Presumably those offenders who are most likely to succeed through their own determination will involve themselves in these programs. Yet several half-way house programs were successful when all offenders released from prison were assigned to the project. This success is partly because, as one offender stated, "Being sent to prison is no more of a traumatic experience than being released from one," and thus by reducing the trauma of returning into the community to improve the offender's adjustment, recidivism will be lowered.

#### Positive Action for Youth

The Positive Action for Youth (PAY) Program provides intensive treatment to male juvenile probationers by attempting to deal with a wide range of family problems, involving in the program the probationer's peers, teachers and family. The preliminary review of the results shows that arrests for the fifty-five probationers in the program dropped from thirty-eight to nine for comparable periods and their grade point averages in school improved significantly. While this program was little more than an extension of the court's jurisdiction over the offender, the services provided have been shown to be beneficial.

#### Probation Subsidy Program of California

An important result of the success of California's CTPs is the state subsidy program in which the state pays a certain

allotment to the courts for each offender not sentenced to prison that normally would have been. The rationale was that increased supervision of individual cases makes it feasible to put an increasingly large number of offenders on probation in the community, saving the high cost of institutionalization. Whether or not an offender goes to prison is highly dependent upon the particular judge and especially the particular district or court before which he appears.

The percentage of offenders placed on probation in Michigan ranges from 25% to 75%, depending on the county. This is also true in California and, consequently, a sliding scale was developed to avoid penalizing counties which already had a low commitment rate. The subsidy program has resulted in a reduction of institutional commitments by an estimated 2,500 for the years 1967 and 1968. The program has encouraged individual probation departments to provide intensive individualized supervision by limiting caseloads, utilizing various community resources, and implementing many of the correctional procedures currently in vogue.

#### Day Care Centers

An important innovation which avoids some of the problems of institutionalization and yet retains a fairly high degree of authority over the offender is what is known as a "day care" center, where the offender is able to live at home and be supervised during the day, involving himself in school, counseling

group and drug therapy and other programs. The purpose of the day care home is to remove the offender from a negative environment and involve him in a rehabilitation program while remaining in his own home. The court feels that offenders should be kept in their own home and the parents whenever possible should continue to be responsible for the offender. This encourages the parents to work with the offender on his problems. Many programs help the parents develop more responsible attitudes by giving them knowledge to more effectively train and care for all their children as well as the offender in the day care center. Most of these programs specifically attempt to restructure the youth's values from the peer sub-culture's value system to a more socially acceptable value system. The peer group was utilized in most day-care centers to help reach these goals.

#### College Field Project

Another project, the College Field Project (CFP), was established in Newark, New Jersey. CFP utilized reinforcement from the youth's peer group to modify delinquent behavior and attitudes, emphasizing improved educational achievement and abilities. The Project helped the offenders develop decision-making abilities by developing a peer culture which would reinforce the various steps toward this goal. The offenders were given ample opportunity for interaction with skillful guidance and, when needed, information was provided through formal academic classes.

The Project started by training amenable offenders, called cultural transmitters, the functional values and techniques of influence. The more successful students of those who internalized the desired values were then used to pass them on to other group members. The most successful cultural transmitters from each group were used to pass the culture on to the next group. While allegiance to the group was achieved largely through interaction outside the formal group meetings, the formal group meetings were highly instrumental in dealing with acting-out behavior, changing negative attitudes towards school and changing other non-functional values. The entire program endeavored to break the pattern of educational failure that offenders are often involved in. The curriculum was modified to meet the students' needs and a great deal of remedial instruction was provided. By utilizing modern instructional techniques including the multi-media and Montessorri methods, the program demonstrated that significant academic advancement can be made. The study found that up to three academic years improvement was made in just one-half year. The tentative evaluation of the program shows greater gains for the college field boys on IQ tests, attitudes toward teachers and school; a more realistic and favorable self-assessment and a higher achievement motivation were found in the program than in the control group.

### Essex Fields Rehabilitation Project

Essex Fields Rehabilitation Project (EFRP) consisted of a short-term group-oriented rehabilitation project that arranged for juvenile offenders to work in groups in a county mental hospital. The program was structured in groups of ten boys who were to progress through the program as a unit. The majority of the offenders' workday (from 7:00 a.m. until 10:00 p.m.) was concerned with secular work in the hospital. The offenders were involved with group activities the remaining time. The research on EFRP found that recidivism rates for the EFRP group of reformatory boys did not differ significantly from the control group.

### The Parkland Experiment

The Parkland Experiment (PE) in Louisville, Kentucky demonstrated that socially acceptable behavior with juveniles could be encouraged by using groups, half-day educational programs, remedial assistance, half-day work programs, and intensive family counseling. While the results of the research were not striking, it supported the contention that intensive intervention is at least as effective as incarceration.

### Citizenship Training Group

Brief mention will be made of a program in Boston called the Citizenship Training Group, Inc. (CTG) which was effective in keeping juveniles busy in somewhat enjoyable pursuits designed to enhance their social, intellectual, and moral development.

The program included a mixture of educational, recreational, and creative activities interspersed with medical and psychological testing, casework interviews, and group discussions. The boys were sentenced from the court to attend the program for two hours after school every weekday for twelve weeks. The facilities included a craft shop, a gym, a library, and a lounge for supervised socializing. Requiring the boys to come to the project directly after school and to go home directly afterwards insured that they did not have time for non-functional associations or becoming involved in delinquent activities.

#### Pilot Intensive Counseling Organization

The Pilot Intensive Counseling Organization (PICO) was one of the first programs of its kind in the nation to treat older youths in a community correctional program. The Project was begun in California in 1955 in order to study the effects of therapy on juvenile offenders classified as corrigibles. Classification was determined by clinical evaluations. Those offenders who were, according to clinical tests, determined to be bright, verbal, anxious, and demonstrated evidence of an awareness of their problems, some insight, a desire to change, and acceptance of treatment were labelled amenable or corrigible. Those offenders who fell below a certain point on the continuum of these variables were determined to be non-amenable or incorrigible. Therapy consisted to two weekly individual or



group counseling sessions for a period of nine months.

The PICO Project researched the concept that therapy would be detrimental to delinquent groups not amenable to it (the incorrigibles), but would be very helpful to those who were perceived to benefit from it (the corrigibles). One of the main goals of the PICO Project was to determine the feasibility of treating delinquent youths in the community as opposed to in an institution. This new approach was experimented with in an effort to develop a method which would be more successful than present institutionalization systems. Based on the results of Projects like the Youth Crime Control Project, the PICO Project experimented with several types of treatment which were currently in vogue in correctional research.

The experimental design consisted of randomized assignment into either the treatment group or the control group. A total of four research groups were utilized in which 50% of the amenable received therapy and 50% of the non-amenable received therapy, forming a therapy amenable group, a nontherapy amenable group, a therapy nonamenable group and a nontherapy nonamenable group. The results show that significantly fewer therapy amenable recidivated than any other group. Both of the control groups experienced approximately the same percentage of recidivism. Surprisingly, the treated nonamenable showed the highest rate of recidivism. Conclusions of the study were that treatment could be detrimental or beneficial, depending upon the type of individual receiving therapy. This study

strongly points out the necessity of evaluating the individual and determining treatment according to known variables. Research in education has shown that utilizing individual styles of learning and tailoring learning according to cognitive styles and needs greatly enhances learning programs.

The vast majority of innovative programs and non-punitive correctional efforts have been directed toward youthful offenders since they are viewed as less of a threat to society, are given more sympathy, and are viewed as the most viable to change due to less experience in crime.

#### The Youth Crime Control Project

The Youth Crime Control Project (YCCP) was opened at the Youth Center in Lorton, Virginia in 1960. Unlike most programs it incorporated both youths and young adults and was intensively researched. YCCP used rehabilitative techniques that stressed positive experiences and endeavored to eliminate many of the humiliating and degrading aspects of the traditional prison systems. The offenders resided in dormitory-style rooms in a small complex of two or three story buildings set on what appears to be a grassy college campus. Except for a barbed wire fence with about five guard outposts, the Project Center does not look like a prison.

The YCCP was not a community treatment project, but a semi-prison setting which attempted to research the experiences and factors which were felt to be detrimental to rehabilitation

in the standard prisons. The Project and the control group were each made up of convicted black male offenders, all between the ages of 18 and 26. The Project excluded those charged with "a notorious crime." To insure that the largest possible number completed the program, no offender was accepted if he had cases pending. The control group was randomly selected from a large pool and was to serve its sentences at the Lorton Youth Center.

The staff of twenty-five, including the professional case workers, employment specialists, ex-offenders, secretarial and kitchen personnel were all given sixty hours of training in the theory of the therapeutic community by the Psychiatric Institute Foundation of Washington, D.C. In an effort to eliminate some of the humiliating, degrading aspects of traditional institutionalization in the prison (classified as minimum security), there were no barred windows, locked doors, guards, or required uniforms for the offenders. The offenders were referred to as "students" in an effort to change the offenders' self concepts. To change the tendency of offenders to be quite passive, seeing themselves as being manipulated by the events around them, the "students" were taught to assume full responsibility for their actions and behavior as part of the goal of helping them to be inner directed. A strong effort was made to develop the values, skills, and attitudes which would be appropriate in any community. Only minor attention was given to insight from

psychotherapy due to time and staff limitations and a concentration on practical therapeutic treatment that would be appropriate for extensive use in other correctional settings. The effects of the program were evaluated by comparing pre- and post-test scores on a series of tests.

The main hypothesis tested was that recidivism rates of offenders who served their sentences at the YCCP would be significantly lower than those of offenders who had served their sentences at the Lorton Youth Center. It was further hypothesized that post release adjustment, as measured by the severity of new offenses or the frequency of convictions, would be significantly better for the YCCP offenders than for the control group.

The minor hypotheses researched were that for the experimental group there would be greater

1. Attitude change in the direction of more feelings of self-responsibility, self-control and inner-directiveness
2. Positive change towards the values and mores of society
3. Attitude change in the direction of increased satisfaction with working experiences. This item is to be measured after a specified period after release, primarily by determining unemployment rates and job changing rates
4. Social and psychological adjustment. This is partially measured by a lower recidivist rate, a longer time duration prior to receiving another conviction, fewer and shorter periods of unemployment, greater job satisfaction and a more harmonious adjustment to both family and home.

The battery included Shostrom's Personnel Orientation

Inventory (POI), The California Psychological Inventory (CPI), The Gesness Inventory (JI), and the Strong's Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB). Both groups were tested two weeks after sentencing and retested upon termination of treatment. The POI Test was used to evaluate changes in inner-outer directiveness, and the CPI and the JI were used to assess changes in attitudes the subjects had toward both themselves and society. The SVIB assessed changes in employment attitudes and was used primarily to measure the effects of vocational services administered.

A team of eight students and four staff members focused on the offender's responsibilities, behaviors, attitudes, motivations, level of work responsibility, impulse control, postponement of gratification, future planning, and handling of both stress and interpersonal relationships in a socially democratic way. Through discussion the offenders were helped to take the responsibility for decisions about themselves, their treatment program, and the rules by which they were to abide. Group treatment was utilized in meeting problems which stemmed from a generally poor home environment and negative peer relationships. Community meetings were held for one and one-half hours daily with all residents and staff members. These meetings focused primarily on developing a functional harmonious relationship within the entire house staff.

Family groups were held approximately once a week for one and one-half hours in order to involve the students'

families in understanding the dynamics of the youths' behavior. Families were asked to become involved so that they could understand the youths' problems and difficulties and improve their own relationships with the offenders. This was felt to be important in that much change effected in the correctional setting is lost once the offender is returned to the negative influences of both his home and his peer environment. By involving families in treatment, an effort is made to change important aspects of the environment so that the change in the offender can be more permanent. Unfortunately, many families resist being involved in treatment because they often do not see themselves as a negative factor in the offender's behavior and many family members, especially the parents, have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. On the other hand, families are sometimes cooperative because they know that the court has legal jurisdiction over the offender and they want to help him.

Group meetings involving the offender's spouse or girlfriend, functioning similar to group marriage counseling, were held according to the needs of the offender. Vocational and educational meetings were held approximately once a week, for one and one-half hours, to deal with students' vocational difficulties and aspirations. Often the students' aspirations were more effectively handled on an individual basis, due to the highly individualized nature of vocational aspirations and innate vocational abilities, and the realization that

group pressure will not significantly alter an individual's intelligence or occupational abilities in a short period of time.

The offenders were to progress in treatment according to phases. The initial period of approximately thirty days, during which time the students were not permitted to leave the grounds of the house, was used for psychological and vocational assessment, academic remediation, and intensive group counseling. The next phase, advanced to only if the offender demonstrated readiness, consisted of leaving the house in pursuit of employment, vocational or academic opportunities. In phase three the student was encouraged to participate in community affairs and was no longer required to return daily to the house for the team or community meetings in the evenings. It was the purpose of this phase to instill greater independence and self-responsibility in the offenders. The last phase is tantamount to parole, in which the student establishes living quarters with his family or elsewhere. Group meetings were still held, but less frequently, primarily to insure a successful transition from the house to the community. This phase was felt to be important in insuring that the new attitudes and values that were developed were fully incorporated into the person within the new setting outside the prison. The last phase was full release from formal supervision of the house. In this phase the offenders were technically on parole, and must have some contact with the house.

The teams moved through the various phases as a group. Realizing that expectations must be met for all team members before the entire team can move on, a great deal of group pressure as well as group aid was given to the reticent group members. To progress from the beginning phases to formal parole takes approximately two years.

The findings concluded that the inmates' attitudes towards the institution shifted from a predominantly positive one at admission to a predominantly negative one within the first thirty days. Generally the youths felt that the programs in which they were involved would not be of any long term benefit to them. Even vocational and educational programs were regarded as a charade which was a necessary obligation they had to fulfill to satisfy requirements for parole. There was a great deal of resistance to the psychological therapy the Project provided since most of the offenders regarded themselves as normal and a relationship with the therapist was not necessarily seen as desirable. The conclusions of the study, summed up by Spevacek are:

The overall conclusion. . . is that despite changes in the milieu and the beginning of new programs, the Youth Center's purpose is still perceived as one of punishment, and the experience is not expected to be a positive turning point in their lives.

Spevacek and Adams concluded that the goals of the Project could better be carried out in a community based setting. The final report, which is not yet completed, will compare recidivism rates for the experimental and control group for



the period from the offender's release date until two years thereafter. A comparison of the average time spent in confinement and the number of subsequent convictions will be made. The attitude change will be assessed by means of the pre- and post-test scores for the POI, CPI, and JI tests.

The statistic utilized for all tests will be a t-test for independent samples and an analysis of covariants with a pre-test as the covariant. The analysis of regression will be made on the change in scores to determine the amount of variance due to real attitude change.

A success-failure typology will be assessed by means of a correlational analysis based on the psychological test data, IQ, age, number of prior arrests, age at first arrest, incidents of drug use, highest grade of education completed, home and family background, employment history, and any other variables suggested during the Project. An intercorrelational matrix will be established in order to compare the above factors with one another, focusing on clustering in order to fully understand the relations between the various factors researched.

#### The Denver Project

Volunteer probation services were utilized, in the majority of cases, in communities which had a population of less than 200,000. Larger cities were more reluctant to consider both the use of volunteers and community treatment. Many of those

who live in the big cities are affected by the stigmas of lower income, education, and social class, compounded by largely minority group membership. Community pride and community interest are likely to be lower and rates of crime are apt to cause neighbors to be more suspicious of each other, with the result that the people are more anonymous, uncooperative, and unconcerned about the community. Those of higher social status such as the professionals and the more successful businessmen are more likely to live in the suburbs, identify with the suburban community and are largely indifferent to the city's civic affairs. The prevalent child-rearing practices among lower-class communities and the lack of understanding in dealing with criminal behavior results in a more solid public opinion towards the use of strictly punitive methods of corrections for offenders in the cities.

The fact that, according to crime rates, the hard-core of crime lay in the nation's great cities, coupled with the fact that the financial situation of many cities has progressively worsened, points to the need for better ways of dealing with crime in the cities. Project misdemeanor's success prompted Judge William H. Burnett, the presiding judge of Denver County Court, to examine the problem of misdemeanor rehabilitation in his court. In 1966, with Department of Justice funding, Judge Burnett established a probation department that utilized community resources in order to work on four areas of rehabilitation: employment, psychological and social

adjustment and alternation of significant environmental factors. This project had the advantage of being integrated with the University of Denver. The volunteers were given a short but intensive training course at the Graduate School of Social Work and a court diagnostic clinic was established in conjunction with the Department of Psychology. The research program, conducted by the Department of Sociology of the University of Colorado, was designed to determine the success of the demonstration project.

This research was the first to test the feasibility of a volunteer probationary program for misdemeanor offenders in a city of more than half a million population and was viewed by other large probation departments with interest. The study used a non-random assignment two group design. The experimental group was placed on probation with the benefit of the probation department's special services, as established for the Project, and the control group was given the customary sentences such as jail terms and fines. Both groups underwent a battery of psychological tests prior to being sentenced. One year later both groups were retested, using the same battery of tests and the records of the police department, welfare agencies, and other organizations were examined. All offenders were interviewed according to a standard format so that offenders could be compared. The test battery was similar to that used in the Royal Oak Study as were the philosophy behind the volunteer implementation and adjacent services rendered.

A serious drawback in the research was that the judge determined which offenders went into the experimental group and which went into the control group. Evaluations were based on the degree of change between the pre- and post-testing, but it cannot be determined to what extent those offenders who are more likely to benefit from this type of program were biasly sentenced into it, skewing the results.

Fully random assignment is necessary to assure that both groups are equivalent on all relevant factors to insure unbiased placement. A further impediment to the research was the pressure for favorable results in that the grant enabled the Project to operate for only a two year period, after which time the city-county government would begin financing only if the program proved successful. Few controls were set up to insure that the two groups were alike on factors that are known to be important. The special training course designed by the Graduate School of Social Work was an original development with the Denver Project, but was unfortunately not researched. All volunteers were required to attend three hour long night classes once a week for one month. The first class consisted of a general orientation to the court process and especially the program in which the volunteers would be involved. Because few volunteers had direct, first-hand experience with the court process, it was necessary that the volunteer become aware of both the legal formalities and the specific court process so he could give proper guidance to the offender he was working

with to understand what offenders typically go through. In later classes the philosophical, economic and humanitarian background of probation was presented. Finally, some understanding of deviant behavior and how to handle various contingencies probationers are typically involved with is attempted. Important too, is an understanding of the individual misdemeanant with particular emphasis on the psychology of character disorders. The philosophy that criminal offenses "are symptomatic of the fact that the offender is at least psycho-socially disordered"<sup>23</sup> is expunged. The offense represents the individual's reaction to a variety of stresses. By receiving help towards either alleviating the stresses or dissipating them to other areas, the offender's criminal pattern can be stopped. Part of the training includes reviewing a case history of a misdemeanant who has been through the diagnostic clinic. The process of interviewing is touched on, and the various community services are discussed. One of the instructors, Professor James Jorgensen, said,

We don't get many unsuitable volunteers who complete the course. The classes are hard work and inconvenient, and that screens out those who are not really interested. Those who stick with it usually are sensitive to troubled people, sometimes because they have come close to going wrong in their youth.<sup>24</sup>

The tests administered to the offenders include the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, a battery of socio-metric tests designed to reveal the type of deviant acts in which the defendant is involved, and tests designed to reveal the extent of pathology and the internalized norms

of the offender. The Project only slightly altered the court procedure. After the misdemeanor had either pleaded guilty or was found guilty, a diagnostic evaluation was given at the clinic. The evaluation included the offender's case history and extensive testing by the staff psychiatrists. This information was reviewed by a staff each afternoon and a sentencing recommendation was made to the Judge. About half of those offenders who went through the diagnostic clinic were placed in some kind of special supervised probation. The other half were directed by the court to a particular outside community agency depending on the corrective recommendations the diagnostic clinic makes. This selection process was not random, and the group treated outside the court was not extensively researched.

The Project endeavored to select a volunteer counselor who they felt would work well with a specific probationer. After a year of experience, the Project made a study of a group of randomly selected volunteers in an effort to establish guidelines for matching counselors with probationers. No definite conclusions were reached since "the assignment of volunteer counselors is a matter which has no rules and regulations." It was found that successful counselors are younger and closer to the probationer in social class, religion, and education. Previous counseling experience is evidently not an important factor. Having a small or no family and less commitments elsewhere were found to be important because the volunteer could devote more time to the probationer.

An important factor in the use of volunteers for young probationers is summed up in the proverb "bad associations spoil useful habits." After reading numerous accounts of cases dealt with by volunteers, one is struck by the importance of spending time with the offender, having respect for him, and the importance of the volunteer's role model in changing the offender's behavior. This situation may be summed up in the reverse proverb, "Good associations help develop good habits." An effort to simply develop "good association" between the volunteer and the probationer has shown to be important in behavior change.

The Project research found that the control group of misdemeanants had a slightly higher mean of arrests (3.17) prior to the study and showed little improvement at the end of the study (3.00 per year). The experimental group had a slightly lower base arrests rate (2.90), but significantly reduced the mean level of arrests during the two years to 1.36. The control group's arrests per offender for the two year period were .94 of the base rate, compared to .47 for the experimental group. The reduction was attributed to the total treatment effort; unfortunately, the contributions of specific treatment programs were not evaluated. The type of misdemeanors committed during the two year study period were essentially the same as committed during the base rate. Driving tickets and drinking offenses made up more than half of the repeated offenses for both groups. The psycho-social tests indicated the control

group's deviant behavior increased in more than half the categories. The experimental group, on the other hand, showed increases for only three variables. On the self-evaluation scale, the control group decreased in an average of ten of the thirteen categories while the experimental group improved on twelve of the thirteen, showing a highly significant statistical difference between the two groups. The training given to the volunteers to help them respond in an approving manner to the offender, enabling the offender to identify with the volunteer worker in a positive way, was felt to be very helpful.

The study emphasized that it is difficult to base conclusions on pure statistical data.

Several hundred extremely troubled young adults, whose psychosocial disorders have brought them into repeated encounters with the law, have been placed in a positive relationship with dedicated citizens from the mainstream of our society there could be no doubt. Similarly, that a statistically significant short term improvement has been brought about can hardly be questioned, but this human being whom we refer to as a 'case' or a 'defendant' holds the answer to whether his life has been permanently influenced for the better. Both faith and logic lead us to speculate that it has.<sup>25</sup>

This statement agrees with many statements made by the workers who were involved in the program. The results convinced the County of Denver to take over the financing of the voluntary probation program after federal funding ran out. While there was some opposition from various Denver officials, there was enough tangible evidence to convince the majority that a program



that costs \$125,000 a year to hire a staff of four probation counselors, three psychologists, one part-time psychiatrist, four clerical workers and a project director was a good investment. Because of the project, the number of inmates in the Denver jail dropped from more than 1,000 prior to 1966 to half of that number in 1969. While the country as a whole saw an increase in crime, which renders it difficult to fully assess the contributions of this program in the reduction of crime in Denver, most city officials feel that the probation department, by utilizing improved probation services, has greatly reduced what the caseload would have been if it were not for the Project.

#### The Saginaw Demonstration Project

The Saginaw Demonstration Probation Project was designed to test the following hypotheses<sup>26</sup> by (1) increasing the number and quality of probation officers in order to reduce each officer's caseload and allowing closer supervision, and (2) by developing more careful presentence investigations, a number of offenders normally sentenced to prison could be given probation with a probation success ratio at least as good as achieved before the Project. It was hypothesized that this could be accomplished at no greater risk to the community than the present system, with a significant savings to the public in prison costs.

The Project limited caseloads to fifty units per month,

provided in-service training, and utilized some outside facilities to work with the offenders who would normally have been institutionalized. The increased cost of hiring probation officers would more than offset the costs saved by decreased use of prison. The violations were estimated to be equivalent or lower than the previous system of probation or institutionalization for "medium danger offenders."

The rising costs of prisons, the increased number of offenders sentenced to prison, and the agreement by many prison authorities that over 80% of those now sentenced to prison can be treated in the community if extensive services are utilized, encouraged the development of what eventually became the Saginaw Demonstration Project. In order to verify the Project's assumptions, a comparison of the study's three year period with the previous three year period for the same court was made. Problems in comparing a three year period with a previous three year period include the presence of trends which may have started in the first three year period and continued during the second three years. Crime may be going up or down in that particular area, and the Project's effect may not be seen in the comparison. A control group that can be researched contemporaneously with the experimental group is preferable. As this could not be done, an examination of the comparisons will be made cognizant of the fact that the comparisons are not for contemporary periods.

Another limitation was that only those cases in which

presentence investigations were prepared by the probation department were used. The results of these cases are summarized according to the amount of restitution and changes in work habits, marital status, and the number of violations.

The total number of cases used for the study period was 588, and for the control period, 570. An examination of the breakdown of the offenses committed during each period shows that they are quite similar. Exceptions include a tremendous drop in the number of cases involving weapons, from 99 to 15, a conspicuous increase in the number of forgery cases, from 57 to 93, and in sex offenses, from 10 to 32. The coefficient rank correlation between the two periods, according to type of offenses, is .79.

Educationally, most of the six probation officers were trained in a behavioral science area; their degrees ranged from an undergraduate degree in social work to the MSW degree. Because of the wide range of experience, in-service training was given a high priority in the program. Training included individual conferences, informal and formal staff conferences, meetings with other community agencies, and provisions for personal study and growth. In addition, periodic review of all cases was made with the supervisor to discuss the implications of various treatments and evaluate present ongoing programs. The staff was limited to caseloads of no more than fifty units each, five units given for each presentence investigation done per month, and one unit for each case under active supervision.

The staff made an extensive presentence investigation to facilitate effective treatment during the later stages of the supervision process. In-service training was utilized to develop the diagnostic abilities of the probation officers to insure the accuracy of the presentence report. A statistical data report was filled out on each offender in order to gather a number of social, physical, physiological and other data for the research study. Before the Project, the probation officers chronologically recorded each of their contacts in their road book. The record was limited to the time and place of call and some data about the subject contacted. In order to more fully examine each case during the review conference with the supervisors, the staff developed a system of summarizing most of the activities and interviews with each probationer. The caseloads were small enough so that the officer could design supervision to meet the needs of each probationer. In several cases the probation officers devoted a large amount of time and energy to the relatives and close friends of the probationer as one means of influencing the probationer himself. In several cases regular interviews were held with the probationer's wife.

The quality and depth of the relationship between the officer and the probationer varied greatly. The probationers were encouraged to rely on the officer for guidance in matters such as keeping a job, finishing school, or the every day contingencies of life. The client was helped to achieve insight

into his basic behavior patterns and was helped to use his own success to gain greater confidence in his abilities to function in the world of work, school, and wherever he experienced conflict. By increasing the quality of the probationer-probation officer relationship, it was found that even the rate of payment of court costs, fines, and restitution was higher during the three year experimental period than during the preceding three year period. The probation officers devoted much effort in helping the offenders locate jobs or appropriate vocational training to qualify for a job since this was found to be a major problem. Work helps the probationer to pay off debts, aiding him to see himself as a person who is expected to pay off his debts like anybody else. This gives him a certain status and a basis for changing his values, helping him grow toward maturity. Restitution or court costs were occasionally waived if it was felt that this would help the offender and his family adjust to the economic struggles with which many of the probationers were confronted. Another area the officer often had to work on was the disharmony evident in many of the probationers' families. Occasionally the family would coalesce against what was perceived as "the hostile authorities," and in effect reinforce the offender's deviant behavior. At other times the offenders revealed long standing patterns of conflict within the family and wanted help. Occasionally, too, the family would attempt to use the officer as a disciplinarian to fulfill the role that the parents

perceived they had failed in.

It was found that the older married probationers showed more stability; very few were separated, widowed, or divorced. Where serious marital conflicts threatened the probationer's adjustment, the officer was often able to successfully intervene, and either solve the problem or facilitate efforts towards a solution. A strong effort was made to evaluate the probationer's total situation, viewing probation as one aspect of rehabilitation. A new offense was sometimes seen as a symptom of too much tension. The good relationship between the judges and the probation officers helped to not violate some offenders, but to work at mitigating the problems causing the tension.

In evaluating projects in corrections, violations, as measured by new prison commitments, are of primary concern. But when a probationer committed a new offense and was sentenced to prison, the probation officer's efforts may not by any means have been unsuccessful. Letters from offenders in prison, comments from employers, relatives, etc. indicate that the relationship in the project often had a decidedly positive effect, even though the offender was violated.<sup>27</sup> Possibly if this relationship could have continued, the offender would not have violated. Yet, in some cases, in spite of every effort, the probation officer seemed to have little influence on his client. Even though, it is difficult to measure exactly how much the probation experience changed the offender,

and in what direction. It can more accurately be said that the influence was "not observable" instead of concluding that there was "no influence." An officer who spends several hundred or more hours with an offender is bound to have some influence, even if this influence may not be enough to accomplish the Project's goals. This Project, unfortunately, did not specifically evaluate the degree and quality of influence on each probationer. Several research workers, after investigating the Project, commented that in most cases the influence seemed to be positive according to the evidence available. This conclusion is suggested from the fact that former offenders often continued to correspond with their old P.O., indicating that the P.O. was still a significant outside contact even after probation. Several offenders even relied upon the Project's advice after they were discharged and, in some cases, even some of their friends contacted the Project for help. The department was utilized, even in cases where technically the offender has failed probation. The probationer's relatives also often sought help from the P.O. they have come to know, even after the probationer was discharged or sentenced to prison. Thus the probationer's (and the community's) benefit from the Project, in many cases, continued in spite of a violation.

Immediately before discharge a termination interview took place with the probationer and the Project supervisor. A meaningful transition was attempted and important information

for the study was, in most cases, completed. Another novel approach used was granting probationers who had done well an early discharge. The Project's experience indicated that this was highly appreciated by the probationer, even if the discharge was only a few weeks early. Several probationers expressed their appreciation, either verbally or in writing, for these symbolic gifts and assured the probation officer that they would not "let him down." After a sufficient length of time after termination had elapsed, a follow-up study was made, enabling the long term effects of intensive casework to be evaluated.

Typically it is a problem for the probationer to meet his financial obligations to the court. Almost all offenders granted probation were required to make some type of financial restitution in addition to required court costs. The Project obtained special permission in certain cases to waiver these costs, but the probation officer was to weigh the conditions carefully before recommending the lowering or dismissing of these costs. The officers were convinced of the value of holding the probationer to his financial responsibility, but if the circumstances of probation made it next to impossible for the probationer to make the payments, the waiver was utilized. It is felt that this would serve a more constructive social purpose than pressuring the offender for the money. If a probationer could simply not make his payments to the court, the waiver gave him the opportunity to use the money



for immediate family needs or other obligations.

Several different aspects of the Saginaw Project were studied. The first was a study on the Project's various techniques of casework practice and how it compared to casework in normal probation. The findings were based on interviews with the probation officers and their supervisors and an examination of the case records. Sixty cases were selected from the Project for extensive study, twenty from cases assigned to the Project in the early months of the Project, twenty from cases assigned midway in the Project, and twenty selected by the supervisor or the probation officers as illustrations of special kinds of problems. Although no attempt was made to match this sample of sixty cases to the total group, comparisons of age, race, sex, birth place, and educational level show that the sample was similar to the total group. Of the original sixty, two were later committed to an institution for the mentally retarded and four were sentenced to prison.

A summary of the type of offense shows that offenses against persons (homicide, rape, abduction, offenses against children, and assault) constituted 10.9% of the experimental group and 11.4% of the control group. Offenses against public morals (sex offenses, drug offenses, prostitution) constituted 10.9% for the experimental group and 9.0% for the control group. Offenses against property (arson, robbery, burglary, auto theft, forgery, embezzlement, fraud, malicious destruction, etc.) constituted 67.7% of the experimental group and 58.4%

of the control group. The greatest percentile difference was in offenses against public policy (bribery, weapon offenses, dissertation, gambling, interference with legal processes, etc.). The experimental group was 10.5% while the control group was twice as high, 21.2%. Thus, while there are some differences reflecting increased numbers of some types of offenses, the differences are such that some comparison can be made with caution.

Utilizing the final disposition "name" is not the best way of comparing groups because the offense charged will be one that the officer feels he can get a conviction for as opposed to a more serious charge or one which is more difficult to prove. For instance, simple possession of drugs, a gun, or stolen property is easy to prove and guarantees guilt for at least "possession" even though the actual offense may be armed robbery, larceny, or unlawful use or sale of narcotics. When the laws change some offenses are arrested in a new category. Since the use of marijuana and other drugs is now taken care of in the District Court level, the dockets at the Circuit Court level show a specific decline in drug use offenses, not because of a change in the number of offenses, but because of the changes in the legal system. A "crack down" on a certain type of offense may also cause the percentage of convictions for a certain year to change, such as gun control in recent years.

During the study period, 16.2% of the experimental group

received a prison sentence compared to 31.9% of the control group. This seems to indicate that many more offenders received probation, but actually only 63.6% of the experimental group compared to 58.8% of the control group received probation during this experimental period. The difference exists because 20.2% of the experimental group compared to 9.3% of the control group received a combination of jail or fines.

It is not stated what percentage of individuals receiving jail or fines also received probation. In the Oakland County Court a very small percentage of offenders receive a "jail only" sentence. Generally, a jail term is part of probation, if jail is used at all. Examination of the length of prison terms imposed reveals that the study group had a lower minimum (3.08) compared to the control group (3.37) and a higher maximum (11.19) compared to the control group (10.90). Thus, during the Project, the judges used greater flexibility in sentencing, resulting in a lower average minimum and a higher average maximum, giving the prison officials more latitude to concentrate on treatment.

The increased number of probation dispositions was accompanied by a slight decrease in the average length of the probation terms from 2.2 years for the control group to 2.1 years for the study group. The lower caseload for each probation officer did not significantly change the number of special conditions imposed on the probationers. In fact, special conditions imposed decreased slightly. The courts, as with prison

sentences, evidently gave more latitude to the probation officers in determining conditions imposed on the probationer, waiting until the probationer's needs were determined.

Criminal recidivism rates indicate that, once the pattern of criminal behavior is established, the cycle is hard to break. The higher the offender's recidivism rate, the poorer is the prognosis for rehabilitation. The poorer the criminal record, the greater the chance the offender has of going to prison, as it is presumed persons with poor records are a greater threat to society. Comparing the criminal histories shows 48.9% of the experimental group receiving probation having previous criminal records compared to 66% of the control group. In contrast, of the group sentenced to prison during the study, 88.4% had a previous record compared to 90.7% for the control group period. Thus, actually fewer offenders of the experimental group placed on probation had previous records compared to the control group. The percentage of the experimental group who previously had been on adult probation rose to 23.5% compared to 16.1% for the control group.

It is difficult to determine from this data what kind of change in sentencing patterns took place and how any changes affected the composition of the experimental population that the court dealt with. Many variables have to be taken into consideration before any definitive conclusions can be reached from the research and control populations. This is one of the many problems of utilizing a control group which is not

contemporaneous with the experimental group. The mean number of previous jail sentences for the experimental group was 1.85 compared to 1.59 for the control group, indicating the court's assumption of increased risk for the experimental group and showing a possible change in sentencing patterns. Yet the percentage of those sentenced to prison who had prison records increased significantly for the study period, and those who did not have prison records were not sentenced to prison as often during the study period as during the control period.

In summary, the sentencing pattern represents many conflicting trends. For the experimental group, a higher percentage of "borderline cases" were given probation instead of prison. Both the "solid prison" and the "solid probation" cases evidenced little change in dispositions for the two periods studied.

Consistent with most studies, a higher percentage of the females received probation and fines. An extremely small number of female offenders receive prison sentences, even for serious crimes such as murder. Of the experimental group, 96.8% of the prison cases were male, compared to 96.7% of the control group. The probation group shows similar similarities between the experimental group and the control group, 90.9% compared to 91.3% respectively. The greatest change was between the group receiving jail or fines, from the control level of 90.8% to 77.4% for the experimental group. A comparatively larger percent of females receive jail or fines compared to

the experimental group. The sex ratio did not significantly change for the experimental compared to the control group for all dispositions except jail or fine. The race and national composition of the offenders shifted somewhat during the experimental period, as both the number and percentage of Mexicans and non-whites were lower for the experimental group for all dispositions. The data showed that the age groups corresponded with the population increase of both the younger and older brackets. The mean age between the control group and experimental group was only slightly affected.

A larger number of younger offenders in the experimental group brought about a corresponding increase in the number of single persons (2.3%). The probation group had a higher percentage of single persons due to the fact that younger offenders with less serious records generally are placed on probation more often than the older offenders who have had more time to accumulate a record that would warrant them being sent to prison. There was a lower percentage of offenders separated from their wives in the total group for the research period, indicating that the experimental group had more stable marital relations than the control group, a fact born out by observations by individual probation officers.

The birth place pattern is in harmony with what would be expected in view of population trends. Since World War I, the population has been moving from rural areas into industrial communities. Many adults who reside in Michigan's industrial

areas were born out of the state, and the tremendous increase in Michigan's industrialism attracted the rural population from several poorer states. This movement has slowed down considerably in the last fifteen years. In comparing the total experimental group and the control group, it was found that about the same percentage were born in Michigan for both groups (57.4% as opposed to 45.1% for the control group). A significant decrease in the number of offenders born in the southern states was found in the experimental group, 29.8% compared to 43.7% for the control group. This represents the largest contrast between the two groups compared to most other items. Only small differences were seen in other comparisons.

As expected, the experimental group, being younger, native born, and older residents of Saginaw county, had a higher education level than the control group. For all groups the educational level is below the mean for the county as a whole.

Occupationally, the offenders were classified according to the occupational code used by the Survey Research Center. The vast majority of all offenders for both groups were in the unskilled labor category (63.4%), and 3.7% were in the next largest category, salesmen. The probation experimental group showed the same pattern, with unskilled labor accounting for 61.7%, salesman 4.0%, service 11.0%, and miscellaneous or no occupation 20.3%. The pattern for the control group, respectively, was 63.3%, 4.2%, 11.3%, and 14.0%.

According to the information gathered by the probation officer, more than half of the offenders had either poor work habits or little experience by which to judge their work. Of the experimental group, 39.6% had adequate work habits compared to 44.4% of the control group.

The legal earnings as a whole were extremely poor. The control group was very similar to the experimental group except for a trend showing a slight decrease in weekly earnings. The number of dependents was also comparable, differing by less than a few percentage points for almost all categories. The experimental group, compared to the control group, had slightly smaller families, reflecting the younger age of this group.

The follow-up study of each offender after his probation that was completed shows that the experimental group made a significant improvement. Unfortunately, only the probation group was thoroughly studied; there were few follow-up comparisons with the control group, and none with the prison cases.

In examining work habits in the follow-up study, it was found that 58.5% of the control group remained unchanged compared to 54.0% of the experimental group. The percent rated improved was 18.8% and 26.2% respectively, and the percent rated deteriorated was 22.7% and 19.8% respectively. There were few changes in marital status in both the groups although the researchers judged the experimental group as showing more change toward marital stability.



The experimental group had an average of 1.33 violations compared to the control group's 1.20.<sup>28</sup> This slight increase in probation violations for the experimental group was attributed to increased surveillance and a tendency not to send offenders to prison after the first new offense. Thus, there was an increase in the total number of violations for an offender before he was actually incarcerated, resulting in a higher mean for the total group. As noted above increased surveillance makes the probation officer more aware of the probationer's activities, thus indentifying the truer number of incidents which could result in a violation. As the experimental group was, as a whole, a slightly higher risk group, this slightly higher number of violations is not surprising. When comparing the discharge ratings, we find a greater number of the experimental group, 61.7%, was discharged with improvement as compared with the control group's rate of 49.0%. A lower percentage of the experimental group was discharged because of a new sentence, 31.2% compared to 42.2% for the control group, and a slightly lower number was discharged without improvement, 4.7% compared to 5.9% for the control group.

Three years prior to the experiment, 36.6% of the total court caseload was imprisoned, but during the three year experiment only 19.3% were imprisoned, a reduction of 17.3%, saving an estimated \$424,000 for the three years. This does not include the capital saving which resulted in abandoning the plans for a new prison or the savings from what would have

been lost earnings and taxes if the additional 17.3% were imprisoned. The results show that, three years prior to the Project, 32.2% failed probation, resulting in a prison sentence, but during the three Project years only 17.4% failed probation resulting in a prison sentence, a decrease of 13.8%. The Project demonstrated that when a court has enough highly trained probation officers, public safety can be maintained with less than 20% of the total convicted law violators at the Circuit Court Level receiving a prison sentence. If this number is applied to the total state, Michigan taxpayers could save nine to fourteen million dollars a year in future prisons, parole, and welfare costs, if the courts were provided with adequately trained probation staffs to make such a system work.<sup>29</sup>

The study also indicated that Saginaw County is typical of Michigan as a whole on most of the important variables. Thus, the experiences from this study can be used as a guide to what will probably happen elsewhere in the state if an increased number of offenders were to be placed on probation. It was felt that the negative economic changes during the project operation, including increased unemployment, the higher cost of living, and changes in demands for labor, negatively affected the outcome of the Project. The research indicated that a sharp recession might reduce the rehabilitative effectiveness of probation services. The study concluded that there is considerable evidence that the objectives of probation were being achieved to a higher degree during the experimental

period than during the control period. Collection of restitution assessments was improved, and a more realistic approach to both assessment and waiving of payment was adopted. The number of offenders discharged with improvement increased and the number discharged from a new offense resulting in a new sentence declined. Discharges before completion of the probation period were also more frequent than during the control period.

The work habits of the experimental probationers improved more than the work habits of the control group, even though the control group started out with poorer work habits. The slight increase of probation violaters was viewed as an improvement in probation service, in that the approach to dealing with violaters was apparently less arbitrary and more individualized, using violation for a wider number of reasons. The research report does not give full justification why this assumption was made, but indicated that the individualized attention to the probationers resulted in more violations and yet more discharges with improvement, indicating individualized criteria for violation based on a more thorough evaluation of the individual probationer. The number of young offenders with long records placed on probation increased, but the real risk was offset by the fact that better probation services were available, based upon the assumption that reduced caseloads and more intensive supervision resulted in better probation and lower risk. The study concluded that the overall risk was also reduced somewhat because an increase in the number

of younger local, better educated offenders than previous years, placing them in a category that is generally more responsive to probation services.

The Project's researchers suggested that a follow-up study be made on the probationers in both groups until all probationers have been discharged and that a longitudinal study be made of both groups sentenced from this court. The recommendation was also made that a formal program of "correctional research" be developed by the social work schools in Michigan's three large universities so that these schools' expertise is available, and required placement of students in correctional programs as part of their training and to give the research projects the needed manpower.<sup>30</sup>

In summary, the Saginaw Project was an effort to show what could be accomplished when caseloads were kept to the accepted ideal of no more than fifty units, or about one half of the previous caseload in Saginaw. The staff were trained in social work and encouraged to take further professional training. Probation was used more liberally, with the result that approximately 7% of the offenders who normally would be put into prison were put on probation. There was a substantial increase in the amount of work done with whole families, especially involving the wife in the treatment program. The staff gave close attention to employment and work adjustment by arranging for vocational training, helping the offenders find jobs, and adjust to their job once they found one.

Increasingly, the concept of probation casework is seen as a method of helping the probationer function more satisfactorily in his total environment, resulting in benefits to the community and the offender, realizing that unless the probationer's life is satisfactory according to his standards within the context of community norms, he will always be violating society's standards in an effort to pursue his life style.

The original review of the literature was completed in 1972. Since then, and especially during the time the follow-up study was in progress, several significant studies emerged and there has been a shift in emphasis from rehabilitation to other modes of dealing with offenders. Some of these concepts are reviewed in Appendix number XXIII, which please see.

## CHAPTER III

### DEFINITION OF TERMS

#### ABSCONDER

is a term applied to one who avoids legal process by hiding or concealing himself. If an individual cannot be located within a certain period of time (which varies), he has legally absconded.

#### ADC (Aid to Dependent Children)

is the monies provided by the federal government, in cooperation with the state governments, to families with children in need of financial assistance. Generally these are families where the husband has died, abandoned the family, divorced the wife, or there was never a husband. A set of conditions must be met by the remaining parent before the family is eligible for ADC.

#### ADJOURNMENT

is where a court date is postponed for what the Judge considers a valid reason. Some of the more common reasons are to enable the court to gather more evidence or because a person important to the trial activities did not show up. A trial may be delayed if the court is convinced that a delay is necessary for the defendant's health.

#### ADJUDICATION

is, in the case of juveniles, a hearing to determine whether or not the child is "guilty" or, in the case of adults, a court trial, a legal determination, or a plea that the offender is guilty of the charged crime.

#### ADULT

in the Michigan legal structure, for court purposes, a person who has passed his seventeenth birthday is an adult.

#### AFTERCARE SUPERVISION

is the legal status under which a child in a delinquency case is permitted to return to his home after a period of foster care. He is under the supervision of a worker who is attached to the agency which provided the original foster care.

#### AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

refers to assaults against a person committed with a weapon with an ulterior or malicious motive which does not amount to intent to murder, and where some provocation by the victim is evident. The court often agrees on a plea of Aggravated Assault when a murder is attempted because this charge is easier to prove.

**ALIASES**

are non-legal names an individual uses in order to cover up his identity to avoid prosecution for illegal acts, or to fraudulently deprive another of his goods. Any false identification or use of a name either written or verbally which is not given at birth or legally changed by a court or marriage is an alien.

**ARRAIGNMENT**

is the formal appearance of an accused before the court to answer charges brought against him. At the arraignment he makes a plea of guilty, not guilty, or nolo contendere.

**ARREARS**

refers to court costs or restitution which remains unpaid after a legal or an agreed-upon due date. Arrears on court costs are usually not grounds for violation unless other areas of probation are unsatisfactory.

**ARTICLES OF PROBATION**

is the legal document which specifies the legal obligations the offender has to fulfill in order to complete probation satisfactorily. Included is the period of probation, the beginning and ending date, the offense charged, the six standard probation conditions and sometimes special conditions the court imposes (see appendix number 7).

**BAIL**

refers to money put up as security to insure the accused shows up at his trial. If he or his representative should not appear, the full bail is forfeited to the court. If an individual is not able to raise the amount of money needed for the bail (10% of the total bail must be cash) or if the court does not accept the bail, the offender is forced to remain in custody until after adjudication. Generally, a private company called a Bail Bond Agency will post bail at a cost of around 10% of the cash required (usually 10% of the bail) if the agency perceives the accused offender as being a good risk. Thus for a \$1,000 bail an offender must pay the agency \$10 to get out of jail.

**BOND**

see BAIL.

**BOOKING OFFICER**

the deputy juvenile officer who processes the charge against a juvenile.

**BOUND OVER**

is when a case is transferred to a higher level court because of the seriousness of the charge. Transfer can also be

requested by a lower court so a case can be adjudicated at a higher level. Usually all felonies are bound over from the district court to the circuit court.

#### BURGLARY

is the breaking and entering of the house or building of another in the night time with the intent to commit a felony. It does not matter whether anything is actually taken or not, but the offense must be committed in a house or building that is occupied as a dwelling or used for some active purpose. If the owner is absent but intends to return, and the house is furnished although no one resides in the house in his absence, it is still considered an occupied dwelling. It must be a permanent structure and it is sufficient if only part of the structure is used as an abode or with an active purpose.

#### CHILD

is, in the State of Michigan, a person who has not yet reached his seventeenth birthday.

#### CIRCUIT COURT

a court with jurisdiction over an entire county, usually only handling felonies, divorce cases, serious civil suits, or appeals from the lower courts.

#### COMMUNITY RESOURCES

are agencies located within the general community area where the offender lives designed to help people with some specific need. Examples include family services, child welfare agencies, cancer foundations, drug clinics, hospitals, the employment security commission, various counseling services, religious institutions, and various educational and occupational services.

#### COMMUNITY TREATMENT PROJECT

is a system of correctional treatment located in the community the offender lives in, or within a reasonable distance from his normal home. Generally, community projects refer to treatment in lieu of prison or jail, and involve extensive supervision services beyond that normally available in regular probation, including employment counseling, psychological testing, group work, vocational rehabilitation, educational opportunities, occupational training programs, drug abuse treatment, alcoholic treatment, psychiatric and psychological treatment, and any other form of treatment deemed necessary by the staff, limited only by available funding and resources.

#### COMPLAINANT

is an adult who brings evidence and files a formal statement with a court or police department against another adult or a juvenile.



**CONJUGAL FAMILY**

refers to an offender, his spouse and their offspring, if any, either adopted or natural.

**COPPING A PLEA (PLEA-COPPING)**

is where an individual is offered, by the court or an official representative of the court, to plead guilty to a less serious charge than he was originally charged with. It is usually to the advantage of the offender to plead guilty to a lesser charge, especially if he knows he is guilty, because the penalty is less severe than if he were convicted on the original charge. Most offenders would rather plead to a sure "two to five" than take the chance of being found guilty on a "ten to twenty" charge. An individual charged with Breaking and Entering is often allowed to plead guilty to Attempted Breaking and Entering, carrying a lower minimum and maximum penalty. The advantage for the court in obtaining a guilty plea by accepting a reduced charge is that a trial is very expensive and a larger number of convictions are obtained by plea bargaining than in a system where an offender is not able to plead guilty to a lower charge and must have a court or jury trial to be convicted.

**COUNSELOR**

is one whose role is to listen, advise, give counsel, and in some way help the individual called a counselee. Included are probation officers, pastors, high school counselors, psychiatrists, doctors, ministers, social workers, and many other individuals serving in either an official or non-official capacity as a counselor.

**COURT DOCKET**

due to the complications involved in referring to an offender by his name during the court procedures, and to help the record keeping system, a system of docket numbers has been set up where offenders are consecutively assigned a number. As of January 1, 1972 in Oakland County, no two offenders have the same docket number. Before this, each case, no matter how many co-defendants were involved, had the same docket number. Using docket numbers has aided in avoiding confusion in different cases with the same person or several people with the same name (John Smith), aliases, and in determining which name is the family name (Russel William or William Russel?), etc.

**CUSTODY**

is where an offender is retained in the police station, jail, or other place of confinement due to his being a threat to the community or due to the presence of sufficient reason to believe he does not intend to show up for trial activities.

Legally, custody only refers to detainment before adjudication. If the person is guilty, the custody time is applied to his sentence if a jail or prison sentence is imposed; if not, the time is lost.

**DEFENDANT**

is the one who is accused by another party. He is brought to court by either the state or by a plaintiff.

**DELAYED SENTENCE**

is a technique used by the court as a corrective treatment which consists of not imposing a sentence for a specified period, usually three months to one year. If the offender shows that he can work out on probation by his conduct during the delayed sentence period, he is usually granted probation. If he does not cooperate or has new arrests, he is given a jail or prison term.

**DEPENDENT**

in reference to a court dependent, applies to a juvenile who does not have adequate home or parental supervision and consequently is declared a ward of the court. The court is responsible for his support and care during this time. For an adult (including married persons), a dependent refers to persons for whom the adult is legally responsible. Included are an adult's children or individuals for whom the court makes the adult legally responsible, as when an adult adopts a child.

**DETENTION CARE**

is the temporary care of a child in custody, pending disposition of his case in court.

**DISPOSITION**

is the outcome of a legal trial. The usual possibilities are: (1) institutionalization (a prison) (2) probation (3) a fine (4) jail (5) restitution (6) suspended sentence (7) delayed sentence (8) dismissed, not guilty (9) any combination of two or more of the above.

**DISTRICT COURT**

the court which handles mostly misdemeanors, including traffic and other offenses involving less than \$100.00.

**DOCKET NUMBER**

see COURT DOCKET NUMBER.

**EARLY RELEASE**

refers to when the court legally releases an offender from the obligations of probation before his stipulated probation

period has been completed. This is done occasionally to reward the offender if he has paid his court costs and fulfilled all, or most, of his probation obligations. In some cases, if the offender would like to go into the armed services, or is able to present the court with sufficient evidence that early release would be advantageous to both him and the court, an early release can be granted. Some programs, as the Saginaw Project, have utilized early release with some apparent benefits, encouraging the probationer to participate in correctional treatment by promising early release as a reward.

#### FELONY

is a term used to distinguish the "higher" crimes from the misdemeanors. A felony refers to a crime requiring a prison term of more than a year or a probation term of more than 2 years. A felony includes only "criminal" crimes as burglary, larceny, murder, etc. to distinguish from offenses which could ordinarily be committed by a "good citizen" as drunk and disorderly, littering, use of profanity, etc. All felony charges must be disposed of at the circuit court level, although at the circuit court level they can be reduced to a misdemeanor and still be tried there. Misdemeanors are taken care of at the district court level.

#### FINDING

when a court, without a jury or use of the plea system, determines an accused offender's guilt, the adjudication is referred to as a finding.

#### FIRST DEGREE MURDER

all actions which specifically cause the loss of life of another individual, which are perpetrated by means of any kind of willful, deliberate, premeditated planning, or as a result of those actions that are part of the perpetration of, or attempt to perpetrate any arson, rape or burglary.

#### FORCIBLE RAPE

is carnal knowledge of a woman both forcibly and against her will. By law, there can be no rape between husband and wife, or between a boy under fourteen and a female of any age. Legally the carnal knowledge is rape if the woman's consent is not freely and completely voluntarily given. Consent obtained by force, threats, administering stupefying drugs, etc. is not allowable. In reality, the charge of rape is not prosecuted unless there is evidence of psychosis in the male, or there is serious threat (usually murder) to the female if she does not consent. Generally, rape charges against parties who know each other before the incident are not prosecuted.

**G.E.D. (GENERAL EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT)**

is a test administered by the government to enable those individuals who have not graduated from high school and who have increased their fund of knowledge through their life experiences to obtain the equivalent of a high school diploma. It is generally felt that many individuals who do not finish high school are sufficiently capable to compete with high school graduates in many types of jobs. For these reasons, the test was established to measure whether or not their development reached that of what would be expected for a high school graduate. Many colleges will admit students who have not graduated from high school if they have satisfactorily completed a G.E.D. exam. Because employment opportunities are increased by completing this exam, many correctional programs stress working toward it in helping their clients.

**INCORRIGIBLE**

means unable to be changed. When applied to juveniles, refers to those who are "beyond the control of parents or other adults," or, in other words, are hard to handle.

**INJUNCTIONS**

refer to a court order forbidding someone to do something which is defined by the court as injurious to another party. A plaintiff may seek an injunction to forbid a neighbor from letting his dog run loose, or dump garbage in the plaintiff's backyard.

**INTAKE OFFICER**

the officer who does the initial interview of the suspected offender at the court or police station.

**INSTITUTION**

refers to any public or privately funded system where the individual's permanent sleeping residence is on the property of the system. Usually refers to a prison or a hospital.

**INVOLUNTARY MANSLAUGHTER**

is where ones causing another's death was completely accidental, and where no accessories exist which can cause the death of the victim, as direct aggression towards the victim. Here there are no factors that would make any of the offender's actions considered negligent.

**JUVENILE**

a legal term referring to a person who has not reached his seventeenth birthday.

**JUVENILE COURT**

a special court which hears the cases of children sixteen years of age or less who are charged with having committed either a felony or a misdemeanor, or engaging in an activity

injurious to their own welfare or who are said to be neglected by a complainant. Juvenile court proceedings legally take place behind closed doors, before only those individuals who are specifically invited by the court to be at the hearing. Often convictions at the juvenile level are not recorded on any record other than the court's own.

#### JUVENILE OFFICER

a policeman or probation officer whose primary function is to work with offending juveniles, sixteen years of age or less.

#### LARCENY

is the intent by an individual to deprive another of the use of his property, or to obtain the same illegally, including wrongfully taking, obtaining, or withholding any money or property from the owner with the intent to deprive the owner of the property without his consent. Larceny under \$100.00 is considered a misdemeanor, that of \$100.00 or over is considered a felony, or grand larceny. The offense is not larceny if the party taking honestly believes the property belongs to him or honestly believes that he has a right to it, even though he actually legally does not have that right.

#### LIBEL AND SLANDER

are court determinations that the defendant spoke, wrote, or printed something untrue which damaged the plaintiff's reputation.

#### MANSLAUGHTER

is the unlawful killing of another without expressed or implied malice. There can be no accessories before the event causing the death of a person, as where an individual is protecting himself from an unexpected occurrence.

#### MISDEMEANANT

a person who has been found guilty or has been convicted of a misdemeanor.

#### MUNICIPAL COURT

a local court with limited authority, usually only handling minor traffic offenses. Municipal courts have been replaced in Oakland County by district courts.

#### NARCOTIC

any drug that induces profound sleep, lethargy, relief of pain, and is an opiate that is illegal by law, according to the chemical formula, is a narcotic.

#### NEGLIGENCE

is where a person suffers injury through someone else's doing or not doing what has traditionally been defined as neglect.

Automobile accidents, injuries suffered from slipping on a sidewalk containing ice, or furniture damaged because a landlord neglected to repair plumbing all fall under this category.

#### NEGLIGENT MANSLAUGHTER

is where a factor of negligence is involved in the accidental death of the victim. In a fatal accident from drunk driving, negligence of driving under the influence of alcohol is involved, and inadvertently this direct legal violation caused the death of a person the offense is termed Negligent Manslaughter.

#### NOLLE PROSEQUI (Latin for "no prosecute")

is a declaration that the plaintiff, or state, will no longer prosecute, or in a Y.T.A., will release the probationer from probation after probation is completed. Usually the prosecuting officer may enter a nolle prosequi at his own discretion, but in some states, the permission of the court must be obtained. It is not an acquittal, for the state may again later press charges; nor does a nolle prosequi prevent another lawsuit from a nolle prosequed case.

#### NOLO CONTENDERE (Latin for "not contested")

is a defense plea in a criminal case which admits the facts of the indictment, as does a plea of guilty, but which is not an admission of guilt.

#### NON SUI JURIS

refers to an offender who is not of legal age or in legal capacity to represent himself in a courtroom.

#### OFFENDER

is an individual who has legally been adjudicated of his guilt in an offense by a court of law. The individual must legally be sane and have been declared guilty through due process of law. Also called a client in an effort to emphasize the treatment focus of probation and parole.

#### PANDERING

is the go-between in a sexual intrigue designed for profit; also called a procurer or pimp.

#### PARENTAL FAMILY

refers to either the natural or adopted parents or the guardians of a child or children.

#### PAROLE

is the period of time where the court retains a limited legal jurisdiction over an offender following his period of institutionalization. Parole is limited to the remainder of the maximum of an individual's sentence, but is usually less than this. Parole involves a conditional release from prison,

requiring the prisoner to fulfill the requirements specified by the parole board to be given an absolute discharge. Parole is given only in lieu of prison, thus it is considered a privilege, and stricter regulations are imposed on the parolee than on the probationer. If he fails to the point where the parole department feels they can no longer work with him in the community, he will be returned to prison to serve out the time remaining on his original sentence, usually being given credit for the time spent on parole.

**PARTICEPS CRIMINIS** (Latin for "participant to the crime") any individual who contributes to a crime in any direct way also shares in the guilt and could be criminally prosecuted even though he directly did not commit the crime. Generally, the court will dismiss charges if there is no evidence that the offender was aware of his connection with the crime.

**PLAINTIFF**

the individual who brings a suit against another party in civil suits, or the state in criminal cases.

**PLEA**

if an offender admits that he is guilty before the judge without being coerced into this confession, the adjudication is termed a "guilty plea." In reality, over 80% of the adjudications the circuit court obtains are by pleas, usually by allowing the offender to plead guilty to a lower charge.

**PRE-SENTENCE INVESTIGATION**

an investigation required by the State of Michigan for all felony charges to be completed after adjudication and before sentencing, a period usually of about one month. The investigation includes research into the offender's past criminal record, his educational, occupational, familial, environmental, and health background, and other areas deemed necessary to aid in a rehabilitative disposition.

**PRISON**

refers to a federal or state operated institution which requires the permanent residence of convicted offenders after adjudication by a court through due process of law. The minimum and maximum limits are fixed by law. Within these guidelines the judge sets a minimum and maximum limit by which the prison is limited. The main prison this study is concerned with is Jackson State Prison, also called State Prison, Southern Michigan (SPSM), located in Jackson, Michigan.

**PROBATION**

is a legal formality where the court retains a specified jurisdiction over the offender for a limited amount of time, usually twenty-four or thirty-six months, but can range from

three months to sixty months. Probation is generally given to first offenders, or offenders who have a family and a job in the community, or some plan of community rehabilitation, and a low likelihood of repeating an offense.

#### PROSTITUTION

where one sells the services of oneself for the specific purposes of satisfying the payee's sexual drives.

#### RECIDIVISM

a new conviction by a previously convicted offender, or when a "rehabilitated" offender falls back into criminal pursuits.

#### RECIDIVIST

a person who has recidivated, or recommitted another crime, and has been adjudicated as guilty of the crime.

#### SECOND DEGREE MURDER

where murder is not preceded by willful and/or deliberate action, as in the heat of passion during an altercation.

#### STATUTORY RAPE

in Michigan, if a male has carnal knowledge of a girl under seventeen years of age who is not his wife, regardless of consent, the offense is termed statutory rape. Few cases are prosecuted under this statute.

#### VERDICT

the conviction by a jury is termed a verdict. Conviction requires unanimous agreement by the jury before a verdict can be made. A jury is a group of citizens who are members of the community and meet certain qualifications. They serve jury duty for a nominal monetary reimbursement. Usually only serious cases such as murder, armed robbery, etc. are tried by jury. Jury trials make up about 5% of the total caseload.

#### VICTIM

is the individual who is the recipient of malice, intentional or unintentional, or the individual that is the complainant in a legal case and/or the individual against whom an illegal act has been committed as part of the case in question.

#### VOLUNTEER

is one who is not financially remunerated for services rendered without force or provocation.

#### Y.T.A. (YOUTHFUL TRAINEE ACT)

a law where as a person can be placed on probation or supervision for a specified period of time; if the probation period is completed successfully the case is not placed on his official record, and thus does not count against him. If he violates



the probation or does not do well, he is placed either on regular probation status or imprisoned. The purpose of Y.T.A. is to give first offenders and some second offenders a chance to demonstrate their ability to live within the confines of the law and yet not have the offense or the probation record count against them, affecting later chances of success in life, and yet benefit from the probation experience.

## CHAPTER IV

### METHODOLOGY AND THE HYPOTHESIS TO BE TESTED

The term "Community Treatment Project" is used in both the jargon of corrections workers and the argot of offenders to refer to correctional treatment and rehabilitation that is community-based as opposed to institutionalized treatment in a state prison (for Oakland County, primarily Jackson State Prison). Programs where offenders are treated in the community allow the offenders to continue at their jobs, live with their families and in general live a normal life during treatment. Many corrections authorities feel the concept known as "community treatment" will heavily supplement the prison system, and there is a definite movement toward this direction today.

#### Project Purpose

The purpose of the Project is to study the effects of extensive probation services administered in the community as compared to regular probation and institutional treatment in reducing the rate of recidivism among second felony offenders for the Oakland County offender population.

The general goals of the Project will be to identify and concentrate upon a group of second felony offenders to determine the extent to which the cycle of offense, arrest, conviction, and commitment can be interrupted, resulting in effective rehabilitation on a target group of 122 offenders.

The function of a criminal corrections system is three-fold:

1. To protect society
2. To re-educate (or rehabilitate) the "criminal"
3. To serve the psychological needs of non-criminals by punishing "criminals."

At present the cost of the criminal justice system is exceedingly high (well over five billion dollars per year in direct costs) with failure rates from about twenty percent for first offenders to over fifty percent for second felony offenders. A small percentage of first offenders become convicted second offenders, but of those convicted second offenders, a majority become third or more offenders. Thus, the major problem is with those who are involved in the pattern of felony repetition. Although many opinions are held about rehabilitation, very little research has been done on the effects of different types of treatment. For example, virtually no research has been done on the effects of short jail term sentences, often given in conjunction with probation.<sup>1</sup> Sound decision policies must be based on solid research; thus a strong need for research exists.

The general failure and high cost of prison have led to the recent establishment of several community-based treatment programs for those offenders who would normally be institutionalized in an effort to improve treatment at a lower cost. Criminologists generally concede that more than eighty percent of those offenders presently institutionalized

are not dangerous to society, and can be more effectively treated at less expense in community-based programs. California's recent success with such programs has encouraged other states to take a second look at community treatment programs, but no research has yet been done on the difference of treating adult offenders in the community compared to offenders treated in institutions. The present research is a study of the results of comparing the treatment in the recently established Community Treatment Project in Oakland County to a control group of second felony offenders receiving probation through the Oakland County Probation Department, and to a second control group institutionalized at Jackson State Prison. The comparison will focus on rates of recidivism, and the offenders' change of status in society after treatment.

The hypothesis to be tested is as follows:

1. Randomly selected second felony offenders who would normally be institutionalized will have a significantly lower rate of recidivism when assigned to project probation, and a significantly higher level of adjustment to the community than a control group of institutionalized offenders when assigned to project probation.
2. Those randomly selected second felony offenders who normally would receive regular probation will have a significantly lower level of recidivism and significantly higher level of adjustment to the community when assigned to the Project than a control group of offenders receiving regular probation.

#### Anticipated Outcome

It is expected that extensive probation services will reduce the rate of recidivism in comparison with both those offenders institutionalized and those on regular probation

by reducing drug usage, improving job status, educational level, home environment, dependency upon others, marriage and peer relationships.

### Research Method

The research method to be utilized is random assignment into an experimental and control group, and then comparing the effects of the Project on the experimental group with the control group by utilizing several before and after measurements. The experimental and control group will be at assignment as much alike as randomization will allow. Such characteristics as age, type of offense, sex, past criminal history, income, occupation, and several other factors should be similar. By using the randomized two group design, the assumption is made that random placement of individuals will insure that, given enough members, normal characteristics will be distributed normally among the two groups, and the means and standard deviation of these characteristics will be similar.

To insure the two groups are from the same population, a comparison of identified relevant factors will be made at various points in the research. This will insure the difference between the two groups at the end of the research will be a result of the different treatment administered to each group and not original differences between the groups. At designated time intervals, various other checks and measures will be made on the experimental and control groups to insure that the offender's placement into either the experimental

group or the control group is random.

The Project concerned itself only with second felony offenders. The definition of second offenders used in the Project will be:

All persons facing sentence in the Oakland County Circuit Court on a felony conviction or a misdemeanor conviction reduced from an initial felony charge who have been:

1. previously convicted of one or more felonies or misdemeanors resulting from an original felony charge;
2. previously convicted to a juvenile institution as a juvenile delinquent on a charge which would have been a felony charge if he would have been tried as an adult.

The reason for concentrating on second felony offenders is that generally these offenders do not receive probation, but are incarcerated. In Oakland County for the years 1969 and 1970, 74% of the offenders with either no previous record or a record of only juvenile probation and/or no more than one jail term received probation. But, in the group of offenders with previous records of juvenile commitment and/or multiple jail terms or one previous adult probation term, 48% received probation. Offenders with two or more probation terms, or offenders who had previously violated probation, or had one previous prison term, only 33% received probation. Of former prison inmates, escapees, parolees with a new sentence, and those committing serious crimes for which the probability of probation is slight, 16% received probation. Thus, the poorer the previous record, the greater is the chance of receiving a prison sentence, and generally the greater is the chance

of violating probation. In 1969 and 1970, of 530 offenders sentenced by the Oakland County Circuit Court, 25% of the first offenders were sent to institutions and 44% of the offenders with prior convictions were institutionalized compared to 75% of those with one or more previous felony convictions.

The Project's original design to randomly divert all prison cases to a pool from which 50% would receive probation and the other 50% would be institutionalized was not accepted by the judges. It was decided to incorporate an exclusionary category so that only mandatory prison cases and serious offenders would not be referred. All other prison offenders would be placed in the prison pool, 50% to be randomly selected for the Project and the other 50% to receive institutionalization in the State Prison of Southern Michigan at Jackson, Michigan.

During the required presentence investigation, a copy of the previous record will be obtained from the Michigan State Police and other police agencies, for verification of each offender's past record. From this record, the Probation Officer will identify those individuals who meet the above definition of second felony offender.

From the presentence investigation, the investigator will recommend either probation or institutionalization and, if probation, any special conditions he feels necessary. The Probation Review Committee, made up of several department supervisors, then will review all recommendations to insure consistency, objectivity, so the recommendation can gain

the benefit of their experience.

To insure all second felony offenders are identified, this researcher will also review all presentence investigation reports to insure that all offenders eligible according to the above definition have been referred properly. At this time the review committee will also make a recommendation as to whether the offender is eligible for the Project or, according to the past record, ineligible, as, in their opinion, the offender is dangerous. This exclusion category was developed with a set of guidelines so that only "the hard-core and dangerous" offenders were excluded from the Project. The guidelines for this exclusionary category include five items which are felt to cause offenders to be considered an immediate and grave danger to the community. These are an offender who has been:

1. Diagnosed by mental health professionals as dangerous to the community or to themselves
2. Convicted of a robbery with a gun or other dangerous weapon and indications are that they are capable of serious bodily harm
3. Convicted of an aggressive sex crime or having a history of sex crime convictions and having a good probability of committing a like sex crime again in the opinion of the probation department or mental health professionals
4. Convicted of offenses under statutes with a minimum institutionalization sentence
5. Having a history of extreme physical violence or the present offense suggests they are capable of extreme physical violence.



Ideally, to fully research alternatives to imprisonment, all second felony offenders should be eligible for the Project and thus placed in the pool. Involved in including this exclusionary category was an expected negative community reaction, and a reluctance on the part of the judges to "lose some of their sentencing power." Also present were strong inhibitions stemming from the tradition not to release "dangerous" offenders to the community.

While focusing upon the needs of the offender, the Project staff must keep in mind their responsibilities to the community in the areas of surveillance, control, and other areas of community protection. Community objections to releasing any convicted second felony offenders to the community were perceived to have some negative consequences for the Project, especially among the police and influential but sometimes uninformed members of the community.

From a purely treatment point of view, all those offenders who can safely reside in the community should remain there, and receive the care needed in order to be rehabilitated. The question of safety is relative to two areas: (1) safety of property and (2) safety of human life. The first one is easier to satisfy than the second one. As most offenses are property offenses and the vast majority of offenses in Oakland County are related to drug abuse, solving the drug problem medically and psychologically is a large part of a rehabilitative program. A change of residency, removing the offender from

the previous environment which precipitated him to committing property offenses, may help to eliminate his criminal behavior. By involving the offender in other community activities such as athletics, recreational pursuits or other beneficial activities, the Project is able to divert his time and interest from his previous behavior, to some extent, toward new values.

The second category, the assaultive behavior, is more difficult in that the community is going to demand more controls to insure that this behavior is not repeated. Statistically, assaultive behavior has less of a chance of being repeated in that it is highly situational. By removing the offender from that particular environment and helping him to change his value system towards one more conducive to solving problems in ways other than physical assaults, the safety of the community can be insured. Statistically, murder, the most serious crime, has the highest success rate both when viewed in terms of recidivism and overall adjustment to the community. While the fact that murderers spend the longest time in prison could be influential, there is some evidence that indicates, controlling for prison term, the success rate of murderers is still quite high. Even so, if only 2% of all murderers convicted recidivate with a second murder, this still is two individuals who, the community reasons, died whose death could have been prevented if all murderers were incarcerated for a long period of time. While community concerns on this matter have to be considered and community education

is important in enabling the law enforcement agencies to operate within a realistic framework in protecting the community, helping the offender in a rehabilitation program should be a high priority. Many residential programs are so structured and self-contained that there is a minimum degree of actual security and a maximum degree of protection to the community.

The criminal population that will make up the Community Treatment Project are primarily the more serious probation cases and the less serious prison cases, or the middle range group between the extremes of prison and probation. The results of this Project, if recidivism rate is at a satisfactory level, will possibly encourage other projects to be more liberal in accepting offenders into a community treatment project. It is expected that over 80% of those offenders presently institutionalized could be successfully worked with in some type of community treatment basis.

In the presentence conference with the Judge, the Probation Department will make known its recommendations. For all identified second felony offenders the Judge will determine whether his sentence will be the probation or incarceration pool. If his decision is probation, the project offices, located in Royal Oak, will be called to determine whether the offender is accepted into the Project. Acceptance is determined solely by a manipulation of the docket number, a number given to each offender by the assignment clerk. From 1972 no two offenders receive the same docket number, even if

several offenders are indicted on the same case. The numbers are assigned in consecutive order according to the time the number was requested. Selection of cases from the docket number is based on a code which mathematically insures 50% are accepted and 50% are rejected. This code is known only to the research staff. If the offender is accepted into the Project according to this number, he receives Project probation and is placed in group A. After the sentence is given, the offender is told to contact the Royal Oak Probation Office so he can be assigned a probation officer according to the area he lives in. Assignments are made at the Royal Oak office by territory so each officer can have a smaller territory so his clients would not be spread all over the county, cutting down on driving time so as to have more time for each probationer. If the subject is rejected, he receives regular probation at the Court House and is placed in group B. He is then assigned a probation officer according to a consecutive listing procedure, not by territory. The Probation Department feels this spreads the workers' cases across the county so an officer will not supervise several offenders that know each other.

If the judge's sentence is prison, he will then determine whether the case is in the exclusionary category, using the outline above to obtain uniformity. Exclusion is made note of so that the offender can be studied as part of the E control group. This offender is then sentenced to prison as before

the Project. If the offender is not part of the exclusionary group, the court officer again must call the Project offices in Royal Oak. By the same process as above for those offenders in the probation pool, the offender will either be accepted or rejected. If the offender is accepted, he will receive Project probation identical to those offenders in category A, the experimental group of the probation pool, and will be placed in category C. The offenders in the prison pool do not know that they went to prison or were put into the Project by random selection, nor do the treatment personnel know which offenders are from the prison pool and which are from the probation pool, controlling for possible differential treatment to offenders from one pool. By insuring confidentiality in the selection procedure and requiring the judge and probation recommendation staff not to reveal the pool of any offenders, maintenance of impartial treatment will be helped. This double blind for group C is used to insure that treatment is given according to needs of the offender and not according to his perceived or assumed status based on his placement in the present criminal justice system. Thus neither the officer nor the offender knows that a "C" case was randomly diverted from prison.

If the offender from the prison pool is not accepted into the Project, he would then be sentenced to either Jackson State Prison in the case of males or the Detroit House of Corrections in the case of females, as he would be before

the existence of the Project. Offenders that are not accepted in the Project are given a prison term without any knowledge of being randomly rejected to receive probation so as not to arouse any negative feelings in either the client or especially the lawyer. Few persons, aside from the Probation Department and the Judges are aware of this new procedure in the court process. On the other hand, as noted above, if the offender is selected to become part of the Project, he is simply told he received probation. In this case the offender probably realized the strong possibility of going to prison, and probably felt very lucky in receiving probation.

At one time or another every attorney in Oakland County who deals with felony cases works in the Oakland County Circuit Court. The only way they could become aware of the Project is if they worked with a case that was accepted in the Project and this fact was made known to them during sentencing or they found out later. The Project is not discussed except in professional circles, and in a few short newspaper articles which did not go into detail as to the purpose of the Project. The only individuals who are aware of the details are those whom this researcher has contacted relative to the research. The lawyers were not informed due to the expectation of possible unfavorable repercussions, especially if a client is rejected, since the client may be seen as receiving unfair treatment. Several high law officials as well as some police departments and a few lawyers that were later informed expressed the

objection that to randomly select offenders to take part in special programs is unconstitutional. These persons felt that there should be specific guidelines for Project acceptance and all those meeting these guidelines should be accepted into the program. The importance of research is hard to convey to many individuals, even lawyers, and there possibly has been some resistance from some judges due to this factor. It is possible that some judges still feel the Project is a threat to their authority, as mentioned above, and they would like to have "the last word in sentencing," and do not like to be ruled by an arbitrary random selection rule as to whether or not a sentencee goes to prison or receives probation. The main objection to the Project has not been what the Project is doing, but the random selection rule. This factor, and its effect on the treatment outcome, will be discussed in more detail later.

From the two pools, the probation pool and the prison pool, four different treatment groups are obtained. These four and the exclusion group make up the five comparison groups.

Probation Pool	1. Code A - on probation at the Project from the Probation Pool; the Probation Experimental Group.
	2. Code B - on regular probation at the Court House from the Probation Pool; the Probation Control Group.
Prison Pool	3. Code C - Those offenders in Project Probation that were referred from the Prison Pool; the Prison Experimental Group.
	4. Code D - those offenders referred from the prison

pool and not accepted, and consequently institutionalized; the Prison Control Group.

5. Code E - those offenders that were rejected as a danger to the community. This group is researched as a control and comparison group for Code D group.

Cases that are not largely complete because of lack of records, the offender's death, or his moving to another state where the case is transferred are also to be excluded. Only those cases which are put on probation in Oakland County, and continued on probation in Oakland County for the majority of the probation time are to be used because often much data is lacking when an offender moves out of state and accurate information can not be obtained consistently because of different record-keeping by different counties. The required data was often not available on cases transferred in the past, especially specific information on the offender's progress.

#### Project Treatment

Treatment will concentrate on the following elements:<sup>2</sup>

1. Small caseloads
2. Involving the offender to help in designing his own treatment program
3. Purchase of special services where needed
4. Group methods to aid in both problem identification and progress toward rehabilitation.

The feeling among correctional workers is that the caseload is too large in many probation departments for the offender to be adequately supervised. The Saginaw Project



recommended fifty units, and today few probation departments have reached this goal. The CTP was designed to keep the caseload around thrity-five offenders per probation coordinator, and not to require the probation coordinator to do presentence investigations, as is required in most probation departments, including the Oakland County Probation Department, because presentence investigations can take as much as fifty percent of the probation officer's time.

At present, in Oakland County, the officers are carrying caseloads more than double the recommended standard of fifty units, receiving five work units of credit for each presentence investigation completed each month, and one unit for each offender under supervision for that month. In September of 1970, each Oakland County probation officer averaged 111 work points per month.<sup>3</sup>

The technique of using the offenders themselves to design their own treatment program is based on the theory that one has a higher commitment to a goal if he can participate in its selection and publicly verbalize it. By the officer and the offender working together in diagnosing the problem and in selecting and carrying out factors instrumental in ameliorating the problem, a high rate of success in probation is expected. According to the theory of Dr. William Glasser that "most anti-social conduct can be construed and treated as an avoidance of responsibility," the Project will attempt to give the client increased responsibility by rewarding efforts in the direction

of increased job education, vocational training, and responsibility or some of the skills necessary to assume this responsibility as a whole.

Resources to meet various human needs are generally available within the community, but are rarely used by the offender population. Use of these resources by the offender will hopefully increase his overall adjustment to the community, lowering his chances of recidivism. These resources include professional services as provided by lawyers, psychologists, psychiatrists, medical doctors, chiropractors, counselors, social workers, dentists, ophthalmologists, credit and marriage counselors, teachers, professors, and other persons. Some of the services anticipated as being needed include: correction of defective vision, hearing and teeth; improvement in diet, greater understanding of the criminal justice system itself, occupational psychology, vocational testing, medical tests, drug tests, methadone maintenance, extended counseling, correction of various medical problems, credit counseling, etc. Experience in working with second felony offenders shows that their lack of finances is partially responsible for their not receiving proper health care and other services, but their value systems are primarily responsible. Before the Project few offenders utilized many of the numerous free or very low cost services available. The influence of peers is more effective, in some cases, than that of authority figures, especially authority figures connected with the criminal justice system. Peer

involvement will be utilized especially in the report, treatment, drug, family, tutoring, and marriage counseling groups. Also groups will be used in insight therapy, group psychotherapy using guided group interaction, role training, and transactional analysis. Each group will be led by a probation officer or a professional therapist. Groups could utilize the offenders' colleagues to assist in problem identification and in determination of appropriate remedial action. Feedback in this manner is often more effective than if the same function is filled by an authority person. An effort will also be made to utilize citizen volunteers when their special services are felt to contribute to the rehabilitation of offenders.

One goal of the Project is to develop casework methods which can be utilized in correctional systems as a whole. As the Project is a demonstration project, it will endeavor to develop improvements as the resources, time, etc. needed to do so are available. The Project was to be highly innovative, and the probation officers will be encouraged to try any innovative practices they feel necessary, generally needing only the approval of the Project Director who will encourage innovation.

Other treatment services that will be available in the Community Treatment Project include:

1. Drug and alcohol use treatment, including methadone maintenance and drug or alcohol program placement
2. Employment placement services, vocational training, employment maintenance services, transportation, continued

work guidance, etc.

3. Funds, loans, and grants for education, housing, transportation, food, clothing, etc.
4. College tuition, vocational training, GED tutoring, work skills tutoring, financial management tutoring, etc.

This research design enables a comparison to be made between regular probation as presently being administered in the Oakland County Probation Department and intensive supervision services utilizing the concepts delineated below, and a comparison between institutionalization and community-based treatment programs.

Comparison will be made on the basis of a codesheet which summarizes information which has been fruitful in past research on correctional programs. Specifically, the codesheet will include:

1. Offense factors: Offense breakdown, motive, relationship of offender and victim (if victim), place of offense, hour, day, month of offense, etc.
2. Present environmental factors: Marital status, marriage rating, employment level and rating, income level, socio-economic status, and general leisure activities.
3. Personal factors: Sex, race, age, intelligence level, health, and psychological factors including personality maladjustments, coping styles, use of defense mechanisms, presence of organic brain damage, maturity level, suicide tendencies, any neurotic or psychotic behavior, etc.
4. Past environmental factors: Birthplace, birth order, home climate, circumstances of marriage, educational level, academic performance.
5. Past record: Including type of record, number and type of misdemeanors and felony offenses, number and length of prison terms.

The codesheet will also include other factors which in the past have been identified as important in predisposing criminals to criminal behavior. This codesheet will be filled out on all second felony offenders in categories A, B, C, D, and E referred to the Project from July 20, 1971 to July 20, 1972. For a copy of the codesheet, see Appendix One, and Appendix Two for the guide used to fill out the codesheet.

### Summary of the Research Design

All offenders in the Oakland County Circuit Court who have been convicted of a felony or of a misdemeanor resulting from an original felony charge who have been previously convicted of a felony or of a misdemeanor resulting from an original felony charge will be adjudicated by the judge at sentencing to be in one of three categories:

1. Probation pool - those who receive probation sentences
2. Prison pool - those who receive prison sentences, but are not an immediate threat to the community
3. Prison only, not referred because they are a threat to the community.

The determination of the above three groups is a legal convention based partly on the investigation and recommendation of the probation officer. The prison only pool, made up of those offenders convicted of offenses carrying mandatory prison sentences, or of those offenders deemed a threat to society, mainly very serious offenses such as murder and assault, will not be referred to the Project. The other two groups, the

probation pool and prison pool, will be referred to the Project for random selection, becoming either part of the Project or of a control group. Selection is based on a mathematic manipulation of the docket number to insure that fifty percent are selected. Fifty percent of the probation group will get regular probation services as normally administered to probationers in Oakland County, and fifty percent will receive extensive treatment in the Community Treatment Project. Summary of the categories and the estimated number of offenders that will be in each group:

PROBATION POOL. . . . .	200	offenders
1. Accepted in Project (Group A). . . . .	100	offenders
2. Rejected, put on regular probation (Group B). . . . .	100	offenders
PRISON POOL . . . . .	100	offenders
3. Accepted (Group C) . . . . .	.50	offenders
4. Rejected, sent to prison (Group D)	50	offenders
5. Not referred (Danger to Community (Group E). . . . .	100	offenders
TOTAL OF ALL GROUPS (A,B,C,D,E) . . . . .	400	offenders

All of these groups will be researched for comparison. All offenders receiving Project probation will receive services based on their individual needs and offenders in non-Project treatment will receive services according to their needs and the availability of staff and facilities. To insure non-biased treatment for offenders from the probation and prison pool, the pool the offender came from will not be revealed to treatment personnel nor will the random selection rule.

Follow-up Design

To assess the effects of the various types of treatment

administered, a follow-up codesheet will be filled out on all the offenders that were identified for the initial codesheet, a minimum of twelve months, or at final discharge, after probation or parole began. The codesheets will be used to assess the effectiveness of intensive probation in determining additional crime, as reported during the follow-up period.

For probation cases the date used to start the probation period was the disposition date. Unless the individual received a delayed sentence or absconded, the date of current probation inception was always the same date as the disposition date. No case was noted where there was any indication that this date was different.

Those offenders from the prison pool will be followed-up at least twelve months after the official parole date or as soon as they were discharged from parole, limiting the comparison selection to be made from those offenders who received relatively low minimum sentences. This bias, although not great because the vast majority of offenders spend less than two years in the institution, eliminates an important but small group for comparison, that group convicted of crimes which carry sentences with a minimum of three or more years (a three-year minimum sentence means about two years is actually served).

The follow-up codesheet will include information similar to the original codesheet except that the following additional factors will be included:

1. **New offenses:** Supervision rules violated, new legal difficulties, court appearances and outcome, type of

new offenses, elapsed time between new offenses, and factors involved in new offenses

2. Present environmental factors: Employment record, rate of pay, marriage rating, alcohol and drug use, living arrangement, responsibilities rating, new educational rating, etc.
3. Other factors: Evaluation of case outcome, extent of participation and cooperation in treatment, extent of change or improvement in specific problems, services received, etc.

Both the original and follow-up codesheet information will be gathered by this researcher, based primarily on the information on the offender's file which includes the presentence investigation, previous presentence investigations, school records, the police investigator's report, the original police report, letters of referral and recommendations, previous criminal records, the FBI and State's criminal records, and other pertinent information. In filling out the follow-up codesheet, in every case, an interview with the probation officer will be utilized as well as, if needed, interviews with the offender, the consulting of testing records, psychological reports, employment, school vocational training records, and interviews with other individuals who worked with the case. The probation and parole officers working with the offender will be highly relied upon, as they are in a position to know most about the offender and are able to gather the information needed, either directly from the offender, or from other records that they have access to. Their subjective evaluation of the case will be included in the information gathered.



SYSTEMS RATLS

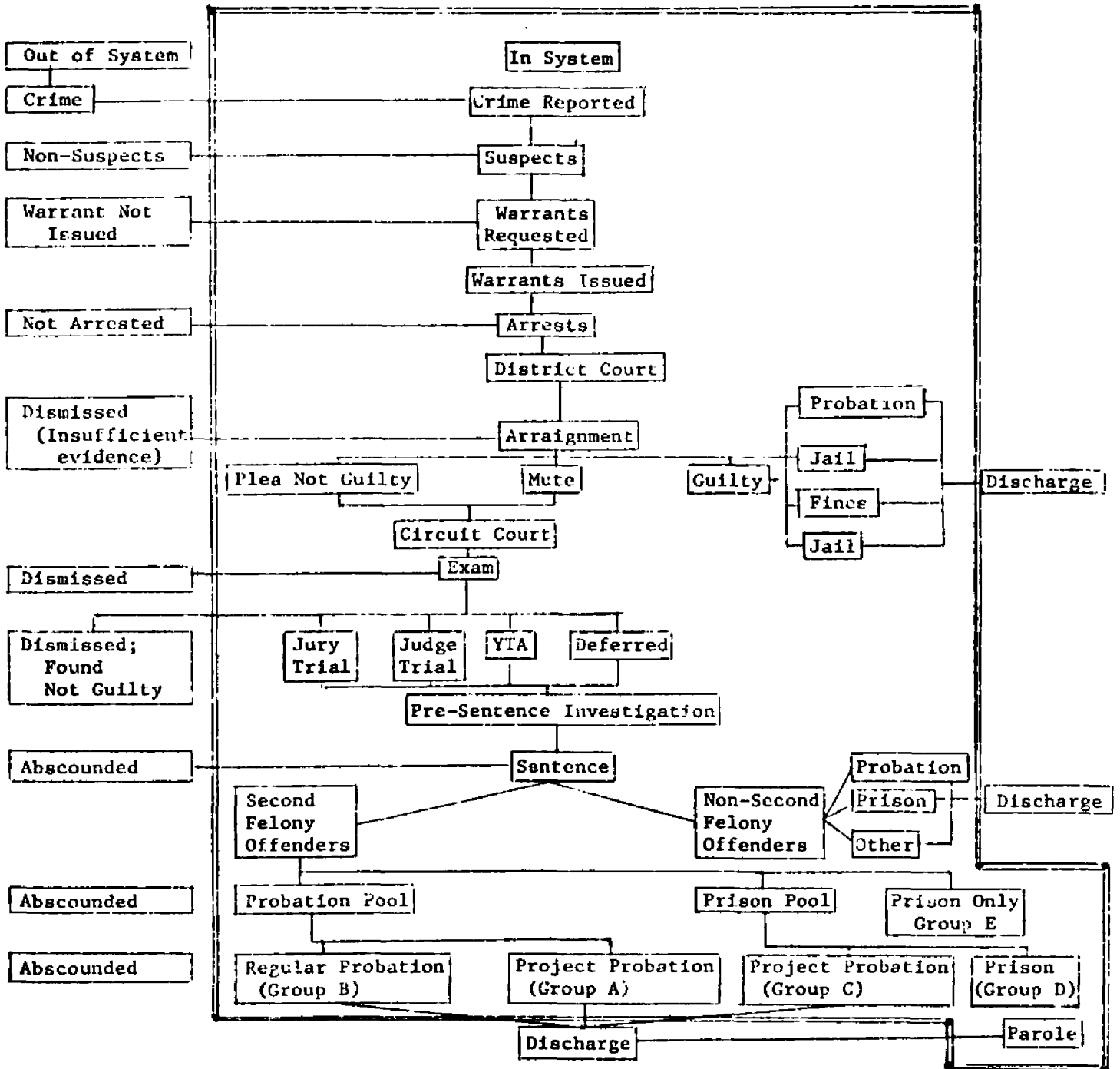


Figure 1  
 Flow Chart for the Entire Court Process -  
 From Commission of a Crime to Final Discharge,  
 Including Project, Control Group and Non Project Cases

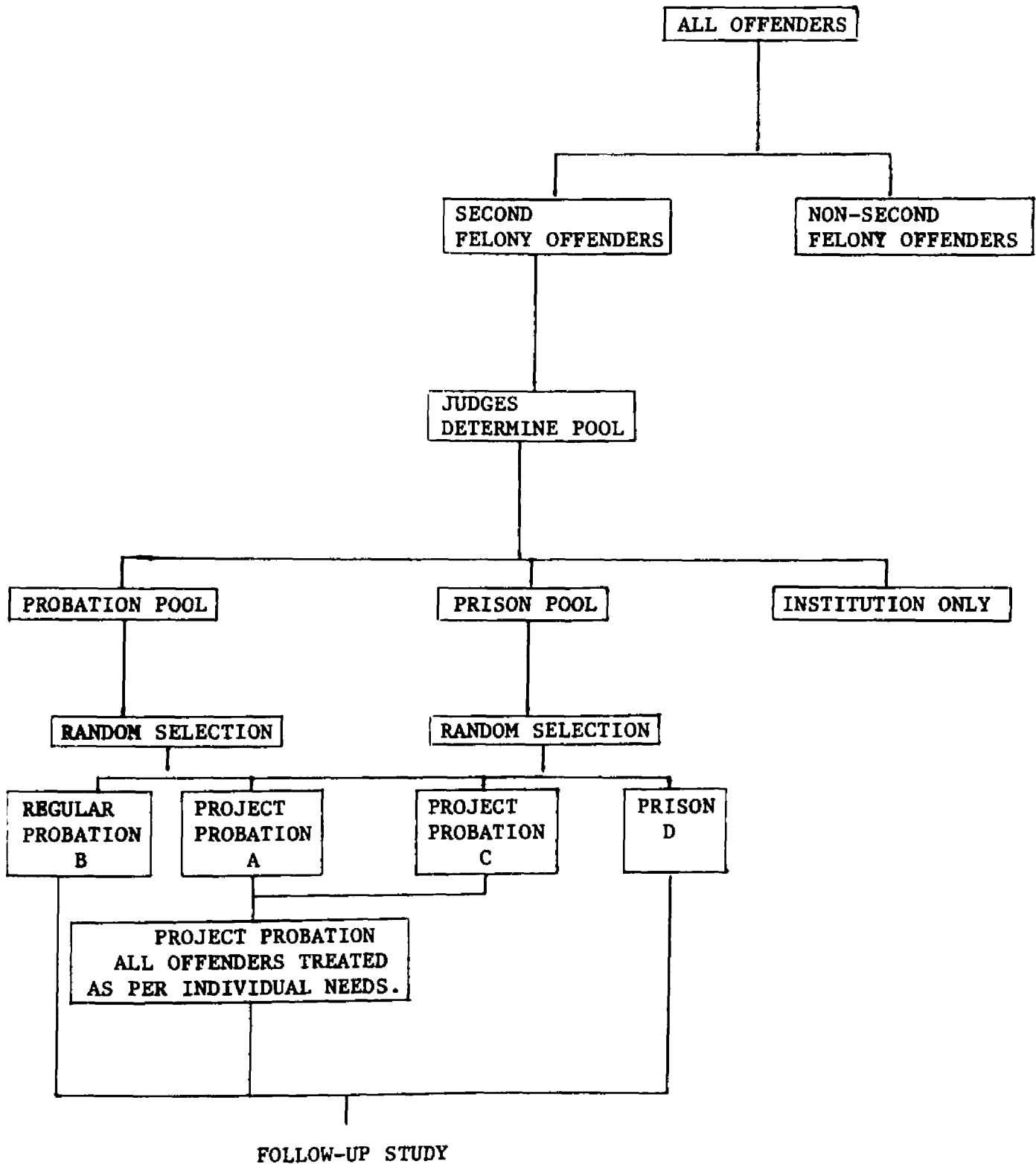


Figure 2  
Flow Chart for the Project and Control Groups

Comparable data will also be gathered on those sent to prison from the exclusionary category, Code E. Because the average prison commitment is usually longer for this group, a follow-up study will not be made. The completed codesheets will be punched out on IBM cards and statistically computed in order to determine correlations, means, standard deviations, as well as other statistical summations of the data being gathered.

After the codesheets are filled out, a random selection of cases will be checked with the probation officer in charge to insure that any offenses or violations which were committed during the time of probation were recorded. Possibly new offenses which were committed toward the end of probation were not recorded as part of the court process. If the offender was convicted for another sentence, it is sometimes easier to discharge him "without improvement," (or sometimes "with improvement") if the offender is sentenced from another court, then proceed with violation hearings; thus the new offense may not be recorded.

Crime trends from 1968 up will be gathered to help interpret the data gathered for the present study. A cursory comparison will be made with statistics gathered by other probation departments in an effort to determine general increases or decreases and trends in crime in Michigan. For example, the general educational level of society is improving, thus we can expect offenders today to have more education than their counterpart a few years ago. The modern offender would have

more resources in dealing with his problems, but he could, for example, put up a better intellectual resistance to the probation officer's efforts to change his value system.

A difficulty inherent in evaluating correctional programs is that the evaluator is generally interested in the results, designing the evaluation to "prove" that the program he has vested interest in works. This is especially true where evaluational methods are part of the program. There are two primary ways to insure the objectivity of research:

1. Contract the research out to an independent organization that has no interest whatsoever in proving or disproving a hypothesis, but is simply commissioned to answer a series of questions in a specific way
2. Design the research in such a way that the results could be duplicated, or thoroughly reviewed by other researchers.

The present research used a predetermined process so that all cases could be reviewed to insure that selection was fully random, and that somehow the more favorable cases did not end up in the experimental group. Most of this researcher's work could be duplicated by another party to verify the results by examining available records.

In doing research in the criminal justice system, it is important to consider that the population available are only those individuals who were apprehended and convicted in an admittedly imperfect system which has its legal roots back several hundred years ago in England. It is obviously impossible to do research on those individuals who were not caught, or

even those normally accused of a crime but not convicted. Many past researchers have commented on the fact that the offender who has not been caught differs significantly from the offender who is apprehended. In murder cases the offender that is not apprehended is possibly more likely to have full possession of his mental faculties in order to cover up the crime in such a way to make his apprehension unlikely. There is some evidence to indicate that those offenders in the higher socio-economic status are less likely to be apprehended, and once apprehended they are less likely to be convicted. The influence they may have with the local law enforcement officials, their ability to purchase better legal assistance, their having the criminal acumen necessary to carry out the offense so as to be less likely to get caught are all seen to influence conviction rates. Upper class crime as a whole is in areas where the public is less likely to become upset because the public's perceived safety is not as threatened. Examples include white collar crimes such as extortion, employee "discounts," padding travel expenses, etc. While probably the dollar value of white collar crime is as great or greater than "lower class crime," there is more fear of one's house being broken into, a spouse's purse robbed, or an armed robbery of a store even though the dollar value may not be as much. Thus much of the data here may not apply to the typical offender, but may only apply to the offenders that get caught. Consequently the data should be applied with caution, and the level of

confidence probably varies with the percent cleared by arrest and conviction.

Another problem inherent in evaluating correctional programs is a lack of clarity specifying what the program is going to do. By concentrating on specific aspects of the program and limiting the research to these factors, controlling for all others, the clarity is provided to support or reject the original set of hypotheses. Thus, the Project focused on only a few theories of corrections out of the many that could be used, limiting treatment used.

Ongoing reevaluation is essential for providing constant interaction between theory and practice. Research feedback helps the Project come to grips with various internal problems, and while this is not functional for the demonstration of a pure research design, it is practical in improving and modifying the essential theory of the Project, assuming that enough research has been done to justify modifications. It is essential to maintain communication between the staff members and the research team so progress can be monitored and faults in the research design, including practical problems in the ongoing process of the Project, can be altered. For pure research purposes this is not desirable, but from a pragmatic point of view it is, at least at present, necessary in dealing with projects that involve a possible danger to the community and are under community authority. Recording the nature of the changes made and the rationale behind the changes, as well

as the date and progress of the various programs when the changes are made, are all necessary for accurate evaluation, making possible examination of the effects of ongoing changes and the possible ramifications. These comments should not be taken to suggest that major innovations should be made in the research design unless there are compelling reasons to do so, or strong outside pressure makes this absolutely necessary. Primarily, changes should take place relative to procedures which are clearly seen to be instrumental in the Project's goals.

The researcher must fully be able to conceptualize the goals of research and the factors necessary to insure all aspects of his work are in harmony with principles of good research design. Further, the correctional worker must be able to conceptualize his practice and methods, and delineate his treatment methodologies and their influence on the effects of the Project. Ideally the correctional workers should have extensive training in research methodology, counseling, and therapeutic techniques and statistics as well.

Aside from comparing the experimental and control groups, the total population will be looked at to hopefully identify various compounding variables. A primary interest of the Project is to correlate violations with other factors gathered. By obtaining a picture of the court's operation before the Project, a more accurate assessment can be made, especially the possible effects of the experimental Project on the control

group. A determination of the number and types of rules or laws transgressed is needed to determine whether change in the standards for violation was made because of the Project. In the ongoing research, an effort will be made to determine the total effect of very close supervision. There is always the fear that making the probation officer more aware of an offender's activities and record may result in different treatment, not always positive. Efforts will also be made to estimate the cost of the various services administered, and an average cost of Project probation compared to regular probation and prison commitment in Oakland County during the Project years. Also examined will be the estimated cost to "recycle an offender" or violate his parole or probation, including this cost in the actual cost of original probation services.



## CHAPTER V

### BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The success of projects like the Saginaw Project and the California Community Treatment Project prompted several leading correctional officials to develop an experimental project to research the feasibility of treating adult second felony offenders in the community compared to institutionalization. This was a new step which has never been tried in the United States.

The origin of the Oakland County CTP actually began along two separate routes, first with the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) and second with the Oakland County Probation Department. NCCD is a non-profit citizen and professional organization established in 1907 with a major goal of improving the effectiveness of the criminal justice system through research, surveys, studies, evaluations, model standards, training and demonstration. The NCCD seeks to make the criminal justice system "more just, humane, effective, and economical."<sup>1</sup> Today NCCD is the only national non-profit private agency working to prevent and control crime and delinquency in the form of research projects and training programs, involving itself with the entire criminal justice system, from police agencies to the courts. NCCD publishes "The Journal of Crime and Delinquency" and "The Review of Crime and Delinquency Literature." The headquarters are in Hackensack, New Jersey. NCCD operates four regional offices, twenty state offices, and a National

Research Center in Davis, California.

One of NCCD's project goals was to do a research study randomly assigning all prison cases to either an extensive treatment program in the community or prison. After the Sachem Foundation, a philanthropy society established by the Sachem family in New Haven, Connecticut made known to NCCD its desire to finance a correctional project, NCCD saw an opportunity to develop a project to further the research and development of the community treatment project concept.

At the same time, Oakland County expressed an eagerness to expand and develop its probation department, primarily through the work of the Honorable Arthur E. Moore, a Circuit Court Judge in Oakland County who has been quite active in various progressive judicial reforms. Anxious for some type of project, Judge Moore got in contact with Mr. Al Ball, a former Michigan NCCD representative in Lansing. When NCCD presented the community treatment concept to Judge Moore, he felt the project was feasible for Oakland County. After several other possible sites were explored, Oakland County was finally selected because the court was willing to provide leadership and financial assistance for the project, and it was felt that the cooperation necessary was present. NCCD desired to locate the project in a court where correctional treatment was strongly traditional, as in Oakland County's court.

The Project was to be administered by the Oakland County Probation Department under the general supervision of NCCD.

Through the leadership of Judge Moore, Oakland County provided \$41,126.00 for the Project. Additional funding was established through the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, and through the Michigan Office of Criminal Justice Programs, which serves as a planning and administrative agency through which the available federal funds are channeled. The Project was enthusiastically supported by many state and federal agencies because it was felt that, since it was a demonstration project researching a correctional concept which is endorsed by many correctional officials, the Project would in time have a multi-jurisdictional impact.

It was decided that the Project offices should be set apart from the main probation offices, located at the Courthouse, 1200 Telegraph, Pontiac, Michigan. A suite consisting of six offices, two reception and secretarial areas, and one large conference room was leased on the third floor of the Washington Square Plaza Building in Royal Oak, a suburb of Detroit located in the southeast corner of Oakland County about thirteen miles from the main probation office. After a Project director was located, NCCD selected five probation officers (P.O.s), most of whom had a minimum of a Master's Degree in a behavioral science area, and an on the site research worker. The research study was directed by NCCD's research center in Davis, California.

Two of the Project's P.O.s had experience in the Oakland County Probation Department, and three new persons were hired.

The staff was between the ages of 25 and 35, including the director. The criteria for selection involved total overall skill, educational achievements, ability to work well with offenders in groups and individually, enthusiasm for participating in innovative programs, and amount of training in one of the social sciences, primarily social work and psychology.

The Project staff was integrated to a certain extent with the general probation department staff through staff meetings and in-service training. The Project staff itself was involved in a minimum of once a week in-service training sessions which featured guest speakers, reading and discussion of various textbooks and other materials, movies, and involvement in demonstrations. The staff also participated in several national correctional conferences.

The Project obtained the cooperation of the Michigan Department of Corrections and numerous community service agencies, including the Department of Vocational Rehabilitation, Michigan Employment Security Commission, Catholic Social Services, several drug abuse houses, and local social service agencies. Because of the national importance and implications of the Project, a National Advisory Committee of experienced practitioners and citizens was appointed jointly by the NCCD and the Oakland County Probation Department.<sup>2</sup> Legally, the Project was a special service unit part of the Oakland County Probation Department. As such it was an integral unit of the Circuit Court Probation Department. Upon completion of the Project, maximum integration

of the Project's innovations into the regular Probation Department is planned. The Project's progress is being keenly watched by many agencies with a view to changing their present system. At present there is a legislature proposal pending in the Michigan Legislature designed to implement community treatment projects on a wider scale in Michigan.<sup>3</sup>

The Project officially started accepting cases on July 21, 1971 and its inception is officially dated from this date although several staff members were employed previous to this time in administrative duties preparing the groundwork for the Project.

#### General Data on Oakland County

Oakland County is a suburban county located adjacent to Detroit in the State of Michigan. The population is over 690,000 which is the thirty-fourth largest of all counties in the United States. According to the 1970 Federal Census, Oakland County's family income mean of \$13,826 is the sixth highest in the United States. Its 867 square miles contain an average of 797 people in each square mile, compared to an average of 138 for the State of Michigan. The land use is largely suburban communities (87% of the population is urban) with some industry, a small amount of farming and a few small cities. The population change from 1950 to 1960 shows a 74.3% increase compared to a 22% increase for the State of Michigan as a whole. Of this increase, 42.2% is accounted for

by migration, compared to 2.5% for the State of Michigan as a whole, showing that a large number of people have been moving into the county from other areas. This movement was largely from Detroit, other urban and rural areas in the State of Michigan, and several southern states. The natural population increase accounts for 32.1% compared to 20.3% for the State of Michigan. Rural areas account for less than 10% of the total population. Of the population 96.5% is white, 3.1% Negro, .08% Indian, and other races account for .32% according to the 1970 census.

The median number of school years completed is 11.1 compared to 10.8 for Michigan as a whole. Of the population 3.2% have completed less than five years of school, compared to 5.8% for Michigan; 51.6% have completed high school or beyond, compared to 40.9% in Michigan as a whole. Persons between the ages of 5 and 34 that are students in Oakland County number 190,427.

A slightly higher percentage of Oakland County residents are involved in white collar jobs compared to the State of Michigan level. In 1960 41.2% of the population were involved in manufacturing and 49.4% in white collar occupations, compared to 38.0% and 40.1% respectively for Michigan as a whole. The aggregate income for Oakland County was \$1,703,000.00 in 1970. The median income has jumped from \$7,576 in 1960 to \$13,826 in 1970. In 1960, 9.2% of the population annually made under \$3,000.00 and 28.8% made \$10,000.00 or over compared to 15.7%

and 17.4% for Michigan as a whole. These statistics support the generalization that Oakland County has a lower poverty level and a higher number of individuals making a fairly good living than in Michigan as a whole. In 1964 11,553 individuals in Oakland County were receiving public assistance. Also in 1964 there were 204,632 housing units, 91.8% of which were one unit structures. Of these 83% were owner occupied with a median value of \$13,900 and a median monthly rent of \$90.00.

#### The Oakland County Criminal Population

The level of "success" of a criminal justice program is highly dependent on factors external to it, including the type of offense committed, the particular criminal cycle involved, and especially the general mood and atmosphere of the community. For example, trends in arrests have several relationships with the legal system in general, especially the laws. In the past few years one trend which has been noted in the State of Michigan, according to the 1971 Uniform Crime Report, is a tremendous increase in the number of offenses directly connected with drug abuse. Three years ago, drug offenses contributed to less than 2% of Oakland County's offender population. Today, over 80% of the Oakland County criminal population is directly or indirectly related with drug offenses. Drug users as a whole tend to be better educated than other offenders, education being an important aspect of successful community treatment. There are also indications that the increase

in sexual promiscuity in the last few years has resulted in a decrease of many sexual crimes, partly because the law has a tendency to interfere less with some victimless crimes, especially preversions between consenting adults. Rape and child molestation victims are also less likely to report the offense to the police. The criminal population for Oakland County from 1969 to 1971 shows several fairly consistent patterns. These will be examined for each treatment category:

Probation: To determine the general profile of the offender on probation, and any trends for the calendar years 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972, an examination of all probation cases will be made.

The number of offenders, and the percentage of offenders discharged with and without improvement has been relatively constant. For 1969-1972 the ratings hover around 45% discharged with improvement, and 5% without improvement, with a fairly high drop in the percentage discharged without improvement in 1971, and a jump in 1972 to 7.8%. The absconder level has fluctuated greatly from .7% to 2.3%. The violation rate has steadily decreased from 8.4% in 1969 to 3.7% in 1970, 3.5% in 1971, and 3.4% in 1972. The "other" categories have also increased dramatically from 4.1% in 1969 to 9.8% in 1970 to 20.4% in 1971, but down to 15.2% in 1972. This shows that instead of violating the offenders from probation, transgressions are being taken care of by other means (short jail terms, nolle prosequi, etc.). Thus there is a higher number of pro-



bationers sentenced on a new charge and discharged for "other" reasons. Fewer offenders are being violated, but a larger number of offenders guilty of violations are being taken care of by other means. Actually, if violation standards were consistent for these years the percentage of failures would have increased each year from 1969 to 1972.

Sentencing patterns show that slightly over 50% (with a drop for 1971 and an increase for 1972) received a probation sentence of twenty-four months. The next most common (about 20%) sentence for the four years was thirty-six months. The next most common sentence length was twelve months. The 1971 percent of twelve-month sentences was almost double the 1970 rate, partially because of the tremendous increase in non-criminal drug cases which tend to involve offenders who are better educated, have a better work record, and are expected by the staff to do better on probation, thus generally receive lower sentences. The number of sixty-month probation sentences were almost identical for all three years (7.2%) except for 1972 where the level was 3.1%.

The total number of offenders placed on probation for the calendar year 1969 was 647; for 1970 it was 700, an increase of fifty-three cases. In 1971 the figure was 881, an increase of 181 cases or almost four times the increase for the year 1970. The number for 1972 was 914, the smallest increase for the last four years.

Almost half of the probation offenders were under 21 years

of age. The 21-25 age bracket averaged only around 24% and the 26-34 age bracket averaged 15%. Over 80% of the offenders were under 30 years of age. When compared with the prison statistics we find that the younger the offender, the greater his chances of being sentenced to a probation term instead of a prison term. A slightly discernable trend for the mean age to increase in recent years is seen in these statistics although this change could be the result of changes in sentencing practices and not to an actual change in the criminal populations.

Offenders born outside of Michigan have slightly decreased in number during the last three years. The percentage is 32.3, 31.4, 30.3, and 27.7 for 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972 respectively. This probably represents a stabilization in the exodus from the South to northern cities, which has been slowing down since World War II, rather than a change in the criminal population.

The probationers were predominantly white although the percentage decreased from 81.6 in 1969 to 68.2 in 1972. An extremely small percentage were Mexican and Indian, but the largest minority group was Negro. While the percent of white probationers decreased, black probationers increased from 17.3% in 1969 to 26.7% in 1970. The year 1971 saw a slight decrease to 25.2%, but for 1972 the increase brought the percent to the highest level of the four years, 30.7%. As blacks only account for 3% of the population in Oakland County, and about 25% of the probation population, it can be seen that a much

larger percentage of blacks are involved in the criminal justice system than whites, approximately eight times as high (in 1972, ten times as high).

Slightly over 50% of the probationers are single, but the percentage increased each year. Around 30% are married with this percentage correspondingly decreasing each year (30.3% to 24.1%). About 6% are divorced, 5% separated, and under 1% are widowed. The most discernable trend is the increase in the number of single offenders, which would be expected in view of the increase in the number of younger offenders. This change may also reflect changing marriage patterns in addition to changing criminal patterns.

Well over half of the offenders have not graduated from high school. About 12% have a ninth grade education, 17% a tenth grade education and about 17% an eleventh grade education. Around 3% of the offenders have no more than a seventh grade education. The number of offenders who have some college is around 7%, slightly increasing in 1971 and 1972. This slight increase is due to an increased usage of drugs among the young people, some of whom have attended college. The percentage who have some college has actually decreased because the percentage of young people in college, especially in Oakland County, has increased tremendously, partly due to the availability of the new Oakland Community College in the Oakland County area. These statistics support the generalization that people involved in college are rarely involved in the

criminal justice system. During the four years there was a total of thirty-one offenders who had four years of college and were sentenced to probation. An examination of these cases shows that few of them were involved in what would be termed "criminal" offenses, but probation resulted from domestic home problems, pleasure use of drugs, political manipulations, abortions by medical doctors, negligent homicide due to an automobile accident and the like.

Those offenders who have been convicted of one or more felonies are less likely to receive probation. The Oakland County dispositions for 1969 and 1970 support this.<sup>4</sup> The percent receiving probation in each of the four past record levels are:

- a. 74% of the offenders with either no previous record or a minor juvenile record received probation.
- b. 48% of the offenders with previous juvenile records and/or multiple jail terms and/or one previous probation term received probation.
- c. 33% of the offenders with previous records of two or more probation terms, violations of probation or one or more prison terms received probation.
- d. 16% of the offenders with a previous sentence, or were an escapee or parolee with a new sentence received probation.

In Oakland County offenders with previous records accounted for almost two-thirds of the offenders arrested, convicted, and sentenced by the Court. For 1969 and 1970 only 25% of the 530 offenders sentenced to prison from Oakland County were first offenders. Of the offenders with one prior con-

viction, 44% were institutionalized, and 75% of those with more than one previous felony conviction were institutionalized. Offenders that were put on probation once or twice and recidivated are seen to not have benefited sufficiently from probation, and thus the other alternative, prison, is tried.

#### Prison Case Profile

Between 80 and 90% of those offenders who went to prison were convicted of felonies, and from 13 to 16% were convicted of misdemeanors. Between 94.2% and 98.1% of the prison population were males. Correspondingly, the percentage of females has steadily declined since 1969, from 5.0% to 1.8% in 1971, except for a slight increase in 1972 to 2.7%. The racial picture shows that a higher percentage of Negroes are sentenced to prison than received probation, and this percentage has been increasing steadily from 36.9% in 1969 to 39.4% in 1970 and 46.6% in 1971, but decreased to 44.9% in 1972. This represents an extremely high percentage of blacks sentenced to prison, considering only 3% of the population in Oakland County is black. The percent of whites has steadily decreased from 61.7% in 1969 to 60.6% in 1970, and in 1971 the percentage was the lowest of the three years, 53.4%. In 1972 the figure increased slightly to 54.8%.

Around 50% were single, a slightly lower percentage than those receiving probation because married offenders tend to receive probation. Married offenders are seen by the

court as having a better chance of succeeding on probation. Married offenders accounted for about 25% for the three years and the lowest percentage (20%) was in 1972. Separated offenders account for about 10%, widowed for 1% (jumping to 6% in 1970) and divorced for about 10%, dropping to 1.5% for 1972. Few patterns can be seen here except that there is a slightly higher percentage of single persons going to prison each year for the last three years. A higher percentage of widowed offenders are found because many widowed men in prison are widowed because they murdered their wives and the likelihood of a man going to prison for murder is high. The 1972 figure was 10.8%, which was higher than the past three years put together.

The prison population is older than the probation population, about 30% were 20 years of age or under, and about 30% were from 21 to 25, and 24% from 26 to 34. As in the probation group, offenders aged 35 and up tapered off considerably, although in the prison group there is a slightly higher percentage in the higher age categories.

A lower percentage of the prison group was born in Michigan. Generally, both the prison and probation population contain a very high percentage of offenders who were, or had parents who were, born in one of the southern states. Offenders with a southern background tend to be more involved in the more aggressive offenses against person and property which are seen as more of a threat against society as a whole

and the offenders are thus more likely to go to prison.

The educational level is much lower among the prison group. Over 80% have not completed high school. The offenders with some college again comprise a low percent, lower than among the probation group, from 3.2 for 1969 to 2.2 for 1970. There is a higher percentage of offenders in the prison group compared to the probation group with only a grade school education. The number of offenders who have only completed an eighth to ninth grade education is twice as high in the prison group. The percentage of offenders with a tenth or eleventh grade education in the prison group was higher, whereas those who completed a twelfth grade education was considerably lower, approximately half of that of the probation group. The percentage of prison cases completing each grade level was fairly close for each year.

#### Offenders Receiving Jail, Fines or Costs

The picture of the offender who received a jail term, a fine, or costs was similar to that of both the probation and the prison group. Again this group consisted largely of males, although a slightly lower percentage (approximately 90% for each of the four years), partially because females are more likely to receive a jail term in lieu of prison. Race included from 30% to 50% Negroid, with great fluctuation from year to year. There was a stronger tendency to impose jail, fines, or costs on Negroes compared to other races.

Those convicted of misdemeanors are more likely to receive a jail term (from 93% to 96%). Increasingly, felony offenders are receiving jail terms, from 3.8% in 1969 to 4.5% in 1970 to 6.9% in 1971. Examination of the marital status shows that about 43% are single, compared to 25% to 31% married; about 10% are separated and from 9% to 20% divorced. In this area there were no discernable patterns, except a decrease in the number of separated offenders for the last three years and then a jump for 1972. The range of ages was greater, but was still concentrated in the 18 to 34 age group. Again no pattern could be noted, except for a tremendous upsurge in the 21 to 25 age group for the year 1970, and a slightly younger group in 1972. Birth place showed a slightly higher percentage were born in Michigan than in either the probation or prison cases with great fluctuation for all years. The group generally had a low educational level, with patterns similar to the prison group. A larger number of offenders with some college were given jail in 1969 (11.3%) than any other year; offenders who have college experience going to jail averaged only 7% for the next three years, 1970-1972.

#### The Judicial Process

The judicial process in Oakland County will briefly be examined so the reader can understand how the Community Treatment Project fits into the court structure. After a crime has been reported, possible suspects are listed and an invest-



igation is made by the local police department until it feels that there is enough evidence to request a warrant from the prosecutor's office. If the prosecutor's office feels that there is a strong case, a warrant will be issued for the individual indicted. About 85% of the cases that are submitted to the prosecutor's office are granted warrants.

It is estimated that there is a large variability in whether or not a given crime is reported. Certain crimes seem to be reported much more often than others. Crimes against the person are often not reported, due to fear of retaliation, while crimes against business or property, which involves breaking and entering, malicious destruction of property, etc., are often reported, partially to insure reimbursement through the business' insurance, and partially because this type of crime is usually committed by unknown individuals against the business establishment (primarily for motivations of material gain) and retaliation factors are not as often involved. Even after the warrant is issued, about 6% or 7% of the suspected offenders are never arrested, primarily because the police department is unable to locate the offender, usually because the offender has left the city or in some way absconds by changing identity, etc.

After arrest and before arraignment, the suspected offender should hire his own lawyer, or if he cannot afford one, the court will appoint a lawyer. Suspected offenders who are arrested are brought before the district court for arraignment.

Here bond is set and the charges are formally presented to the offender. At the arraignment, the lawyer represents the client in obtaining an equitable bond, and insures that the court process is according to law.

If there is not sufficient evidence to bring the individual to trial, the case is dismissed at the arraignment. If sufficient evidence is presented, an exam date is set. The purpose of the preliminary examination is to determine if, indeed, a crime has been committed, and if there is just and reasonable cause to presume that the offender before the court is involved in the crime.

If the original charge is a felony, after the arraignment the case is bound over to Circuit Court, as the District Court handles only misdemeanors. The Circuit Court can reduce the charge to a misdemeanor, but the original charge must always be a felony for the case to be bound over. Only in rare cases is a case carried to the court above the Circuit Court, the Michigan Supreme Court, and then only through appeals if it is felt by the Appeal Board that there is sufficient evidence for a retrial at a higher court level.

At the preliminary examination approximately 85% of the offenders plead guilty and thereby waive their right to trial. Those pleading guilty are then referred to the Probation Department so a presentence investigation can be completed before their sentencing date. Whether or not the offender is offered the opportunity to plead guilty depends on his

previous record, the seriousness of the case, and the perceived chances of being convicted by a jury trial. If a great deal of community publicity has been given to the case, or if it is a serious charge such as murder or involves political factors, the case is tried by either a "jury trial," where a determination of guilt is made by a group of registered voters who are selected somewhat impartially from the community, or, only rarely, a "judge trial," where determination of guilt is declared by the judge alone. The number going to trial actually represents a small portion of those for which the court has sufficient evidence to press charges because the vast majority of offenders are allowed to plea to a lesser charge.

Pleading guilty to a lesser charge, or "plea bargaining" has been the subject of a great deal of controversy in recent years. Briefly, plea bargaining is where the state allows the offender to plead guilty to a lesser charge in order to avoid the large expense of a jury trial or even a judge trial where there is less chance of a conviction. If the offender knows he is guilty, it is to his advantage to accept a lesser charge, and suffer less stiff penalties than he would if he went to court with the strong possibility of being found guilty and receiving a stiffer penalty. A problem is that sometimes offenders plead guilty because they do not feel that they will be found innocent in a jury trial, and would rather take a sure three year probation than gamble on receiving

a five to ten year prison sentence. Since there is a great deal of flexibility permitted within a given charge relative to minimum and maximum sentencing a judge is permitted, there is actually not a great deal of difference in the actual sentence if an individual is found guilty of Breaking and Entering (B&E) or pleads guilty to Attempted Breaking and Entering (Att B&E). B&E and Att B&E have enough overlap within the maximum and minimum sentences allowed by law that a judge has enough latitude in sentencing, irrespective of the official title which is given to the charge, to give an offender "due punishment." In reality this process amounts somewhat to a word game; the actual sentence is still largely determined by the judge and he often uses the latitude he has in sentencing even for the lesser charger. Att B&E has a maximum of five years, and B&E has a maximum of ten years, but in reality the actual amount of time served is slightly under two years for both offenses, with B&E only slightly greater than Att B&E. Those convicted of B&E generally have a much longer record and are involved in more serious criminal activities than those who are allowed to plea to Att B&E. Often those individuals who receive a final disposition of B&E were actually originally arraigned on a much more serious charge, as Armed Robbery, or Breaking and Entering an Occupied House, etc. Thus, largely "copping a plea" and the use of legal terms for offenses is a tool that is used by the Court in order to achieve its designated goals more efficiently and economically. A problem

arises since the name of the offense does not always correspond to the actual offense. The charge of Carrying A Concealed Weapon is often broken down to Attempted Carrying A Concealed Weapon. In order to charge one with Carrying A Concealed Weapon, one must be caught carrying the weapon and thus it is practically impossible to commit a crime called "Attempted Carrying A Concealed Weapon." Negligent Manslaughter is customarily reduced to Attempted Negligent Manslaughter, yet the penalties are similar, depending primarily upon the offense itself. The title "Attempted Negligent Homicide" is rather ludicrous in that a plea reduction here labels the offense an "attempt" when the victim is dead. Some of the charges an offender finally ends up convicted under are far removed from the original charge. One case, originally charged with First Degree Murder, was convicted of Attempted Dispensing of Illegal Drugs, and another first degree murder charge received the final disposition of Trespassing.

#### The Presentence Investigation

If the offender is found guilty, or pleads guilty, the Circuit Court refers the offender to the Probation Department for the presentence investigation which is done by law on every convicted Circuit Court offender in the State of Michigan before sentencing. The time period of approximately one month between adjudication and sentencing is when the investigator carries out what should be a very thorough investigation of

the offender to facilitate sentencing toward the goal of rehabilitation. During this presentence investigation, the P.O. interviews the offender, his family, friends, neighbors, employer, relatives, schoolmates, victims, police department, detectives, and any other individuals who may be able to add information. The duration of the personal interview with the offender is usually one hour. The offender is requested to bring his social security card, marriage or divorce papers, military discharge, driver's license, and high school or college diplomas.

The average time spent on a presentence investigation is about sixteen hours, or two full working days. The courthouse P.O.s generally do from five to eight investigations a month in addition to supervising between sixty-five to seventy cases. The production of the presentence investigation is a priority work assignment for the probation staff.

The offender's previous criminal record is identified primarily from a "rap sheet" which consists of the total record in the Michigan State Police file in Lansing. Information is routinely gathered on all offenders by this agency, but is not complete in that it contains only data which is voluntarily contributed by Michigan law enforcement agencies. Certain districts, such as Detroit, do not always send complete information and thus some information is not on the central records. When the disposition is not contributed, it is difficult to assess the seriousness of an offender's previous record.

Generally, though, consulting the offender himself and the Detroit Police Department separately enables a record which is possibly about 85% accurate to be compiled on all offenders. It is from this compiled record that identification of the second felony offenders is made for the Project. Before each PSI is approved, it is usually read by two of the five supervisors and is checked for accuracy and completeness. The P.O.'s sentence recommendations are also screened by the supervisors to insure consistency in sentencing procedure. Offenders with similar backgrounds, similar types of crimes, and similar charges should receive similar sentencing. Previous to this procedure, judges tended to vary sentencing according to factors external to both the offense and the offender. For example, one judge might generally give probation to a B&E offense whereas another might generally give a one to two year prison sentence for this same offense. By standardizing recommendations as much as possible according to each individual case, many of the inconsistencies have been avoided. The judge, after reviewing the record and recalling what he can of the trial, usually concurs with the P.O.'s recommendation. In over 96% of all cases, the P.O.'s recommendation becomes the final sentence. In about 96% of the cases the judge follows through with the probation department's recommendation. The probation department generally spends a great deal more time with each offender and has extensive training relative to sentencing procedure. An example of how improvement in

recommendations has been encouraged is departmental funding of a master's degree in corrections, of which most of the staff has taken advantage. The county has also held several in-service training programs and has paid for other additional coursework. For example, a college credit seminar on drug use was recently made available by the department.

The first two pages of the PSI is a separate section known as "the letter to the court." At times, because the PSI is written in a wordy repetitious legalistic style, the judge relies almost totally on this short letter, basing his sentencing more upon this letter and the supervisor's recommendation than the total picture as presented in the entire investigation. The PSI could be improved so that the needed information is set out in such a way so it could be quickly and easily read. The purpose of the PSI is being defeated when the entire document is not carefully examined by the judge. The second purpose of the PSI, that of a guide for future treatment by prison officials and probation officers, is also handicapped in that it is a somewhat unwieldy instrument to use.

According to a guideline developed by the Department of Corrections, the PSI should analyze the individual's past to arrive at a "true picture" of the defendant's character, attributes, tendencies, desires, ambitions, problems, and outlooks on life. The PSI does not always fulfill these requirements. The department stresses the importance of finding out why the offender committed this offense. "Was



it a deep-seeded personality problem, or was it one of many other possible reasons? Our whole approach must be of finding reasons, not fault." The guideline then presents an excellent outline on obtaining needed psychological information on the offender in order to develop a rehabilitation program.

Occasionally, in the PSI employment is listed as "factory worker" with little delineation of what the individual's specific responsibilities or duties are. When discussing the employment record, the outline specifically says, "Do not say 'factory worker,' say drill press operator, molder, etc., or common laborer with no special skills." The vast majority of Oakland County offenders work in factories, a large portion in Pontiac Motors. It would be helpful to give more indication of the nature of employment than "worked at Pontiac Motors, G.M. Bus Division." Verification is usually required for most items, but it is not always known from reading the PSI what verification was made of the employment record.

An examination of the recommendations made by the P.O.s reveals that the only consistent factor is recommendation for probation, prison or jail. Costs or restitution are not consistently recommended and often are omitted, even though costs are always levied. The above outline states that "restitution must be determined" and "any special terms of probation which appear necessary for the good of the offender and the public should be suggested to the court." The officer often

recommends that "the offender must not associate with co-defendants" or "restitution must be determined," but recommendations are not consistently made, even where it is evident that they should be.

Court costs, as assigned by the court, are determined by tradition, the severity of offense, the impression the offender gives to the judge, his ability to pay, and, importantly, what is customarily expected, or what is traditionally done in the past. If the offender is working and is likely to pay, the costs may be high. If the court feels that it is unlikely that he will have any money in the future, the costs will not be as high. Occasionally, court costs are used to pressure the offender to "behave." If large costs are placed on him with the promise that if he behaves the costs will be reduced, an incentive is often given to do well on probation.

It is difficult to determine the accuracy of many items on the PSI. In order to fill out the codesheets, the PSI must often be relied on, and the codesheets are no more accurate than the information in the PSI unless each item is individually checked, which is done if there is reason to believe a specific item is not accurate. A cursory examination of several items indicates that the information on the PSI is sometimes filled out rather perfunctorily, with the officer's own personal evaluation and opinions imbedded in the investigation. An attempt to identify these items was made so other varification could be made before coding these

areas.

How much money the offender makes should be verified by pay stubs, tax records, etc., but sometimes only an "estimation" of the amount the offender makes is made. From the offender's listing of the employment he has held in the past, the investigator is often unable to determine the exact number of months, or more precisely, the number of days the offender has in fact worked. Since few offenders are able to remember the specific dates that they worked, it is advisable that a phone call is made to each place of employment to verify the past employment record and the offender's work habits. Employment and income level is highly related to success on probation, according to the Oakland County experience, and this effort may be justified.

Improving the recordkeeping and the quality and type of PSI would also aid any research done. Especially important is that information gathered is complete and consistent. Recently, the Probation Department has endeavored to cut down on the amount of typing done by the secretaries to cut costs. It was also felt that the P.O.'s should spend more time with their increased caseloads and less on PSI work. There was also pressure to have a PSI that could be read in court, which meant all confidential information must be eliminated. These needs resulted in the county's developing a much abbreviated PSI which gives little more information than a few factors about the offense and a little bit of personal data which

resulted in a great deal of sociological and psychologically relevant material being omitted. For example, the new PSI requires only five sources of information, whereas the old PSI required ten. Besides requiring less research, the information that is presently required largely is the type that must be obtained from the offender himself, such as his version of the offense. This information could easily be obtained in cursory conversation from most anyone working with the case. Thus, information that the P.O. would have unique access to is largely being deleted. There is less to base sentencing upon and this places more of the burden of gathering this information from the person doing the PSI to the individual supervising the probationer. Because there is less information obtained in the PSI, the prison officials will have less information, requiring them to gain whatever information they can from the limited resources in the prison in order to fill any needed gaps.

This researcher feels that this new PSI is a great impediment to research and largely defeats one of the main purposes of the PSI, to investigate the individual and his needs in order to base sentencing on the factors perceived most helpful to rehabilitate the individual. Fortunately, the majority of the cases for the present study were done with the old PSI, but when the new PSI was used, many additional sources of information were consulted.

It seems likely that there is a more efficient means of

accomplishing the goals that motivated the new PSI aside from removing much important material from the PSI. Possibly, this could be done by eliminating the large amount of redundancy and formality in the old PSI by standardizing the form, much as the face sheet is designed, so that one can gather a great deal of factual information in a small amount of space. The factual material tends to obscure itself in the heavily redundant wordiness of the PSI.

For instance, instead of listing the race, age, marital status, and number of children of the offender on the first page of the PSI, then repeating the same information on the face sheet and then again several times within the PSI, this information could be coded so the information is placed in the PSI only once, and after the information is gathered it would be complete and consistently in the same place in all PSIs. A typical PSI states that the offender plead guilty to the reduced charge of Unlawful Use of a Narcotic Drug on June 29, 1971, then repeats this information on page one in the second part of the PSI and again in the investigator's version and again on the face sheet.

A second area of redundancy is that a great deal of information is gathered originally for the sentencing investigation by the police department and then much of the same material is again gathered for the Prosecutor's file, and later most of the same information is again gathered for the PSI. While each department relies to some extent on other departments

for information, even the copying the re-copying, and the resulting duplication of records is very wasteful. This investigator is amazed at the tremendous amount of waste in the prosecutor's file. Almost every folder contains numerous large legal forms which are identical except for the name and date, and pages of legal size paper with nothing more than a few lines written on them. One file on each individual offender passed to different departments, would eliminate a great deal of duplicated effort in gathering information. For economy, much of the legal terminology could be simply alluded to in the forms, instead of laboriously repeating a large number of terms which are not read except by a few people (usually those who do not understand the process). While this investigator realizes that a great deal of waste is part of the present legal framework (which can be changed), it is also important to realize that a great deal has been developed through tradition, and that heavy reliance on tradition is a non-functional element in progressing forward, especially with new methods available. A system of coding could easily be developed for research that would effectively serve the requirements of each department, satisfying the legal structure and the cause of justice with more accuracy and much more economy than the present system.

A persistent problem in doing any research in many criminal justice departments is that the system of recordkeeping is often based on informal procedures which developed through

experience, and no guide is available to give a researcher or anyone else reliable insight into the operational system used. It has been stated that if all the supervisors and their secretaries died, it would be almost impossible for anyone to take over. The operational procedures in Oakland County were designed according to personal convenience and outside pressures. Some examination of the recordkeeping system is necessary to understand the present research study and will be helpful for future research. To aid future research, improvements will be suggested.

At the end of each month, a master list of all convictions for that month is recorded for the State of Michigan on a form called the "Criminal Case Convictions Registrar." This form sometimes has typing errors, name misspellings, and does not have a consistent order of presentation. If the offense occurred during August, it is usually found on the August case convictions registrar. Cases from the first week of the month are sometimes found on the previous month's registrar, and cases towards the end of the month are sometimes found on the next month's list, depending on a number of unknown contingencies. There is no detailed guide to the symbols used or how some dates are arrived at. Generally, probation cases are written with the number of months followed by a capital M, whereas prison cases list only the range, such as 1-2 without an M, except if there is a number of months involved that does not equal an even number of years. This

is sometimes written, for example, as 1 1/2 or 18m - 2. Jail terms are not recorded on this list, but marked as jail, omitting the sentence. Delayed sentences are recorded without a disposition but the date delayed to is usually recorded. Instead of using the last two numbers of the year of the offense as part of the docket number on this form, the county number, 63, was used. The only guide located for this record was by no means complete, nor did it describe specific procedures used to determine the listings.

The monthly probation case movement report is also filled out in Oakland County because of the state's requirements, and has similar problems as the case dispositions registrar. This form includes the case docket number, name, sex, disposition date, determination date, evaluation code, dates of probation, etc. The probation evaluation code is rather nebulously defined, except when the offender was physically transferred to a jail or a prison under a new sentence. The termination evaluation was also rather nebulous if the offender was discharged with improvement. When the offender was violated or did not complete a perfunctory item of probation (did not pay complete court costs), it was usually clearly indicated.

"Official probation" refers to the actual number of months the offender was sentenced to serve probation, including any extensions of probation. "Active supervision" refers to the total number of months the individual was actually supervised on probation. If an individual was given a probation sentence



of twenty-four months and was violated after fourteen months, his active supervision may not necessarily coincide with the time he was put on probation to the time he was violated, but to the time started probation to the date supervision was no longer considered active. Transfer cases or cases which are transferred from other counties into Oakland County and cases which are likewise transferred out of Oakland County are also included in this report.

This is an example of two forms used throughout the State of Michigan that can present problems in doing correctional research.

#### Sentencing

The last step in the court process, after the PSI is finished, is for the offender to be sentenced by the judge to one of four areas: prison, jail, probation, or delayed sentence.

After receiving a case, the judge, according to a formal procedure, reads the PSI and weighs the various facts presented to him by the offender, his lawyer, etc. and makes a determination as to the sentence. The cursory procedure of sentencing, and the brief duration usually required to take one or more years and in some cases ten to twenty years or more from someone's life has prompted many writers to examine this aspect of the court process. Several have concluded that the official court process is nothing more than a formal

legal procedure where the judge rubber stamps the probation department's recommendation.

If the judge determines probation, the sentence includes fines, costs, and other stipulations. Sometimes the probation sentence involves a combination of probation, jail, and a series of other stipulations. Those offenders receiving probation generally receive a twenty-four month term or, in the next majority of cases, thirty-six months, and a few offenders receive four or five years of probation. The probation sentence is rarely less than three months or more than five years. The date probation starts is not affected by a jail term as the time in jail is included in the probation term. "Two years probation with the first ninety days in jail" means that the first ninety days of the probation is spent in jail, ninety days of probation is served concurrently with the jail term. If some period of time was spent in jail before the disposition date, this is subtracted from the total amount of jail time given, probation still starting at the disposition date. Usually the judge determines how much jail time the offender has already received and adjusts his sentence accordingly so that the offender receives either the same amount of jail time or more jail time, requiring him to "use up" on paper the previously accrued jail time.

"Delayed sentence" is used by the court in borderline cases to encourage the offender to improve his community status before the actual sentence is given. If the offender

has done well in the community, the sentence will be less harsh, usually probation, but if the offender has not done well, a jail or prison term is given. Delayed sentence is especially useful in cases where an offender is felt to have some potential for improving his position in the community. In all cases, except those sent to prison, payment of court costs (usually \$100 to \$300) is required. If the offense involves damage to property or stolen goods, a specific amount of restitution is also determined.

For a jail only sentence the judge sets the specific number of days he is to serve. Those individuals receiving jail are usually sentenced for thirty, sixty, or ninety days, etc. in the Oakland County jail. A few offenders receive six months, but rarely does an offender receive a sentence of over one year.

#### Probation Officers' Duties

The following is a description of regular probation as it existed in Oakland County before the existence of the Project. Actually, the Project services are an extension of most regular probation services and does not differ in the basic philosophy, but only carries out the essential philosophies of probation to the fullest extent.

The probation supervisor is required to make every reasonable effort to assist the probationer in making a successful adjustment in the community. This usually includes assisting

him in developing the use of his internal controls to avoid further criminal activity. He also must be aware of his responsibility to the public, and exercise tact and judgement in the employment of appropriate sanctions, especially if he feels the offender is not able to exercise the proper control himself. In this case he is encouraged to use custodial facilities.

The Michigan Department of Corrections stresses that

. . .the return of the probationer to court for sentencing. . .should be regarded as another step in the continuum of corrections.

The P.O. is to help the probationer with any problems he has, utilizing the resources available, which, for most probation departments, are very limited. Much of the P.O.'s time is to be spent mustering the needed resources to help his probationees. The P.O. must record his perceptions, evaluations, and the results of each interview in a roadbook provided for this purpose. Entries should be made soon after the home visit or telephone call and should be recorded legibly, chronologically, and with the date and type of entry noted. Succinct observations and comments as well as specific dates of important events or important current happenings are recorded for later verification of progress, or support for violations.

Four times a year the P.O. is to summarize the progress, difficulties, problems, etc. of each offender with whom he works in a quarterly case summary to be submitted to the judge. The quarterly summary should record the offender's

progress, justifying his continuance on probation and providing legal evidence for delinquent behavior should a future violation attempt occur. This report should not repeat information found elsewhere, but should provide new insight or additional verification of previous statements. Included is what the officer feels is the case problem, and the progress (and obstacles) that has been made in solving this problem. An accurate and concise factual summary with the officer's interpretation and evaluation of the client's activities should also be included. Primarily, his job is to assist the offender to avoid further legal difficulty. The officer is to summarize what he sees as the offender's current problems and the technique he expects to use in arriving at the supervision goals. As he gains more information about the client, the supervision techniques may be altered, either to meet current problems or to deal with what he now perceives, because of increased knowledge, as the difficulty. Probation agents in Michigan are strongly encouraged to study, evaluate and select from the various diverse philosophies and techniques available to supervise criminal clients. Most departments offer tuition reimbursement programs and there are many governmental sponsored programs which will either offer outright grants or low cost loans for full or part time college study which do not have to be paid back if the individual continues working in the criminal justice system.

Experience shows that many cases will not respond to the

techniques available, and one problem of supervision is determining the technique which is felt to have the best chances for success. An important factor is the P.O.'s own temperament and the type of client dealt with. The primary tool utilized by the officer is the counseling interview. During this interview, the officer should refrain from exhibiting hostility, bias, or any indication of negative feelings toward the offender. The Michigan by-laws state that

An attitude of hopefulness and success should be generated. Loud and abusive harangues at the client must be avoided. Directing profanity at the client, or referring to him, or at him, by disparaging slang terms is prohibited. To indulge in such conduct serves only to alienate the client, increases resentment toward the agent and authority in general, and fortifies his pathological feelings towards the acceptance of controls. This is not to be taken as disparaging the use of controls which assist in establishing discipline. Personal discipline is one of the factors most lacking in most clients. However, it is more likely to be engendered through firmness, courtesy, and respect of the parolee or probationer as a person.

The average time spent with a client is around thirty minutes per month, although many report by mail or phone each month, and a certain percentage do not report monthly, but bi-monthly. Caseloads range from twenty-five to over four hundred offenders for each parole officer and from about twenty-five to six hundred for P.O.s. The general rate is slightly over one hundred for both probation and parole officers, or approximately twice the recommended caseload.

The initial interview lays the foundations for future relationships between the officer and the offender. While

the officer assesses the client, the client is also undoubtedly assessing and judging the officer. Because the client is often apprehensive and suspicious of the officer's intentions, courtesy, friendliness, and a sincere interest in the individual and his problems helps to establish a healthy relationship. At this time the officer should review the rules of probation and the specific conditions the offender must abide by, insuring that these are understood and there are no immediate impediments in carrying out these conditions. The officer tries to help the offender understand the rationale behind the court's orders and explains to the offender the steps he is obligated to take if these orders are not carried out. At this time, the offender can ask some of the many questions he undoubtedly has, including problems in housing, employment, work, clothing, and other immediate necessities. While many officers are limited in solving these problems, they are encouraged to use whatever resources they have available.

Each officer is required to make house calls, which serve to verify the client's residence and evaluate the home situation, one of the typical problem areas. At this time, an evaluation of the offender's relationship with his wife, parents, or other family members can be made. It is often helpful if family members are counseled. Their cooperation in the supervision process can be of great help. The recommended frequency of house calls is every other month, but often probationer caseloads and other responsibilities prevent this. If there are

troublesome periods during the early stages of supervision, frequent house calls are encouraged. These calls should not be made at odd or inconvenient hours, but preferably when the whole family is available, even if the call has to be in the evening. This may be inconvenient for the officer, but it shows consideration and respect to the offender and his family, even though the family would often rather not have the officer visit at all.

The officer should keep himself informed about various crucial areas of the offender's lifestyle, especially employment. The officer is to periodically verify the offender's employment and his employment progress (or lack of progress). This can be done by either calling the employer, or requiring the offender to show the officer his weekly pay stub. The place of employment can be contacted if it does not jeopardize the offender's employment. Possibly, contact with the offender's fellow-workers or supervisor may facilitate progress. The officer's experience generally finds that most employers, if approached in the proper manner, are sympathetic towards the needs of the client, and generally the client has only to gain by contacting the employer.

Occasionally, it is required that field interviews be made with other agencies, friends of the client, or others who may be involved with current or past cases. It is recommended that these be pre-arranged, but if felt necessary, they need not be.



It is suggested that the officer help the probationer regulate his funds, especially large investments such as purchasing an automobile. The P.O. is required to supervise the collection of any costs, restitution, and fines levied on the offender, and ordinarily this is collected in the form of a check payable to the county. If, during the period of supervision, it becomes apparent that additional restrictions should be placed on the offender, the probation order, which is a legal document, may be modified by court order.

If the officer feels that several serious violations have occurred, he can submit a petition to the judge for a probation violation hearing. Often this hearing alone is an effective deterrent, serving to shake-up the offender sufficiently to alter his behavior. At times other dispositions can be made. One absconder was found living in another state, seemingly satisfactorily adjusted to a new job, place of living, etc., and was placed under supervision in the new city instead of being violated. Only if the offender has committed a new offense, or flagrantly violated his probation orders will he be violated and required to spend either the remainder of his term or a new term in the state prison.

Probationers are allowed to leave the state only with the special permission of the P.O. Occasionally the special conditions specify that a probationer is to be restricted to a certain geographical area. If the offender can justify his reasons for leaving the state or specified area, a "pass"

is given to him by the P.O. Restrictions from specific areas are sometimes placed as a result of dangerous actions toward another person. There is no legal way a convicted felon can go into Canada or Mexico without special permission since Canadian and Mexican laws prohibit the entry of convicted felons, and concealment of this to gain entry is a felony. An exception to this is the case of treaty Indians, who are allowed free access to any border on the North American continent even if on probation. Offenders are not restricted as to other travel, except as specified by the articles of probation. Generally, permission for a probationer to travel to other foreign countries is discouraged, as the obtaining of visas for one possessing a criminal record is a long process, requiring special attention on the part of both the U.S. and the other governments. Probationers are permitted to drive an automobile, but this is discouraged, especially when the offender has a poor driving record.

The Federal Firearms Act of 1968 (PL 90-168) requires that no convicted felon is to own or possess any firearm. If there is some indication that the offender owns a firearm, or has in his possession a firearm, the consequence of this is pointed out to him. If he is caught with a gun, he could be violated. If the offender states he has a gun or this is found out in conversation, there is little the officer can do at this point. He has to prove the offender has a gun in court, and any steps to determine if the offender has a

gun usually results in a deterioration of the offender-P.O. relationship. Actually this problem only comes up occasionally, and generally is not seen as a specific treatment problem, although it could involve the offender in many problems. If the officer feels the offender definitely is a threat to society and has enough evidence, he may take some kind of action, including either violation or referral to other community agencies.

Offenses committed prior to being placed on probation, even though the arrest and charges are made after probation commences, cannot be construed as violating probation. If a new charge results in another probation sentence, the probationer will be on "dual probations," requiring him to pay the additional court costs, and, if he is on probation in another county, he will in addition have to report monthly for the second probation. If the offense results in a prison sentence, probation is generally terminated, and any evaluation done refers only to the period the offender was on probation.

Each probationer is required to report by law monthly and submit a monthly report which informs the court of his employment, marital, economic, and criminal activity. The officer is encouraged to check the offender's statements if he has a reason to question their validity. Falsification or refusing to submit such a report is a major violation of probation. The officer's caseload and the offender's circumstances sometimes allow reporting by telephone or mail to

substitute for monthly reporting in person. Generally new offenders, offenders who are involved in a poor environment, or those who are making marginal adjustment to probation are required to report monthly. If a case is working out satisfactorily, and there are some impediments to reporting, as reporting jeopardizes employment, or is a great hardship on the offender, reporting by mail or phone is allowed.

Monthly personal contact is encouraged for as many cases as possible. The officer should schedule his report days in such a way that his caseload is spread out to allow adequate time for each interview. The schedule should allow most probationers to report within an eight hour working day. The courthouse has found it necessary to stagger report days. Some officer's report days are on Monday and Thursday, and other's are on Tuesday and Friday. As reporting often is the only meaningful event in probation, some cases are required to report twice a month, or even weekly during crisis situations or to overcome certain problems impeding probation progress. If an offender cannot report because of some unexpected contingency, it is expected that a telephone call or letter will be sent to the officer indicating why. If the report day is missed one month, it is not a matter of great concern, and the officer usually does not attempt to contact the offender until two or three months have passed by, partially due to the large caseload most officers have. The Project officers often endeavor to contact the offender before this time, due

to having more time to spend in supervision.

Reporting is generally divided into three degrees of intensity: (1) intensive; (2) average; and (3) relaxed. Average supervision, which consists of regular home calls and employment checks in addition to monthly reports, is adequate for the majority of probationers. Relaxed supervision can be exercised when an offender seems to be doing quite well, or there is some question of the extent of his original involvement. This classification is somewhat arbitrary, and a client may be changed from one category to another according to the officer's judgement. Classification with an explanation is to be entered in the road-book and is reviewed by the officer's supervisor at the time of the six month case reviews.

Originally, probation was simply a requirement that the offender report to his officer under the theory that the discipline of having to report was good for the offender, and somehow encouraged him to exercise self control in other areas of his living. A comparable example in education is that learning Latin helped one learn English. As many English words are derived from Latin, there is probably some benefit, but much greater benefit results if the English words are directly studied. The belief that learning Latin trains the mind is increasingly being discounted by educators. Likewise, the supposition that the discipline of reporting helps the offender exercise discipline in other aspects of living is increasingly viewed as a false assumption.

An examination of the history of P.O.s should shed some light on conditions such as reporting, which may impede effective treatment. Originally the work of a P.O. required long hours and the pay was little more than reasonable sustenance. In past decades social workers as a whole, including P.O.s, have made progress towards unionization and have won the luxury and comfort that comes with increased pay. As social workers gained the good things in life, they probably lost some of their dedication, demanding more and becoming less willing to give their time and effort. As in many other professions, including teachers and the medical profession, the attractions are now less the desire to help people and more the good hours, convenience, prestige and pay. Possibly, this had an effect in lowering the dedication of some workers and induced some persons to enter the field for the wrong motivations.

Originally, P.O.s had little training in psychology and some writers feel that their attitudes, lack of understanding and experience in the social class from which most offenders come has caused them to do a great deal of harm. Many of the attitudes and practices that developed during this period are still with us, and have to be overcome in order for progress to be made. For example, if the practice of reporting monthly is to be retained, the reporting must be made meaningful and must have some benefit beyond the perfunctory discipline of physically reporting. Presently, an offender can retain his cynical, hostile, antisocial attitudes, but

as long as he successfully reports and pays his court costs, he is discharged as "Successfully Completing Probation." The focus of reporting must be changed from a means of insuring that the offender appears in the office to insuring meaningful changes taking place. Successful probation is not perfunctory locomotion to the right place at the right time, but successful change in attitudes, behavior orientation and view of crime. Several pioneering research studies are researching tools designed to be instrumental in reaching this goal. The studies that the University of Southern California has done in matching probationers and P.O.s, research in Royal Oak, Michigan with Project Misdemeanant, and the current Community Treatment Project, also in Royal Oak, could be cited.

#### Prison Sentencing

Those individuals receiving prison sentences are sentenced to the State Prison of Southern Michigan (SPSM) and are then taken care of by a different division of the Department of Corrections. Prison sentences do not involve any court imposed conditions, as the prison staff will evaluate the individual, and treatment and rehabilitation will be structured according to the individual's needs and the prison's facilities.

For a prison sentence the judge sets the sentence within the minimum and maximum set by law. In Michigan prisoners become eligible for parole upon completion of the minimum sentence, less good time. The eligibility date for parole

is on a sliding scale with two allowances, regular good time and special good time. This is subtracted from the minimum sentence imposed by the court. For instance, Larceny From a Building usually carries a sentence of one to five years in prison, meaning that the offender is eligible for parole with regular good time allowance at ten months, and special good time allowance at nine months. As the sentence increases, the good time and special good time allowances increase. A minimum of fifteen years would result in a regular good time minimum of ten years and ten months, and special good time eight years and nine months, or almost half the actual minimum. This is a minimum eligibility date for parole, and parole may be granted any time thereafter, depending upon a series of bureaucratic contingencies, and the individual facts of the case. Most offenders are paroled shortly after their good time parole eligibility date. An offender can be released even earlier than this minimum with the written consent of the sentencing judge or his successor. This release is known as special consideration parole. After ten calendar years all lifers and long termers other than those serving for First Degree Murder automatically gain parole eligibility. Those persons receiving sentences for murder in the first degree achieve eligibility only after commutation by the governor for parole. Thus within a period of ten to twelve years well over 95% of all offenders could be followed-up (55% after only two years<sup>7</sup>) in comparing the recidivist rates



for even the most serious crimes. Very few total comparisons between various types of treatment have utilized follow-up studies of this duration.

The parole services in Oakland County must accept offenders from both Wayne and Oakland Counties. Both districts are locally administrated and are presently under Michigan Bureau of Field Services. There are some indications that in the future the Oakland County probation services may also be taken over by the state, as were the parole services.

A majority vote by the Parole Board is necessary for parole to be granted, and in most instances decisions are reached at the time of the hearing, allowing inmates who are not granted parole an opportunity to obtain clarification of the reasons for the board's actions. The principle function of the parole board is to select inmates for parole release. When paroled, the inmate must sign a parole release, which is a legal contract specifying the conditions of parole. The general conditions of parole required of all parolees are summarized below.

1. Within a specified period of time after release the offender is to contact his parole agent.
2. The offender is to immediately notify his parole agent of any change of address and obtain his written permission to leave the state.
3. A written report is to be submitted once a month, or as often as the parole agent requires. As soon as possible between reports, the parole agent must be informed of any arrests or other matters which may affect the parolee's standing on parole.

4. The offender is not to buy or provide money for the purpose of obtaining a motor vehicle without the parole agent's written permission. A motor vehicle may not be driven without his written authorization and only after proof of a valid driver's license and adequate public liability insurance has been submitted.
5. The offender cannot, without the written permission of the parole agent, own, purchase, possess, use, sell or have under his control any deadly weapons or firearms or imitation thereof, or be in the company of a person possessing the same.
6. The offender is to obey all state, federal, and local laws and ordinances, and all court orders.
7. Other conditions, called "special conditions," include "no drinking of alcoholic beverages," "not associating with anyone having a criminal or police record," "not to leave the country," "not to change jobs or marry without the written permission of the parole officer."

The flexibility of these special conditions permits the board to construct controls tailored to meet the needs of each case. After parole has been granted, inmates attend one of the several "parole schools" where budgeting, family relationships, employment, community resources, the law and other topics are discussed. The largest of these parole schools contains approximately one hundred men and is housed in the Michigan Parole Camp adjacent to Jackson State Prison. The more relaxed atmosphere in the camp setting helps ease the transition from the regimented environment of a prison to the loosely structured environment in society. It is difficult to estimate just what the classes accomplish, considering their short length of one week and the limited "alternative programs" that are developed upon the inmate's full release to the community (these alternative programs usually include possible employ-

ment, living quarters, etc.). In actuality, the vast majority of offenders in Oakland County are paroled back to the same environment to associate with the same individuals which precipitated the original offense. Unless certain environmental factors are changed, there will be little direct change in the offender unless he takes the initiative in altering either the environment or his own value system to select the aspects of the environment that are more conducive to non-criminal behavior.

Before release, a suitable home placement and a job are arranged by the parole officer. Due to the difficulty in employing many of these offenders, compounded by the handicap of a prison record immediately behind them and the current poor employment situation in Pontiac, the job requirement has been difficult to meet. Nonetheless, the parole agent requires a minimally acceptable program before submitting his pre-parole report to the parole board. During this investigation, the future parole officer has the opportunity to meet the parolee's family, friends, and perspective employer to interpret parole to them and enlist their cooperation in the parole department's supervision.

The monthly, bi-monthly, or weekly reporting is designed to obtain a brief accounting of the parolee's activities in order to correct areas felt to negatively effect his progress. Topics discussed at reporting time include the parolee's residence, employment, debts, associates, whether or not he

has operated a car, involvement in illegal activity, etc. The parolee is expected to be honest in reporting his activities, especially criminal activities, but there is no way of checking him on his word unless he is arrested or there are other indications of involvement in criminal or violation activities. To some extent, the manner and promptness in which he fulfills reporting is a measure of his progress, although it is not rare for an offender to report promptly and fulfill most of the parole conditions while engaging in criminal activity.

The parole officer endeavors to visit the parolee's residence periodically to assess the environment in which the parolee and his family live. During this time, the parole officer can find out from other family members pertinent information relative to the parolee's progress.

An important area in parole success is employment. In Oakland County successful pursuit of employment is negatively related to failure on parole. Assisting the parolee in both job counseling and job finding is an important aspect of parole. Periodically the parole officer may contact the employer and often ellicit his aid in supervision to insure successful job performance. If the offender does not want his employer to know he is on parole, the parole officer usually respects this request, accepting pay stubs as proof of employment.

Where feasible, the parole officer relies on the services of various educational, training, job placement and other

community organizations. It should be noted that many of the parole services are similar to the services available in the CTP, although they are not utilized nearly as extensively, nor are there special funds for the purchase of services not already provided by the community.

A parolee may be violated in one of two ways. The first way is conviction of a new felony, which in almost all cases is an automatic violation. In this case, the parolee is returned directly to the institution with a new sentence without action by the Bureau of Field Services. This court action is termed a new sentence violation. The other type of violation is a technical violation which is incurred by the parolee's violating one or more of the conditions of the parole agreement specified above and requires the parole board to make the final determination. After a careful investigation of any alleged rule violation, the parole agent submits his report, including his recommendations, to the Deputy Director who makes the final decision. Only after sufficient evidence that the alleged offense has been committed by the accused is the offender sent back to prison.

The approximately 25% of the parolees that are violated because of technical violation accounts for a large percentage of the 40 to 50% of offenders that are returned to prison. A technical violation is judged according to the facts submitted by the parole officer and others concerned with the case. Generally, an offender is returned to the institution only

because of several flagrant violations of the parole rules. Approximately 13% of all parolees in Michigan are returned to prison because of a new sentence, although some felony offenders are permitted to continue on parole, depending upon the circumstances surrounding the new offense. If it can be shown that the parolee violated innocently, without ill intent or lacking understanding of his actions, he is not usually returned to prison. This does not refer to cases in which an inability to cope within the structure of society is present, but only to those parolees who can continue on parole with the court's confidence that the offense will not reoccur. If an offender is unable or unwilling to abide by the rules of parole, or knowingly involves himself in new criminal activity, the offender is usually returned to prison.

Shortly after his return, the offender is interviewed by the parole board. When a parolee denies the allegations, representation by counsel and testimony of witnesses is provided for, similar to a court hearing. After the hearing the board determines when the parolee will again appear before the board for parole consideration. When parole is approved a program is again drawn up to insure the offender has a job, a place to live, etc. and is released on similar terms as before.

A tremendous impediment to correctional research occurs when a large number of parolees transfer to other states and serve the remainder of their parole in a state other than the one in which they were originally sentenced. At present

there are about five hundred parolees in Michigan from other states and about three hundred Michigan parolees being supervised by other states. A transfer is made if it is seen by the department to be beneficial to success on parole. After a program is drawn up, insuring the offender has a place to live and employment, the referral and suggested program is sent to the state where the inmate desires to go. The state will usually accept the case unless the offender is not able to obtain employment or there are indications that he may be involved in criminal activities. If he commits another offense while in the other state, the parolee is then, upon approval of the home state, held for trial and/or other adjudication. Where parole rules are violated, the case history is reviewed and a decision is made whether to return the offender to the home state prison, or to send him back to the home state to continue on parole.

Parole staff are recruited by civil service and must have a Bachelors Degree before they are considered eligible for the position of parole officer. Generally, a field agent enters the department as an adult correctional trainee, remaining in this position for one year before he is considered for promotion to a probation or parole officer. These employment procedures do not strictly apply to Oakland County because Oakland County is presently independent of Michigan Field Services, but the county usually follows the guidelines that Field Services establishes.

Originally a parole officer was either a sheriff, community leader, or a person who obtained the position for a variety of reasons, not the least important of which was local political favor. Parole supervision usually required reporting once a month, often by mail. Recently, in the early 1950s, the use of parole to provide the necessary controls, assistance, and guidance to enable the parolee to adjust to the community has been stressed. Originally the philosophy that "the prisoner does not have a right to parole" was the active rule, but this has changed, and today the offender is paroled and the active rule is that he has "a right" to parole unless some good hard evidence can be presented. Parole was originally established with the awareness that there should be continuity in the correctional process, and hopefully the rehabilitation started in prison will continue after the offender is released. In 1937 the Model Act created a parole board and a bureau of pardons and parolees. In 1966 under the authority of Michigan's New Constitution, the structure of the parole system was reorganized by executive order, resulting in the combination of probation and parole services under the Bureau of Field Services.

Increasingly, probation and parole practice is being refined. With the aid of modern data processing equipment, an increasing number of research studies are being made. Some progress is being made with efforts to implement the findings from these studies and use of concepts learned from the behavioral sciences. An example of recent research innovations is a system



entitled "Uniform Parole Reports," which gathers a systematic set of information on all parolees throughout the country, correlating various factors with parole success in a systematic effort to determine the statistical chance of success of various types of offenders, given information about their background, current offense, current status, etc.

There is, unfortunately, still no specific degree designed to train individuals to work with the unique problems encountered in the field of corrections. A degree in criminology may give a worker an insight into the various aspects of corrections and various theories of criminology, and a degree in sociology gives the worker insight into social problems, while a degree in psychology gives the worker insight into individual problems, but there is no degree specifically designed for dealing with the unique individual problems which spring from the specific social atmosphere that is unique in many ways to corrections. Many correctional agencies do not require more than a B.A. degree, partially because the work of a P.O. has been degraded to some degree in some places because of low salaries and the past inability to recruit the needed workers with advanced degrees. Theoretically, requiring a Ph.D. degree and upgrading the prestige of the occupation with systematic programs would attract the necessary qualified workers, especially in view of the excess of Ph.D.s currently graduating from college, and the salaries of \$14,000 to \$21,000 offered in many departments. Highly encouraging innovative techniques that rely on current

theory in psychology, sociology and other behavioral sciences are needed in order to develop a body of knowledge and theory to develop comprehensive theories to base administrative decisions on. Increasingly, the training required for both parole and probation officers is a master's degree in one of the behavioral sciences areas, preferably a Master's in psychology or a M.S.W.

## CHAPTER VI

### ELUCIDATION OF THE CODESHEET BY ITEM

It is extremely helpful to learn the court operations through some systematic process, especially the record-keeping system, before designing a research study. This would include a complete understanding of the presentence investigation, how it is done, what is gathered, the accuracy of various items available, and an assessment of the complete court procedure. Also helpful is spending some time in court, listening to a court trial, with the presentence investigator working on a PSI, in the field with clients, and in various offices of the county in order to fully understand the judicial process as operated in Oakland County. If this information is obtained first, the research work can proceed with more insight from the start. A researcher should avoid learning the various aspects of the court process as they come up. Otherwise, the accuracy of the codesheets will improve as the researcher gains experience in the court process and from working with offenders, skewing the research.

After consulting previous studies, a codesheet was designed to systematically gather information found to be consistently obtainable in order to develop hypotheses from the cases studied. This first codesheet was tested by coding one hundred cases to see if the information was consistently available. Several items pertaining to the offender's background and his home environment were deleted as they were not available in at least

90% of the cases sampled. From this trial a final codesheet was designed and utilized (see Appendix I). For economy reasons the data codesheet was limited to one page and eighty numbers (one IBM card). The codesheet was designed to contain the data with a minimum amount of identifying information, using an additional set of explanation sheets to aid the researcher in filling out each individual codesheet (see Appendix II). In this study, an effort has been made to be fully consistent. When a change was made, all previous codesheets were recoded. In most cases an accurate assessment can be made of possible problems. Occasionally, as in the case of items 33 and 34 and the problem of housewives, a decision has to be made on the spot, and consistently followed through.

In completing the codesheet, much of the information was already on the presentence investigation report and is simply transferred to the codesheet. It is advantageous to design the codesheet to correspond as much in form and order of presentation with the presentence investigation as possible by placing the questions in a similar order as in the investigation.

In doing research in corrections, a great deal of time is spent shuffling back and forth in various documents in order to locate the correct information. By avoiding shuffling back and forth in the available documents when locating information, a great deal of time can be saved in filling out the codesheets. Because of less interference and a higher

overall degree of concentration, a more accurate completing of the codesheet can be obtained because pertinent factors of the case can be kept in mind to aid in accurately coding sections where previous knowledge is required. A codesheet designed to correspond with the source of information enables up to twice as many codesheets (about twenty per day) to be accurately filled out before retroactive inhibition interferes with the mental coding process in doing a series of cases.

Some of the terminology that follows is unique to the legal system and is not commonly used in research. An explanation is provided for each item listed both on the codesheet and the explanation sheet to facilitate an understanding of the conclusions derived from the data on the codesheet. Most of the information was taken from previously compiled records which differ in accuracy. Consequently, the amount of confidence that can be placed in the conclusions which are drawn from the results of each item is not the same for all items. Below is an explanation and an estimation of the accuracy of each item used in the codesheet:

1. The docket number is a number which is assigned consecutively, one to each offender as his case is presented to the assignment clerk, which is when the case is arraigned in the Circuit Court. This number is also called the criminal record number and the identification number. The docket numbers range from around 9,000 as assigned in 1971 to around 13,000 in the middle of 1972. For criminal cases the court uses the year the case was arraigned in front of the docket number, but uses the county's assigned number, 63, for all records prepared for the State of Michigan. For the coding purposes of this study, only the criminal docket number was used, omitting the court

prefix or county number.

2. Offense as adjudicated refers to the final disposition or the charge the offender is sentenced for. Most cases are reduced from the original charge to a lesser charge for final adjudication as a normal court procedure.
3. Offense as charged refers to the formal charge against the defendant as read at the arraignment. This information is contained in the prosecutor's case file located in the prosecutor's office.
- 4, 5, Sex and race (which refers to male-female dichotomies, and 6. and black-white-other trichotomies only), age, in years at offense, and number of children, are all obtained from the face sheet of the presentence investigation compiled by the probation department. The sex, race, age, and number of children data are checked by the investigator and are usually accurate. In determining age, the legal birth certificate is required. Where this is not available, other records are consulted, including church and selective service records.
- 7, 8. The area of residence at offense and date of offense are both obtained directly from the police report and are usually accurate except in those cases where the offender is not arrested until some time after the offense, or the crime is not discovered until several days later. A very small number of cases concern crimes which actually have no specific date, as an embezzlement lasting over a period of time, or continual beatings resulting in the eventual death of the victim. Here it is sometimes difficult to pinpoint a specific occurrence which was the largest embezzlement or which caused the death. Those cases where the crime is of long duration are dated by using either an occurrence that is felt easiest to prove, or the most serious, or the latest offense. In some cases only a probable range of dates can be determined. An example is where a homicide victim is discovered weeks or months later, and only a general time period can be established as to the day of death. Another example is where a B&E is discovered at 9:30 Sunday night, and is estimated to have taken place between 4:30 Friday afternoon and 9:30 Sunday night, this being the period of time the owners were away. If a range is more than one day a date was not coded. The date was coded on the code-sheet according to quarter months, producing 48 possibilities, enabling the pattern of seasonal variation to be charted.

9. The recommendation is the plan of treatment suggested to the judges by the presentencing investigator (PI). His qualifications to do this usually include a master's degree in one of the social sciences. As he does most of the presentence investigation work, he usually is more familiar with the case than any other court personnel. The judges follow his recommendation in the majority of cases, but there are some deviations. Whether or not the recommendation and sentencing are the same can be determined by comparing item 9 with item 11. The recommendation usually includes additional factors that the PI feels would be helpful towards rehabilitation. When prison is recommended, though, rarely are additional factors included because the prison staff develops its own rehabilitation program, based on their present facilities, philosophies and, importantly, limitations.
- 1a. Fines refers to demanding money for strictly punitive reasons.
  - 1b. Costs usually refers to court costs which vary, depending upon the ability of the individual to pay and the type of trial.
  - 1c. Restitution refers to money that is to be paid to the victim because of a loss that he incurred because of the offender's offense.
2. Probation is a period of supervision where a probation officer endeavors to aid the offender, called the probationer, to improve his life situation and his adjustments to the community, with the goal of making the likelihood of re-offending smaller. Probation largely consists of reporting once a month, usually at first in person, then later on, if no serious problems are encountered, by mail or phone. Reporting is required so an assessment of the offender's present life style, adjustments, work, or family situation can be made by the probation officer. As part of probation, the offender must pay court costs, fines, and restitution as necessary and abstain from associating with undesirable persons, refrain from violation of any state, federal, municipal ordinance or law, not leave the state without permission of the probation officer or the court, report to the probation officer as directed, not engage in any antisocial or intemperate conduct and obey any special conditions which the court determines.

Common special conditions include: "Not drink or use drugs" which refers to requiring abstention from a select group of chemicals if it is felt by the court that these chemicals, or use of them are important factors in predisposing one to crime. A "not associate" clause refers to an effort to restrict the offender's associations, prohibiting association with those who may have a negative effect usually influencing the offender towards crime. "Psychological help" refers to a direct order by the court for the offender to seek some type of psychological help, with either the court paying for the costs, or an order that the offender himself seek and pay for needed psychological help. "Obtain employment" refers to the requirement that the offender be either actively looking for employment or working a prescribed number of hours each week. In reality, it is very difficult to enforce many of the above requirements. Usually only if an offender flagrantly violates several of the above is he violated and sent to either serve either the remainder of his probation in prison, or a new prison term from a new sentence.

4. Jail refers to the time the offender is required to spend in the Oakland County Jail (O.C.J.). Sometimes short periods of incarceration are served in the O.C.J. with probation, either as soon as the offender is placed on probation, or at the end of probation as a "threat" to motivate him to do well on probation.
5. Prison in the case of males refers to the state prison at Jackson, Michigan, and in the case of females to the Detroit House of Correction (DeHoCo).
10. Parent's home state is the state where the parents of the offender were predominantly reared in. This measurement is used instead of the offender's birth place because it is felt to be a more reliable indicator of the predominant influencing area of the country the offender was under than the place of birth. The parents may have briefly lived in California, for example, where the offender was born, but predominantly lived in Texas, most of their relatives also living in Texas, and the cultural influence predominantly from a certain area of Texas. The Texas background is felt to be more indicative of the parents' attitudes in bringing up the child than would be indicated by the birthplace, California. An effort in this question was made to determine the area of the country that



the offender is most influenced by, which has been found to correlate with the main area of the country the parents, as well as the child, were raised in.

11. The sentence was quoted directly from the court papers. Probation sentences are specified in terms of months, and coded accordingly. Prison is adjudicated with a minimum of and a maximum sentence specified, i.e., 4 - 10. To arrive at a code to facilitate comparisons, the minimum is subtracted from the maximum and the difference is divided by 1/2 and added to the minimum sentence, i.e.:  $4 \text{ to } 10 = 10 - 4 = 6 \div 1/2 = 3 + 4 = 7$ . The box is then coded 07 for a 4 - 10 sentence. The court makes a distinction between "life" and "natural life," "life" is usually about 22 years, and "natural life" refers to a mandatory prison sentence until the individual dies, with no possibility of a parole unless pardoned by the governor. A coding distinction is made by coding "life" "90" and "natural life" "99."
12. The time of offense refers to the time the current offense was committed and not the time the offense was discovered, or the time the victim died. Legally, it is important to obtain this information, and an effort is made by the investigator (or the pathologist) to determine the exact time of the criminal offense, but often the time given by the offender has to be relied on. Once the offender is adjudicated to be guilty, it would be seen that he would have few reasons to withhold this information unless he plans to appeal. An offender in a fugue state, as well as one claiming partial amnesia may not be able to recall the exact time of the incident, requiring reliance on other sources. It also is likely that many of the offenders do not know the time and thus guess. If trying to malign a mental illness or a lapse of memory during the offense, the time could be concealed. These cases, though, are relatively uncommon, and if any of these factors are present, the investigator will look to other references for validity of a stated time. This item was coded according to each hour, 12:01 to 1:00, 1:01 to 2:00, etc. so the time of the offense can be examined in some detail within a workable range. See also the comments for item 8.
13. The accuracy of the day of offense depends on the accuracy level of item 8. The weekday name is determined by consulting a calendar of the year that the offense was to have taken place in. Because Saturday and Sunday are similar as to the type of activities occurring on each day, they are coded as 6 and 7 respect-

ively instead of 7 and 1 to correspond with the calendar week.

Questions 14 through 19 are all derived primarily from the investigator's version of the offense, which includes the witnesses' versions of the offense, the offender's version and the police report.

14. The motive or circumstances, which is obtained both from the investigator's version and the offender's version is coded as follows:

- 0 Accident - where there is no direct malice intended, as in the case where a gun went off accidentally or an injury resulted from an automobile accident. As later discussed, many accidents are not, at least subconsciously, accidents in the sense of no malice being present towards another human being.
- 1 Negligence - is where in an accident there is a set of circumstances that have traditionally been interpreted as faulting the offender. An example is a manslaughter charge where the offense involves drunk driving.
- 2 Cultural Recreational - refers to activities which are culturally approved and normally defined as recreational, including picnics, swimming, attending drive-in movies, etc. This category is used only if a more specific motive cannot be located, as in the case where two persons who do not have a history of animosity towards each other become involved in an altercation which ends up in a serious fight. Also included is an accidental homicide that happened in a non-criminal, mainly recreational, activity.
- 3 Sub-cultural recreational - refers to situations that are judged by "middle class" society as illegal, including gambling in a blind pig, shooting heroin with one's friends or enjoying a "pot party." To illustrate: A young girl requested her friend to inject heroin in her which resulted in an accidental overdose and death at a "pot party" where several girls were "shooting it up." Another example is a transaction which involves the exchange of money or goods for illegal goods

or services and includes illegal activities as selling "drugs." If an altercation resulted from a criminal transaction such as this, the item was coded 3, not 5.

- 4 Sex rival - refers to a normal heterosexual relationship where a "love triangle" is present. An example here is where the wife catches her husband with his paramour and fatally wounds him, her, or both of them.
  - 5 Altercation - is where a disagreement involves either verbal or physical aggression, usually with family, friends, or acquaintances.
  - 6 Robbery (to support drugs) - refers to the direct material gain of one individual at the expense of another without the owner's knowledge or permission, by force, extortion, or any other illegal means to support a drug habit or to obtain illegal drugs by purchase, trade, etc.
  - 7 Robbery, Larceny, etc. - is where drugs are not an important motive in the illegal acquisition of material goods or monies. Otherwise the same as item 6. Included is Armed Robbery, Larceny By Check, Embezzlement, etc. The motive is often material gain.
  - 8 Sex Offense, Rape, etc. - is any illegal sexual activity or perversion, including homosexuality, indecent exposure, rape, a prostitute selling her services, if sexual activities are the main motive. A husband and wife argument over sex would be categorized under altercation and not sex offense even if sexual factors are important. This category includes only illegal activities. Not included are cases where a prostitute lures customers into a room, car, etc. for the primary purpose of a robbery.
  - 9 Psychotic - includes all non-sexual offenses where a robbery or criminal transactions are not involved. A case is not coded psychotic unless the individual is diagnosed by a psychiatrist to be psychotic either from the court procedures, or from a private examination.
15. The relationship of the victim and the offender is obtained from the presentence investigation and the offender's version of the crime.

- 0 Unknown - refers to a crime in which it is known there is a victim, but the relationship between the victim and the offender is not known. This primarily would include cases where the relationship has been concealed by the offender, his friends and his family to protect the victim, or the offender himself. An example of this is where one offender, after being assaulted and robbed, refused to identify or help the police apprehend the assailant because he "would never do anything to send someone to Jackson." Later he was convicted and sent to Jackson on a drug charge, and one of the first persons he saw in the prison was the man who robbed him, who was there after being convicted of another offense.
- 1 Immediate family - refers to the offender's brothers, sisters, siblings, parents, wife, common-law wife, or his adopted children.
- 2 Relative - refers to all aunts, uncles, cousins, and in-laws.
- 3 Close friend - includes anyone not covered by the above two categories and when the offender or victim states he is a "close friend," or where circumstances would place him in the category of being a close friend. Primarily this includes a long period of knowing each other, a fairly large amount of time spent with each other with all indications pointing to a positive relationship during much of this time.
- 4 Business relationship - includes social interaction primarily for the purpose of economic gain. Here the persons may be acquainted, but the interaction related to the offense was primarily a business one. Included are business relationships in both culturally accepted and non-culturally accepted business. Not included are cases where a purchase is part of a robbery where the victim and offender do not know each other.
- 5 Acquaintance - includes any individual the offender has had some relationship with before the offense. This would include previous school associations, acquaintance either because of propinquity or a business relationship, or previous association on a peer level.
- 6 Innocent bystander, accident - in all cases refers

to a case where the offender did not know the victim, and legally had no malice towards him. The fact that he became the victim was largely a matter of chance.

- 7 Stranger, not accident - includes only those cases where the victim's actions contributed heavily in the offense, as in a case where a stranger's hostility provoked an altercation.
  - 8 Enemy - includes only non-immediate family or relative relationships which were characterized by a great deal of previously manifested open hostility.
  - 9 Self - offenses where there is no victim, including carrying a concealed weapon charge, or when the victim is the offender himself, as in a drug use charge.
16. The place of offense is determined from the investigator's version of the crime. In the majority of cases this item is accurate except in a murder, for example, where the body was moved from the murder site or where the offense actually took place in several different places, as in multiple beatings. Usually in these cases the offender is charged with a specific offense, as a specific beating from a series, or a specific bad check of a series. An effort was made to obtain a legal determination of where the offense occurred in coding this item.
- 0 Living room - refers to a conventional living room or family room, and the adjacent areas of the foyer and hallways.
  - 1 Bedroom - rooms designed to sleep in, including all those areas which are used regularly for a bedroom or an improvised but permanent bedroom in the attic, garage breezeway, etc.
  - 2 Kitchen and dining room - includes the kitchen, utility room, dining room, and the stairs leading to the basement, if they start in the kitchen or dining room area.
  - 3 Yard, garage - includes all areas not listed above which are part of the home, including the garage, breezeway, driveway, front porch, back porch, etc., and the yard around the home.
  - 4 Store, gas station, bank - all stores, banks, places

- of business and offices, including space which is customarily used for a business purpose, excluding eating places such as bars, restaurants, taverns, inns, etc.
- 5 Road, highway - includes all public roads, alleys and the immediate area near the road, e.g. sidewalks and road medians.
  - 6 Bar, restaurant - refers to all eating establishments where the specific purpose is to sell food for consumption. Includes inns, bars, nightclubs, taverns, drive-ins, and vending machines if a building, room or shelter is provided for the consumption of the food sold in the vending machines.
  - 7 Field, woods, park - includes all open land not adjacent to an inhabited structure, nor within several hundred feet of a main road or highway.
  - 8 Inside auto - refers to the inside of a vehicle designed to move by its own power. Includes buses, trucks, vans, trailers, pick-up trucks, etc., provided the vehicle is not designed specifically for permanent inhabitation, as a mobile home. Mobile homes are coded as to the room in which the crime occurred.
  - 9 Parking lot - refers to any area designed for parking, regardless of whether it is consistently or presently being used for parking.
17. Activity during an offense refers to the main activity the offender is engaged in during the current offense.
- 0 Unknown - includes all cases where the activity is not known to the investigator.
  - 1 Weekend or holiday leisure - includes weekday leisure and those activities not specifically covered by other categories in this section. Included would be weekend free time where watching television, loafing, social visits, pursuit of hobbies, maintenance around the house, personal recreation activities, etc. are primary activities.
  - 2 After work, school leisure - refers to all leisure time which does not fall on the weekend, the weekend defined as 10:01 a.m. Saturday to 12:00 p.m. Sunday, and is not part of a work or school schedule.

- 3 Drug related - refers to all activities, either directly or indirectly, connected with drug use, including larceny, robbery, and other monetary gain pursuits if the primary motive is to obtain money for drugs. Drugs are defined as any chemical which is taken into the body, either extravenously or intravenously, for purposes other than medicinal, as prescribed by a doctor, or for reasons as specified for a legal products sale, i.e. aspirin to relieve headaches, or that which is not normally consumed for nutritional purposes. As used here, drugs primarily include heroin and other narcotics.
- 4 Robbery, larceny related - refers to any illegal acquisition of material goods including by armed and unarmed robbery, embezzlement, writing bad checks, breaking and entering, larceny from a person, building, etc., when these pursuits are not primarily to support a drug habit.
- 5 Work related - includes socially approved activities which are engaged in for the specific purpose of monetary remuneration, and those legal activities which are normally defined as part of an occupation, as activities that are pursued in conjunction with ones work, such as taking night classes to improve work skills. Work related activities includes driving to and from work, lunch periods, formal business travel, travel in obtaining a better job, attending sales functions or other pursuits where the motivation is primarily concerned with ones work activities. Office parties where attendance is not mandatory, as well as pure social visits with ones work mates are not coded work related.
- 6 School related - includes activities one engages in, in conjunction with a formal system of education. This would include the time spent in the library doing research, doing homework and all time involved in commuting to and from the school, library, etc.
- 7 Family activities - would usually include either one or two parents, guardians, and one or more children, engaged in some activity where there is some participation of several family members. Excludes activities where independent pursuits are followed, even if several family members happen to be in the same spacial area at the same time. Also includes the association by individuals which would loosely be defined as a family, as when an

agreement is made to take care of the children by relatives, friends, etc. or where a somewhat semi-permanent living arrangement has been established outside of formal family ties.

- 8 Drinking or bar related - includes those events which take place when the prominent activity is drinking, or when drinking is a very important part of another activity. Included are activities as "cruising" while drinking in an automobile, bar drinking, heavy drinking while engaged in conversation, gambling, watching television, etc.
- 9 Attempted settlement of problems - refers to what is apparently a genuine attempt on the part of one individual to solve a problem, usually involving a previous dispute.
18. Weapon refers to any physical object instrumental in the death or injury of the victim, or is used to back up a physical threat. Only included are weapons actually determined to be present, including guns, knives, chemicals, etc.
  - 0 None - refers to where it cannot be established if a weapon was present.
  - 1 Handgun - refers to all small guns that can be easily concealed and held in the hand, excluding larger guns that have been privately altered to be concealed.
  - 2 Drugs - refers to all chemicals fitting the description found in question number 17, item 3.
  - 3 Other gun - includes all guns which are not generally defined as handguns, i.e. shotguns, rifles, etc.
  - 4 Chemical, fire, etc. - refers to all chemicals which are not classified as "drugs" and includes acids, lyes, strong bases, etc., and the use of fire to destroy or threaten.
  - 5 Knife, switchblade, dagger - includes all knives which are normally used for hunting and those specifically designed to be used as a weapon.
  - 6 Knife, kitchen - includes all knives which are designed specifically for kitchen or cooking use, as a paring knife, steak knife, butcher knife, etc.



- 7 Hands - refers to any event where the hands were the main weapon used, or where threats primarily involved the use of the hands, without other aids, i.e. threatened choking, strangulation, etc.
  - 8 Pipe, bottle, etc. - refers to all other physical objects which are directly used or used to threaten and include baseball bats, bricks, pipes, a broken bottle, and other physical objects.
  - 9 Automobile - refers to deaths or injury either accidental which were the direct result of a blow from the outside of an automobile, excluding cases where the offender himself pushed the victim against some outside or inside part of the automobile. Included are passengers that die because of an automotive collision, a pedestrian who was hit by the outside of the automobile, and where an automobile was used as a threat to force the victim against his will.
19. Other offender factor refers to factors which are thought by the police or probation department to be instrumental in the crime.
- 0 None - is where no other factors were present, or where none have been reasonably identified.
  - 1 Alcohol related - refers to having enough alcohol in the offender's body to affect his behavior to other than a minor degree but not necessarily fully inebriated past the legal limit.
  - 2 Drug related - refers to drugs having a direct influence in the commission of the crime, either as a result of taking drugs or the psychological influence the drug produces or is instrumental in ones efforts to obtain money illegally to obtain the drug.
  - 3 Under influence of medication - refers to all prescription and non-prescription medications which are designed and dispensed for medicinal use, and which have been used by the offender for the purpose prescribed.
  - 4 Temporary mental disorder - refers to all disorders which, in a psychologist's opinion, are deemed temporary in effect, including temporary insanity, emotional crisis due to highly stressful circumstances, and depression which is not considered

a permanent part of the individual's personality, or is not of long duration.

- 5 Permanent mental disorder - refers to a disorder that is a pervasive part of the personality or constitutionality. This includes elements of his psychological make-up which are labelled neurotic, dyssocial personality, psychosis, etc. These offender factors are coded according to the professional opinion of a psychiatrist, or in some cases, a psychologist or a psychiatric social worker. Coding uses the two most serious classifications identified.
- 6 Strong peer influence - includes offenders with personality factors causing them to be highly susceptible to peer influence, and offenses where circumstances placed a great deal of peer pressure on the individual.
- 7 Strong emotional pressure - refers to those circumstances where it is apparent that there is extremely strong emotional pressure operating on the offender. This is coded directly from the psychologist's report, or the investigator's version of the offense. An example would be where a husband who has been very abusive for some time is attacked by his wife after a long heated altercation.
- 8 Emotional pressure, drugs and/or alcohol - is similar to the above with the added element of alcohol on the part of the offender or victim (see 1 and 7).
- 9 Elements of self-protection - includes all circumstances where the investigator feels that the offender was protecting himself from aggression by the victim. Especially included would be where a wife retaliated against an attacking husband, one resisting aggression from an intruder to his home, or where another person who is primarily the aggressor, or where a friend was aided in an attempt to protect his friend from an aggressor.
20. Psychological evaluation refers to the evaluation made by a psychiatrist, psychologist, or social worker on the offender's mental health at the time of the offense. Most serious charges, as murder, include a psychological evaluation to determine sanity, and gain insight into motives of the crime. Both determinations are important in sentencing practice. The school

records are occasionally consulted, as they often contain evaluations done by the school psychologist. Where an offender has a previous record, a psychological evaluation is sometimes available.

- 0 No psychological problems - includes cases where it is determined that there are no problems or where none have been located.
- 1 Minor psychological problems - all psychological problems which are not considered to have a serious effect in the perpetuation of the crime are included here, except those factors outlined below. Some examples are: many phobias, the emotionally unstable personality, compulsions, minor hysterical deviations, neurotic sleep disturbances, a multiple personality syndrome, conversion reactions, minor sensory and motor problems, anxiety reactions, etc.
- 2 Immature personality - refers to both the inadequate personality and a general exhibition of traits which are not conducive to adjustment in American society, which are normally expected to be held by an individual of the offender's age. For example, a 25 year old man, without any work skills and an extremely sporadic work record, who has put forth little effort in supporting himself and his family beyond what is collected from ADC or welfare, is coded as immature even though cultural factors play an important role. If the condition is caused by brain damage or a psychopathic personality, the item is coded 9 or 6 respectively.
- 3 Sexual deviation - includes the deviations of exhibitionism, voyeurism, fetishism, homosexuality, sado-Masochism, transvestism, pedophilia, zoophilia, necrophilia, coprophilia, and any sexual advances made towards an individual that could not be considered an appropriate sexual partner. This includes sexual advances towards little children, older adults, relatives, etc. Extreme promiscuity as well as having a reliance on masturbation and poor relations with the opposite sex are included in this category.
- 4 Suicide drives - includes all past efforts towards self destruction except those involving masochistic pleasure. Any previous attempt or strong indication, as judged by a psychiatrist, is coded as suicide. Also included are suicide attempts after an offense.

- 5 Antisocial, dyssocial personality - includes the strongly antisocial, where the offender is not able to make a social adjustment, is without morals and a sense of guilt, although he is properly socialized. The dyssocial personality is where the antisocial behavior is largely an expression of the norms of his social group. Included under antisocial is "the pathological liar, the swindler and confidence man, the habitual criminal, and... individuals whose smoothness, glibness, lack of conscience, and general irresponsibility characterizes their everyday behavior" (Kisker, 1964).
- 6 Psychopathic personality - includes all psychological problems that do not fit into the other categories, or one not yet profound or not yet diagnosed.
- 7 Neurotic, borderline psychotic - includes all disorders similar to psychotic, except less serious or extreme and does not usually require hospitalization.
- 8 Psychotic - includes all serious mental disorders (usually requiring hospitalization) that are due to serious personality disintegration and the failure to test and evaluate correctly external reality. The chief forms are called manic-depressive; paranoid, catatonic, and other forms of schizophrenic, generally including the following factors: disorientation, delusions, hallucinations, emotional disturbances, and disturbances of verbal and non-verbal communication.
- 9 Brain damage - includes pre-senile, general organic brain disorders, and permanent disorders caused by drugs, alcohol, gas, and intoxication, including the convulsive disorders of grand mal and temporal lobe seizures as well as brain abscesses, brain tumors, etc.
21. Previous record rating is determined by evaluating the general trends found in the offender's previous convictions. The extent (box 29) was determined by counting the number and type of contact with the criminal justice system as listed in the offender's record, called a "rap sheet." These records are not always complete, but include only those arrests which are recorded and sent in to the Central Record-keeping Bureau in Lansing, Michigan. Many agencies, as Detroit, do not fully cooperate, thus not all offenses committed in

Detroit are recorded. Past experience, though, shows that the criminal record is usually fairly complete, at least relative to adult arrests. Juvenile offenses are not always recorded because many juvenile courts handle juvenile offenses "behind closed doors," and do not want to give the offender "a record." Since a juvenile cannot be tried and be found guilty, offenses relative to juveniles are handled in a different way, and as a result are not recorded as a probation, jail, etc. disposition. If a "decision" was made, the offense was considered a juvenile conviction. The previous record is generally rather consistent for each offender, either consisting largely of driving offenses, property offenses, or person offenses. A description of each category is as follows:

0 No record, or a very minor one, only minor traffic, etc.

1 Primarily minor drinking, etc. - refers to primarily a traffic record and/or arrests for misdemeanors as drunk and disorderly. Very minor traffic records are coded "0". If a poor traffic record is combined with other offenses, the item is coded either 2, 6, 7, or 8.

2 Primarily property, breaking and entering, etc. - includes all larcenies from a building, breaking and entering to commit larceny, larceny by conversion (writing bad checks, etc.), using stolen credit cards, shoplifting, larcenies of unoccupied buildings, and most work related thefts where an employee steals from his employer.

Breaking and Entering (B&E) includes cases where the offender enters the building in another way than the normal manner. Thus, entering by using a stolen key, staying in a store until after hours, going into the house through an open window, as well as entering any occupied building except a retail store uninvited, for the purpose of stealing, is considered a Breaking and Entering.

Larceny and shoplifting includes all larceny offenses by use of check, credit card, forgery, falsely printed money, etc. Shoplifting is where the offender did not gain illegal entry into a store, but walked off with goods, property, etc. belonging to the store without paying for the property.

- 3 Property and drugs - is where the offender's background is primarily both property, as in number 2, and drugs, as in number 4.
  - 4 Primarily drugs - is where the majority of crimes deal specifically with drug use. While an offender's criminal offenses may be highly influenced by drug use, this code is not used except in cases where the arrest specifically is a drug arrest. Examples are: use of narcotics, or the sale and dispensing of unlawful drugs.
  - 5 Sexual offenses - where the record consists primarily of convictions for sexual offenses, including rape, indecent exposure, prostitution, etc.
  - 6 Aggressive, person offenses - would include all assaults, especially those which are very aggressive, as assault with intent to do great bodily harm. It also includes carrying concealed weapon charges, arson, prepare to burn, etc.
  - 7 Other - includes offenses that do not fit into the above categories, or 8 and 9 below.
  - 8 Property, aggressive, drugs, etc. - is where the offender has a history of all three types of offenses. Usually the record must contain two or more convictions in each category to code 8. Most offenders in this category have a long record of numerous types of offenses.
  - 9 Previous murder, homicide - is used in all cases where the offender was a direct participant in a homicide or murder before the current offense.
22. The offender's birth order is coded from the pre-sentence investigation and includes only his natural brothers and sisters, not step children or children his natural parents have adopted.
  23. The person or persons the offender was predominantly reared by are coded according to the criminal investigator's records. From this information it can be derived if death, divorce, or separation precluded one parent from taking an active part in raising the offender. If the parents were divorced when the offender was three years old or younger and the mother had custody of the child, the child was considered to be predominantly reared by the mother only, and coded accordingly. In most cases, when both parents

were members of the household and it could not be determined if only one parent was primarily responsible for raising the child, according to generally accepted middle class standards, the response was coded "0." The other items relate to the predominant pattern found during the first seven years of the child's life. If no stable pattern was found, code 4 or "unstable" was used.

24. Predominant home climate, as it is perceived by the child, was coded to the judgement of the psychologist, psychiatrist, etc., and as reported to the investigator directly from the offender, according to his recollection. This information suffers from viewing it in retrospect. It is not known how accurate the early information is, but indications are that the information related is not always fully accurate or complete. Generally, though, any extreme stresses or unusual circumstances are brought out in the investigation as is a fairly objective evaluation of the child's relationship to his parents and his siblings. If none of the factors below could be located, and the evidence strongly indicated a positive past home climate, the item was coded "beneficial." If the worker felt there were beneficial elements in the home, but several serious negative elements were present, it was coded "marginal." If the home environment was largely negative, the code "unsatisfactory" was used. If the situation oscillated from beneficial to unsatisfactory, or unsatisfactory elements were found to a major degree but only in certain stages of growth, the code "unstable" was used. Where very little discipline was used, and where both parents worked and little supervision was provided, the item was coded "very lax." If, in the judgement of the psychologist, extremely strict discipline was used, the item was coded "very strict." In cases where the child was sexually molested by the parents, or where the child was sexually used (i.e., sold as a prostitute), the code "abused, sexually only" was used. If extreme brutality or highly abnormal circumstances prevailed, the item was coded "abused, physical." An example of an "abused" code is where a father beat his daughter to the extent that she required hospitalization several times, once requiring a metal plate in the child's skull as a result of a blow. The father blamed most of his troubles on the child, and stated emphatically that a heart attack he had previously suffered was her "fault." He further stated that if he was to die from a heart attack this also would be her fault, and she would pay for her character faults "for all of eternity." Shortly after, he died of a heart attack, causing the

girl serious psychological problems.

25. Social economic ranking was determined a ranking or both the offender's and his parents' occupation, yearly income, residency, educational level, and educational performance. Rankings were assigned to each factor and social class was estimated from the sum total of factors. Because most social economic class rankings are estimations, this rating purports to be little more than an estimation, especially in view of the multiplicity of factors necessary to arrive at this rating. Due to the young age of many offenders, and lack of a significant work record, non-completion of school, etc., considerable weight was given to the parental social class in this estimation, even though the offender may be in his early 20s. Married offenders on their own were usually rated separately.
  
26. Living arrangement at offense refers to the people or persons the offender usually lives with (in the same house, apartment, etc.) during the previous six months before the offense. This does not include a short term arrangement, even if it directly preceded the offense. A description of the offender's living arrangements is usually included in the investigation of the family background. The vast majority of cases are clearly delineated, as "with the parental family" or "the conjugal family" but it is more difficult to determine "common law" if this arrangement is not stated by the offender. It is likely that homosexual alliances would not easily be discovered, as a male may be living with some friends, but the nature of his sexual or non-sexual relationship with these friends is not often delved into. As for the "alone" category, only those offenders that were living in apartments or a house, etc. by themselves or in a room rented from strangers was coded as living alone. Those offenders with their own room, or those who lived in the basement or elsewhere in their parents', friends' or relatives' house were coded as living with parents, friends, or relatives, etc. Where an offender lives with his conjugal family in either his parents' house or her parents' house, code 8 was used. Conjugal families setting up residence in a two story flat belonging to the parents, or having other accommodations in the same structure, but in a separated section of that structure, were coded as the offender living only with the conjugal family, and not their parents, relatives, etc. This was done as the structure of many homes in Pontiac is designed for two or more families to live in the same structure, but the families have as much privacy



as when they live in separate houses.

27. Marital status at offense, in contrast to #26, refers to the offender's legal marital status on the day of the offense. If the offender claimed to be married, separated, divorced, or single (having never been married) this was checked with the county or other reliable records. It is possible that if the person was divorced and remarried, or widowed and remarried, that this information was not recorded if it were not volunteered by the offender himself. Usually, the investigator would have no way of knowing if this were the case unless he specifically contacted other persons related to the offender. The offenders often prefer not to talk about their previous marriages, resulting in some inaccuracy. There are so few widowers involved in the caseload of Oakland County, due to the young age of most offenders, that the presentence investigator often does not research this item out.
28. The circumstances of marriage is coded according to the evaluation done by the research worker, based upon the probation officer's evaluation of the total marriage. This information is usually gathered from each mate separately, and is often verified by consulting grandparents, parents, cousins, relatives, friends, neighbors, etc., but may be affected by a small amount of inaccuracy. Nevertheless, if the marriage status is important, in most cases the effort will be made to insure it is completely evaluated.
- 0 No negative or no marriage - where no negative factors can be identified, or where the offender is not known to have been married. A permanent common-law union is considered a marriage and is coded accordingly.
- 1 Very young (to 18) - is coded if no serious negative aspects have been located, and both partners were under 18 when married.
- 2 Immature - is rated by a determination of the offender's general maturity from past records, especially school records and others' personal accounts.
- 3 Wife pregnant, forced - if pregnancy was an important reason in causing the marriage to take place, and more serious negative factors are not known, this code is used.
- 4 Difference in background values, etc. - refers to

strong cultural, social, or educational value differences between mates. A young husband was determined to improve his education and his young wife felt that education was largely "a waste of time," feeling that it was much more worthwhile to work through organizations such as the Women's Liberation Movement in changing society. This major value difference seriously affected their marriage.

- 5 Wife, husband divorcee - where one or both partners is a divorcee and negative factors on the divorcee's part strongly contributed to the break-up of the first marriage.
- 6 Personality differences - strong personality differences usually including differences according to psychological evaluations.
- 7, 8 Wife, husband abnormal - refers to abnormal psychotic factors (7) or sexual deviation (8) only where these factors have had a significant negative effect on the marriage relationship, before its consummation or shortly thereafter.
29. The marriage rating is obtained by interviewing each spouse and friends, relatives, neighbors, etc. and rating according to the information available. This is probably a very difficult item to code, as some information can always easily be concealed from the officer, and it is difficult to establish a consistent rating scale. Generally the three ratings of "excellent," "fair," and "poor" were used to accurately classify the marriage situation. Other factors that are felt to adversely effect the marriage are also coded, including "wife sexually abnormal," "heavy drinking," "sexual infidelity," etc. If these factors are present but do not seem to, according to available evidence, adversely effect the marriage, they were not coded. Each category is generally more serious than the one above it, and the highest descriptive category possible was coded.
30. Intelligence level is recorded either from the school records or the battery of psychological tests given to most project offenders. If several conflicting scores are given, the tests are averaged and this score is used in coding. More weight is given to a recent IQ test if available.
31. School years completed is determined from the school

records and coded according to the nearest academic year successfully completed, not the total number of years spend in school. If grade 8 was repeated, for example, even though the offender would have spent nine years in school, 8 was used as the level achieved. If the educational level cannot be obtained from the school's records, the offender's own statements or his previous or present employer is relied on for this information. Grammar school includes education up through the 8th grade, and high school includes education up through the 12th grade. Beginning college is coded "12" unless one year is completed. Other schooling, such as beauty college, correspondence courses, etc. are coded "one year" only if the offender completed what is termed a year. A Bachelors Degree is coded 16 no matter how many actual years of study under this may have been completed. Likewise, a Masters and Doctorate are coded 18 and 21 respectively, if proof is presented.

Subsequent checks have shown that several offenders have exaggerated the number of years of schooling they have completed. Several offenders claimed two years or more of college, and as far as the staff was able to tell from college records, this is simply not the case. G.E.D. completion was not coded "12," but only the actual number of grades completed was coded.

32. Academic performance is coded from the offender's school records and the offender's own admission. The behavior rating is largely according to the school's evaluation. The higher the numerical code, the poorer the academic record and the more serious the unacceptable conduct.
33. The general employment level is obtained from both the offender's own statements and by consulting his past employers. Although there was no specific criteria to in all cases delineate between "unskilled" and "skilled," skilled was usually classified as involving occupational roles requiring at least a week's special training in order to satisfactorily fulfill the requirements to begin the job. Jobs as a porter, sweeping the floor, or pure physical manual labor were considered unskilled. Steady jobs as a auto-repairman, painter, heavy truck triver, etc. were considered skilled in most cases. Experience, recommendations, the number of years on the job, and the job's classification were used to place the offender in the skilled category. The codes used are as follows:

1 Unskilled - all occupations where the normal duties can be learned in less than one week by an individual

of normal intelligence.

- 2 Housewife - includes all women who are not gainfully employed outside of the home, and whose primary duty is taking care of a home and one or more children.
  - 3 Skilled - refers to all occupations where a considerable amount of experience, and at least one week's training is required in order to be proficient at the normal job duties.
  - 4 Clerical, sales - includes all sales work, as outside salesman for a company, store sales, door to door sales, etc. but not one who is in business selling for himself (see below).
  - 5 Manager, proprietor - includes any business where the offender is a permanent manager and the job duties are primarily managerial including one who owns his own business.
  - 6 Service - includes occupations as nurses' aid, caretaker, beautician, etc.
  - 7 Professional, arts - includes artists, poets, singers, musicians, and all other areas where a high degree of originality, creativity, or some special talent is required.
  - 8 Professional - includes most jobs usually requiring a college degree, including engineers, accountants, scientists, teachers, etc.
  - 9 Professional M.D., Ph.D., etc. - includes only those with a Doctorate or the equivalent and recognized as full professionals, including doctors, lawyers, psychologists, university professors, etc.
34. Employment rating is obtained from the offender's employer, the offender's own evaluation, and the professional judgement of the investigator. Part time employment was sometimes listed by the offender, and assumed by the probation officer to be full time employment and listed as such in the records. When asked this question, there is a tendency to list employment so it cannot clearly be determined whether this employment was full time, forty hours per week, or part time. Many offenders held a large number of jobs for a very short duration, and it is difficult to determine the total number of days worked. An offender may work five

jobs in four months, working a total of thirty-seven full days. Without other sufficient information, this record was coded as four months work. When specific dates are given, better estimations can be made.

Employment included periods where the offender was in the armed forces, Peace Corp, Vista, etc. If the offender was a women and was satisfactorily fulfilling a role as a housewife with one or more children to care for, she was rated as employed full-time. If her daily activities consisted largely of "non-employment" or non-legal employment, activities "unemployed" was checked.

35. Yearly earning is the offender's approximate level of yearly income, considering work record, work pattern, level of employment, etc., assuming that no unforeseen occurrences occur. An offender who was imprisoned for a good portion of the year due to the current offense is rated by taking average monthly income and multiplying it by 12 to determine the yearly rate as if he had worked the whole year. His recent typical earnings, even if the last year was an atypical year, were coded.

A situation where a student is in high school and working part-time would be different than an offender who is out of school and still living with his parents, working only part-time. The background needed to answer this question is obtained by correlating income with the employment situation, training completed, age, and place of residence (with parents, friends, alone, etc.). Occasionally minor employment was omitted, resulting in a monthly average that was less than reality. If the hourly rate was the only rate available, the weekly rate was determined by multiplying the hourly rate by 40. This, in some cases, might not be correct because some employees work overtime, and there is a tendency for most offenders to take off an unusual number of hours from work for such things as "sickness," court dates, or other problems (including general job dissatisfaction).

There are undoubtedly many cases where the income is more than that reported, especially when illegal income is considered. For research purposes, this lifestyle as it would influence earnings was coded in other sections of the codesheet. If the offender, due to personality factors, lack of motivation, heavy absenteeism, etc. shows a consistent pattern of low earnings, even though the type of work he is involved with is fairly well paying, these factors are reflected in the evaluation.

36. Health ranking is determined from the health section,

which is compiled by the investigator during the pre-sentence investigation. This information is checked by consulting friends, neighbors, relatives, the previous offense record or the school records. Where one individual fits equally well into several categories the highest number was used. A blind offender, who also had serious mental problems, was coded "mental problems" as it was felt that this factor was more instrumental in the present crime, even though blindness probably contributed to the mental problems.

37. Leisure activities are also obtained from the offender's own admission but again are usually checked with neighbors, relatives, friends, etc. A gradual scale has been developed where the higher the number, the more the offender tends to indulge in criminal activity, spending less time in what are considered beneficial activities. The most beneficial activities would be reading, education pursuits and no criminal activities. Pursuit of almost exclusively criminal behavior would be coded 9, with varying degrees of these extremes coded according to the degree of criminal and beneficial involvement. No positive or negative activities with mostly passive or neutral pursuits would be coded 5.

#### Follow-up Information

38. Type of case - refers to the legal disposition adjudicated by the court and the Project placement group.
- 0 Mandatory Prison Sentence - is when an adjudicated offense, as first degree murder and armed robbery, requires that the offender spend a certain minimum number of years in prison, and thus the offender could not be referred to the Project.
- 1 Physical Danger Prison Sentence - is where the judge feels that the offender is a physical danger to the community and should be incarcerated for the community's protection during the time he is involved in rehabilitation services. A determination is made primarily from the offender's past record, the use or presence of a gun or weapon, extreme physical violence and/or public reaction toward the present offense.
- 2 Other Group E Prison Sentence - refers to those offenders which are not referred to the Project for reasons other than above. An example is where ones co-defendant is incarcerated because the sentence

he is convicted of is a mandatory minimum charge or he is considered a physical danger, and the judge feels it is best to impose a similar sentence on both offenders to avoid hostility. The court's policy is if the responsibility is felt to be equal among both offenders, a similar sentence should be given. Thus the status of one offender will affect the sentence given to the other. In cases where both co-defendants are eligible, one docket number is used for Project selection and both are selected or rejected. Thus any offender can be accepted or rejected because of his co-defendant's docket number, and both offenders will either go to prison, or be accepted into the Project.

- 3 Group D Prison Sentence - is where an offender from the prison pool is randomly rejected and is institutionalized in Jackson State Prison.
  - 4 Diverted from Institution to Probation (C) - refers to an offender randomly accepted into the Project from the prison pool, receiving Project probation in lieu of prison.
  - 5 Project Probation (A) - refers to those offenders randomly accepted into the Project from the probation pool and receiving Project probation.
  - 6 Regular Probation (B) - includes offenders randomly rejected from the probation pool, receiving regular probation supervision from the courthouse in Oakland County as before the existence of the Project.
  - 7 Jail - refers to offenders incarcerated in the Oakland County Jail who do not receive probation, jail being the major form of punishment or treatment used by the court.
  - 8 Other - includes delayed sentence, absconded offenders, etc.
39. Supervision rules violated - refers to rules that the offender has violated in conflict with his articles of probation or rules of parole. The specific rules usually used and an explanation of each are as follows:
- 1 Court Costs - are the funds the offender must pay to cover the court's expenses involved in his trial. Also included are fines or the specific

mo'ies the offender must pay for reason of punishment.

- 2 Non-report - refers to offenders who did not report in person or by mail or phone to the probation or parole department as required to fulfill the legal probation obligation of reporting. Generally the probationer must report once a month on a specific day or as specified by his probation or parole officer. The probation Department realizes that there are many contingencies which may legitimately prevent reporting. If the offender does not report for several months, and is unable to demonstrate an acceptable reason for not reporting, the non-report classification is used to summarize the legal reason for violation, as judged by the probation officer.
- 3 Leave State without Permission - refers to the requirement that the probationer/parolee is not to leave the State of Michigan without the written permission of the probation or parole officer. An offender who leaves Michigan without informing his supervisor has violated this rule automatically, and can be violated depending on the reason he left Michigan, and his overall record while on supervision. In actuality, seldom are offenders violated for this reason.
- 4 Moved without Notifying Probation Officer - All probationers and parolees are required to notify their supervisor in writing if they plan to move. Failure to do this is grounds for violation. In practice, offenders are usually not violated, violation depending primarily on the overall performance on probation or parole. If there is a satisfactory reason for not reporting a move, this is recorded and he is not violated. A probationer forced to move on short notice for not paying his rent, "thrown" out of his parents' home, or moving because of a change in jobs, etc. may not be able to report this to his supervisor and usually will not be reprimanded. If the offender just moves and does not report to the Probation Department for several months and the Department has a difficult time in locating him, the chances of violation are much higher.
- 5 Associate with Felons - While on probation or parole the offender: is not legally to associate with any known convicted felony offender. Generally



this excludes relatives, family members, work-mates, and some close friends. The offender is usually not violated unless he is involved in some type of illegal activity with other convicted felony offenders.

6 Did not Maintain Employment - If the Articles of Probation or Parole specify that the offender must maintain employment, and sufficient reason is not present as to why he did not, he may be violated. If the offender is not able to find a job and presents adequate evidence that he is sincerely looking, a violation is not made unless the probation officer has reason to believe that the offender is avoiding work. An offender who is employed, but through his own negligence loses his job, could be violated if he is not actively seeking work.

7 Did Not Obtain Psychological Help - If the Articles of Probation specify that the offender should maintain psychological help, (usually requested in the case of sex offenders or drug addicts) and the offender refuses to follow this order, he may be violated. Generally the offender will endeavor to obtain help for a limited period of time in order to meet his obligations, and then stop receiving the help. Legally, there is no requirement as to the length of time he must receive the psychological help, or the extent of treatment he must obtain. At times the offender will feign improvement to the doctor or be so disagreeable that the psychologist will terminate treatment and notify the court that there is nothing else he can do or that treatment is completed.

40. Court appearance(s) - refers to any appearances that the offender made in the courtroom as a plaintiff for offenses recommitted after he was put on Probation or Parole for the current case. Here the two most serious outcomes for the period studied are to be coded.

0 No Appearance, not Adjudicated Yet - refers to where the offender did not appear as a plaintiff for any misdemeanor or felony offense, excluding minor traffic offenses, or where a case is still pending.

1 Case Dismissed - Used if the case was legally dropped because of insufficient evidence, the offender

was found not guilty, or because of a legal technicality the charges were dismissed.

- 2 Continued on Probation or Parole, no Penalty - refers to where the offender is continued on probation or parole in spite of a new conviction or a violation. Not used where the sentence was suspended or fine, restitution, jail sentence, or new probation sentence was imposed in addition to continuing on probation.
- 3 Suspended Sentence, Fine, or Restitution - refers to where the new sentence is suspended or delayed for some specified period of time, and/or where the only sentence consists of a fine and/or restitution.
- 4 Short Jail Sentence - refers to new jail sentences of less than six months as a result of a new offense. A short jail term refers to a maximum sentence of between 1 and 179 days.
- 5 New Probation Sentence - refers to where the new sentence is a separate probation sentence. Commonly the second probation is from another court; the offender would then be on probation in two courts. Occasionally, an offender is put on a second probation in the same court, and then must serve a "dual probation," usually under the same officer.
- 6 Six Months or More in Jail - refers to a jail sentence which is six months (160 days) and up, but rarely more than one year.
- 7 Probation and Six Months or More in Jail - refers to where the offender receives a jail sentence of six months or more and probation. When the jail time is to be served first, it is concurrent with probation, when served after probation, the time is not concurrent.
- 8 To State Correctional Facility - refers to offenders that are violated on the present probation or parole case for not fulfilling probation or parole conditions, and sentenced to Jackson State Prison (females to DeHoCo).
- 9 New Sentence--Institutionalized - refers to where a new charge results in violation and institutionalization. For probation cases the probation is

"dropped" and only the new sentence is served.

41. Supervision services - refers to those services directly administered by the probation, parole or community treatment project specifically for the individual offender.
- 00 No Supervision Needed - refers to cases where supervision was administered to a minor degree to fulfill the probation or parole requirements, but in the opinion of the officer in charge, no supervision or services were needed. An example of a case in this category was where a successful businessman in his middle 50s, because of being inebriated at a Christmas party, was involved in an automobile accident which killed an occupant of the other car. Drinking was, for him, a rare activity, pursued only on special occasions with certain types of people and his driving record was excellent according to the court investigation. Thus neither alcohol nor driving was a problem. He was just involved in a set of unfortunate events which probably will never be repeated.
- 01 No Services Needed - refers to cases where it is felt that supervision is needed, but no additional services beyond regular probation supervision are necessary. A case in point is where a divorced man, in an attempt to see his children, attempted to break into an apartment he purchased for his former wife and his children to live in. The wife, because of openly having an affair with another man, did not, contrary to the custody order, want the husband to see the children, as she felt this would interfere with her romancing activities in the apartment. The man was well adjusted and successful in the business world, but through the prompting of a "friend" and a reduction of self control from alcohol, he was convinced to see his children but had to force his way into the apartment to do so. His wife pressed charges, resulting in a probation term. The court later enforced the stipulation that he be allowed to see his children on a prescribed day, once a week. Supervision was needed in order to insure that his court order was carried out, and no further problems occurred and no additional services were needed.
- A Services Rendered by Project Staff - are services which were administered primarily by the Project

staff.

- B Services by Contract - services which the Project or Department paid for to render specific benefits to the client, as psychological testing.
- C Services by Contribution - services which were contributed to the offender, through a direct request from the Project Staff. An example would be the Project Staff requesting vocational rehabilitation and the Department of Vocational Rehabilitation then furnishing the needed services free of charge to each offender and the probation department.
- D Needed, Not Provided - refers to services, which, in the opinion of the staff, were needed but were not provided in any way. This factor was seldom recorded as all of the offenders could probably benefit by many services, but funds limit those that can be provided.
- 0 Information - refers to any general information provided, excluding information which would be covered under the other codes in this section. Generally "information" refers to cases where a minimum of supervision is needed or where the officer has done little more than locate minor information or services as answering questions about the judicial or legal process, or the community services that the client may want to utilize. One minimal supervision client endeavored to recover some money owed to him by his landlady. He was given information about the Legal Aid Society to obtain legal counsel. Aside from the routine questions asked and some small talk during report days, no other major type of supervision services were needed or rendered for this code.
- 1 Financial - refers to where extensive financial guidance was made available to the client. One client was having a great deal of difficulty in handling his finances and was referred by the Project to a credit management association. After extensive financial counseling and budget direction, involving the credit association receiving the client's pay check and allotting him a pre-determined amount for various expenses after they paid his necessary bills, he was able to get out of debt.
- 2 Psychological or Psychiatric - refers to services contracted from or contributed by a licensed

psychologist or psychiatrist. Offenders that demonstrate severe neurotic or psychotic problems which would be amenable to this type of treatment are usually referred. Most clients who could benefit from psychological services were not referred.

- 3 Transportation - refers to transportation provided by or paid for by the staff. Includes when the Project pays for bus or taxi fare or when the officer picks up the offender at his home, or volunteer organizations such as FISH transport the offender.
- 4 Educational - refers to any type of educational, vocational or training in a technical or purely academic area, including studying to pass the G.E.D. test or highly practical education as tutoring a client to help him in the administration of his family responsibilities. One small class of four clients was tutored by a graduate student, covering the practical area of home maintenance, budgeting, completing income tax forms, completing job forms, how to look for work, presenting oneself appropriately for an interview, etc.
- 5 Group Counseling - refers to a specific type of counseling where a group of offenders are directed, in a therapeutic situation, by a staff member or other person qualified in group counseling techniques. The value of the technique lies in the ability of ones peers to influence a group member's behavior and the feedback group members give each other, including the sharing of problems, feelings, etc., utilizing each other's resources towards a solution to their problems.
- 6 Family Group Counseling - refers to group counseling where all, or most, of the family members from one family make up the group. It is used where it is felt that family members could profit from the open communication and expression of each other's feelings in the way a group is designed to facilitate. Lack of meaningful communication is felt to be an important impediment in good family relations and the problems of many offenders are thought to stem from the family situation.
- 7 Drug Group Counseling - refers to a group session where the specific purpose is the amelioration of a drug problem which includes most narcotics,

barbituates, amphetamines, hallucinogens, etc.

- 8 Half-way House, Drug House - is a live-in treatment center for drug users, or prisoners before they are released into society. Clients felt able to profit from this type of treatment are sometimes sent, if there is room, to a center that can accept them.
  - 9 Alcoholic Counseling - refers to services which are designed to ameliorate an alcoholic problem, including the services of Alcoholics Anonymous, or therapy in which the main goal is correction of an alcoholic problem. May include administration of antabuse as part of the treatment program.
  - 10 Marriage Counseling - Specifically refers to counseling for a man and wife directed at improvement in the marriage relationship. Often this is performed by a professional marriage counselor, but if regular meetings between husband and wife are involved and the goal is to help the marriage, the help was coded under this category.
42. Change in marital situation - refers to any change in the marital relationship, after supervision is subsumed, according to the codes below.
- 0 Not Married - refers to an offender that was not married during supervision and includes divorced and widowed persons if the change in their marital status did not occur during supervision.
  - 1 Major Improvement - refers to substantial improvement in the relationship between the husband and wife, including increased understanding and empathy towards each other, and a substantial improvement in developing a mature, emotionally healthy marital relationship.
  - 2 Some Improvement - refers to improvement of several important aspects of the marital relationship.
  - 3 Slight Improvement - refers to minor beneficial changes in the marital relationship due to improved home conditions, a change in economic circumstances, the result of trial activities, etc., where most of the major interpersonal problems are still existent.
  - 4 No Changes - refers to the inability to locate any

changes in the marital situation. Usually there is no apparent change in the home situation, and no noticeable change in elements that cause friction between the marital partners, including mismanagement of money, presence of inlaws, poor home situation, etc.

- 5 Minor Deterioration - refers to a slight deterioration of the home situation, producing an environment less conducive to improved marital relationships.
  - 6 Major Deterioration - refers to a permanent decrease in the quality of the environment and/or a major deterioration in the relations between the husband and the wife.
  - 7 Separated - refers to a husband and wife who are no longer living together by choice, and this arrangement is assumed to be permanent.
  - 8 Divorce - refers to a completed legal divorce. In cases where a divorce is pending, the category was coded as separated.
  - 9 Divorced, Remarried - refers to a divorced offender that has remarried within the time of probation.
43. Employment record - refers to the offender's employment record from the beginning of supervision to the following period. In cases of prison, the employment record was rated from commencement of parole to completion of parole, or to the end of follow-up period.
- 0 No Employment - refers to where an offender was not employed in any financially remunerative pursuit during the entire probation or parole period.
  - 1 Excellent Record, Promotions - refers to where an offender either maintains an excellent record or, during his parole or probation time, received a promotion or promotions for excellent work done.
  - 2 Excellent Record, Major Improvement - refers to a major change from the offender's previous behavior including primarily his ability to hold a job, attend regularly, and not violate work rules.
  - 3 Good Record, Slight Improvement - refers to cases where there is a reduction in negative behavior, improvement in attendance, work habits, length of jobs kept, etc.

- 4 Fair Record - refers to cases where all the available evidence indicates that there is no change in a fairly good work pattern or record. Also included in this category are cases where the researcher does not have sufficient evidence to conclude that any change has taken place.
- 5 Poor Record, Absenteeism, etc. - refers to cases where the employment is, as a whole, poor and the attendance is generally poor. Work quality and responsibility in this category would be average or below. Also refers to an offender who, although he generally has fair attendance, is considered by his employer to be below average as an employee, and is able to do his work only barely adequately.
- 6 Poor Record, Much Absenteeism - refers to an offender who has a poor work attendance and, as a whole, a poor record, but was not fired or found to be in violation of major work rules while on supervision.
- 7 Part-time Only (school) - An offender attending school full-time, even though he may be working part-time was coded in this category if sufficient work experience is not present in order to adequately evaluate his employment record.
- 8 No Work Record--Valid Reasons - includes offenders who were not employed due to factors beyond their control, including sickness, a poor employment situation in the area in which he lives, or a basic inability to obtain meaningful employment.
- 9 Very Poor, Worked Only Sporadically - refers to offenders who have extremely poor work records due to a combination of factors, primarily poor attendance, inability to perform the job properly, violation of work rules or federal laws while on the job, not carrying out responsibility properly, habitual change of jobs, several suspensions, often fired, etc.
44. Change in income - refers to changes in the offender's income during the period of supervision compared to a similar period of time immediately before the offense he is currently on supervision for. Comparison of change is made by comparing #35 with his current status.
- 0 No Income - refers to where the offender did not earn an income from activities which are normally



undertaken for the purpose of being financially remunerative. Not included are income from interest on money already saved, ADC, social security, income given by parents, or support by relatives, etc. In cases of housewives who are supported by their husbands, if they do not work, the no income category is used.

45. Change in education - refers to any change in the offender's educational level, or any additional education obtained during the supervision period compared to the offender's educational status at the time of the offense.

- 0 No Change - refers to an offender who was not involved in any formal educational program during the entire supervision program, including tutoring, vocational training, formal high school, adult education, or other education.
- 1 Started Training, Little Effort - refers to an individual, who, while he has started a training program, made little effort, and either dropped out before the training was completed or made one or more attempts towards training, none of which amounted to any real establishment in a program.
- 2 Started Training - refers to an offender who has become involved in a training program at any time while on supervision, but due to circumstances beyond his control, including running out of funds, illness, change in job status, etc. was not able to complete the training program, but may in the future.
- 3 Completed G.E.D. - refers to having successfully completed the General Educational Development Examination.
- 4 Started College, Doing Fair - Refers to an offender who started a community college or university program and is doing approximately C or D work.
- 5 Training Program, Excellent - refers to an offender who completed or will complete a non-college level training program, qualifying him for a trade skill or a higher level program.
- 6 In College, Doing Exceptionally - refers to an offender doing B work or better in a formal 2 or 4 year college program.

- 7 Completed Training Program, Excellent - refers to an offender who has completed a training program, doing an excellent job in the opinion of the instructors, or according to his grades (B+ or better).
  - 8 Completed College - refers to an offender who has completed a 2 year program in an accredited community college or university.
  - 9 Completed College and Other Programs - refers to an offender who completed a 4 year program from an accredited college or university, having done well.
- 46, 47. Drugs and Alcohol - refers to any use or difficulties with drugs (46) and alcohol (47). Use refers to the offender using the chemical without any legal, violation or other difficulties. Difficulties refers to both use and the difficulties that that use has brought upon the offender.
- 0 None - refers to no use whatsoever of drugs or alcohol. Often this category is difficult to know for certain, and is coded if there has not been any hint of use.
  - 1 Interpersonal Use, Minor - refers to minor interpersonal use not involving arrests or any other legal difficulties. This would refer to a pure social user, one who is not dependent upon the chemical and uses it only for pleasure, or as the result of social pressure.
  - 2 Interpersonal Use, Major - refers to use which implies some psychological dependence, possibly to the extent that it may impair health. Also where its use is a major pleasure activity in the offender's life style.
  - 3 Legal, Arrests - refers to minor arrests at the misdemeanor level, either directly or indirectly connected with use.
  - 4 Legal, Major Arrests - refers to use involving a felony arrest or three or more misdemeanor arrests which indicate that use has developed into a major problem.
  - 5 No Change in Use--Violated - refers to an offender who has continued to use a substance which is

specifically prohibited in his Articles of Probation, and as a result was violated. In these cases the offender usually has a conviction which is connected with abuse.

- 6 Greater Use--Violated - refers to an offender who was using an illegal chemical before probation and increased his use, resulting in his violation. This case represents the greatest deterioration resulting from the use of illegal chemicals.
- 7 Unknown - refers to cases where there is not enough proof for a violation, and there are no drug related arrests, but there is some evidence of use. Often the offender will say that he was at one time a drug addict, or at one time over-drunk, but at present this is under control. If there is evidence to indicate that this is not the case (testimony by a friend or from family members, the appearance of the offender, etc.) but there is not sufficient evidence to arrest or violate the offender, the unknown category was used.
48. Participation in treatment - refers to the investigator's subjective evaluation of the offender's participation in the total treatment program.
- 0 Failed to Follow Through - refers to the offender's total failure to follow through on almost all programs he was involved in. Usually this refers to a violation or conditions which strongly warrant a violation, but for some reason the offender was not violated.
- 1 Failed Some Conditions - refers to the offender's not completing several conditions of his probation, as not reporting, not paying court costs, or not completing a program successfully, but as a whole was cooperative.
- 2 Followed Through Reasonably Well - refers to the offender's following through on most of the conditions imposed on him, and where programs or obligations were not completed due to reasons beyond the offender's control, as not completing court costs due to having medical expenses in his family or not being able to find work due to a poor employment picture.
- 3 Followed Through Quite Well - refers to where the offender was conscientious in most programs he

was involved in and was conscientious in meeting his legal duties and other tasks in conjunction with supervision.

- 4 Enthusiastically Participated - refers to where an offender was able to do quite well in successfully completing most all treatment programs he was involved in and was extremely conscientious in fulfilling his legal duties in conjunction with the supervision services, including reporting, paying court costs, and other stipulations of supervision.
- 48b. Outcome - refers to the probation or parole officer's  
(Box 7) subjective evaluation after taking most factors into consideration, of the results of the probation experience.
- 5 Very Successful - refers to a very successful outcome in all areas of probation, including decreases in criminal behavior, increased community responsibility and positive growth away from negative influences and definite growth towards positive influences. Several contingencies must be considered here which are beyond the control of either the supervising officer or the offender. A highly intelligent offender with latent occupational skills which the Project is able to capitalize on would be coded "very successful" even though the advantage of innate intelligence is largely beyond both the offender's and the Project's control. Here the Project is able to help the offender even though the help may be less than given to many other offenders.
- 6 Moderately Successful - refers to where an offender during his supervision period had no violations, no new offenses, and showed some change in improving his status or adjustment in society.
- 7 No Improvement - refers to little change in the offender's status in society and only minor involvement with the law, where the offender was not violated or arrested for a felony.
- 8 Lost Ground - refers to offenders who were either technically violated, convicted of another offense, or, even though not violated, were involved in increased criminal activity and experienced general deterioration in their financial and employment situation.

- 9 Tremendous Regression - refers to a conviction for a new major felony or commitment because of several new offenses, each of which could result in a violation, or a total tremendous deterioration in the offender's home situation, work situation, health, or general life style.
49. Individual counseling - refers to counseling services administered with the goal of changing the client's behavior. This category excludes where only general information is presented to the client, and refers to counseling utilizing a specific counseling technique, usually by the probation officer and/or another counselor.

## CHAPTER VII

### RESULTS

The study included a total of 373 Second Felony offenders. A summary of the categories and the number of offenders in each group follows:

Table 1.--Number of offenders in each research group

PROBATION POOL. . . . .	173 offenders
1. Accepted in Project (Group A). . . . .	.80 offenders
2. Rejected, put on regular probation (Group B). . . . .	.93 offenders
PRISON POOL . . . . .	109 offenders
3. Accepted (Group C) . . . . .	.42 offenders
4. Rejected, sent to prison (Group D) . . . . .	.67 offenders
5. Not referred (Danger to Community (Group E). . . . .	.91 offenders
TOTAL OF ALL GROUPS (A,B,C,D,E) . . . . .	373 offenders

The results clearly show that the hypothesis was supported. The failure rate of the probation cases randomly diverted into the project was 10% compared to 13% for those randomly diverted into regular probation, not significant at the .05 level. But cases randomly diverted from the prison pool into the project had the lowest failure rate for all categories, 7%. This compares with the highest rate for all categories, 27%, for those cases which were randomly diverted into prison, significant at the .05 level. Thus those offenders who were similar in every way except that they experienced prison had a failure rate four times as high as those not experiencing prison. Clearly the project experience had the effect of lowering the recidivist rate especially when compared with those who had a prison experience.

Table 2.--Success trichotomy by research group

	Successful		Borderline		Failure		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Probation group							
Project (A)	63	79	9	11	8	10	80
Control (B)	71	76	10	11	12	13	93
Prison Group							
Project (C)	36	86	3	7	3	7	42
Control (D)	45	67	4	6	18	27	67

A case was rated as a failure if probation or parole was terminated and the offender was sentenced to prison either because of a parole/probation violation or because of a conviction for a new offense and a prison term resulting from the new set of charges. There were enough cases to develop a trichotomy classification consisting of failure, borderline and successful. Borderline cases were those cases who received a new probation sentence, a jail sentence, or some combination of these adjudications. An offender was classified as successful if he had either: 1) no new charges or the new charges were dismissed, 2) continued on probation or parole without a penalty (the charges were dropped or were not serious enough to warrant another adjudication), 3) the charges were not adjudicated yet (this may change the offender's status but technically he is not guilty of the charges until adjudication). The borderline and failure rates would obviously depend upon the period of time the offender spent in the community before the follow-up.

Looking at borderline cases we find the Project group

was the same as regular probation (both 11%); and offenders diverted into the project were slightly higher than prison cases (7% compared to 16%). When borderline and failure cases are combined all probation groups (A, B, and C) were very similar, having successful rates of 79%, 76% and 86% respectively. Only group D stands out with the lowest rate, 67%.

In the following review of the results, many categories where there were only one or two cases were combined. For example, adjudication of unarmed robbery in the successful cases amounted to only 1.8% and attempted unarmed robbery to only .5%, or one case. These were combined to produce a total for unarmed robbery of five cases making up 2.3% of the successful group for offense as adjudicated.

Of all cases 82.8% of the successful group did not have a new conviction and only 4.7% of this group had a case dismissed and 4.7% were convicted but had no penalty. A suspended or delayed sentence was given to 8.9%. Most of these cases will have the sentence dropped or will get probation. The majority of the borderline group received jail sentences (thirteen offenders) and the other eleven received a short jail sentence and another conviction, usually another probation sentence.

All the failure cases were institutionalized, the majority (63.4%) for a new sentence or a sentence which resulted from committing a new offense after adjudication of the offense for which they were referred to the project. Only 17.1%



violated probation or parole and were returned to (or sentenced to) prison to finish out the original sentence. Altogether, 19.5% were convicted of not only a new sentence but another conviction including even a second prison sentence (often served concurrently) or another probation sentence, etc. Only nine offenders were violated and sent to prison and six offenders received new sentences and another conviction.

Table 3.-Type of new court appearances according to success trichotomy

Court Appearance	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. convictions or not adjudicate	178	82.8				
Case dismissed	10	4.7				
Continued on probation or parole-no penalty	10	4.7				
Suspended sentence and other conviction	17	7.9				
Short jail sentence			7	26.9		
Six mo. or more in jail			6	23.1		
Short jail sentence and other convictions			11	42.0		
Violated - to prison					7	17.1
New Sentence - imprisoned					26	63.4
Violated - to prison and other convictions					2	4.8
New sentence - imprisoned and other convictions					6	14.7

The group that was rated failure was made up of 43.9% of group D compared to only 7.3% of group C. The probation breakdown was 19.5% for the Project and 29.3% for regular probation. The borderline group was more evenly divided, only favoring the project for the prison group. Offenders

from the prison group sentenced to prison made up 15.4% compared to those diverted to probation, 11.5%, and the Project probationers 34.6% compared to the higher level for the regular probationers of 38.5%. Of the successful group, group D had an interestingly higher percent successful than group C (21.0% compared to 16.7%). This was also true when Project Probation is compared with regular probation, 29.3 and 33.0 respectively. In examining successful compared with borderline and failure cases the percents referred to the item considered compared to the entire successful group or the item considered compared with the entire borderline group, etc.

Of the failure cases 73.2% compared to only 26.8% was the half that was not involved in the Project. Of the borderline cases 54.6% were not part of the project. Borderline cases were thus approximately half and half, the project accounting for half and non-project half. On the other hand, 54.1% of the successful cases were not part of the project compared to 45.9% that were.

Table 4.--Type of case according to success trichotomy

Type of Case	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Group D prison sentence	45	21.0	4	15.4	18	43.9
Diverted from institution (C) to probation	36	16.7	3	11.5	3	7.3
Project probation (A)	63	29.3	29	34.8	8	19.5
Regular probation (B)	71	33.0	10	38.5	12	29.3
Total	218	100.0	22	100.0	41	100.0

In comparing the treatment groups for offense as charged, some patterns were seen. "A" compared with "B" finds that the percent in each category is 1 or 2 percentage different. Thus as for the original charge the two populations are alike. This was also true in comparing those from the prison group. On the other hand, there were a considerable number of contrasts between the first four categories and the prison only category. Convictions for offenses like murder were almost fourteen times as high (14.3% of E compared to 1.1 and 1.5 of B and D and 0% of A and B respectively). Armed robbery was also higher (14.3% compared to 10.8% for B, 9.2% for D and 10.0% for A). There was a lower percent in group E of larcenies (10%) compared to around 15% for the other four categories. Sale of drugs was also much lower (about 1% compared to between 3.8 and 7.1% for the non-exclusionary cases). Thus as a whole group E was charged with more serious offenses.

Assaults were very similar in groups A, B and D (from 4.3 to 6.3% with zero C cases). There was only one rape offender, and he was in category A. The other two sex offenders were in B and D, one each. The highest number of B&E's was group C (40.5%) and then D (33.8%) followed by B (28.0%) and A (27.5%). Evidently there is a tendency for offenders charged with B&E to be sentenced to prison. Larceny by check was around 5% for all groups including E (the highest 7.7% except C, which had 2.4%).

Table 5.--Current offense as originally charged according to research group

Offense as Charged	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1st Degree Murder			1	1.1			1	1.5	13	14.3
Manslaughter			1	1.1			1	1.5		
Armed Robbery	8	10.0	10	10.8	3	7.1	6	9.2	13	14.3
Larceny from a Person									1	1.1
Unarmed Robbery	2	2.6	1	1.1	1	2.4	2	3.1	1	1.1
Assault	5	6.3	4	4.3			4	6.2	4	4.4
Rape	1	1.3								
Sex Offense			1	1.1			1	1.5		
B & E	22	27.5	26	28.0	17	40.5	22	33.8	27	29.7
Poss. Stolen Prop.			2	2.2						
Rec. Stolen Prop.	2	2.5	3	3.2	3	7.1	4	6.2	9	9.9
CCW	7	8.8	6	6.5	2	4.8			3	3.3
Lar. (From Bldg, Auto, etc.)	13	16.3	14	15.1	6	14.3	11	17.0	9	9.9
Poss. of Drug	8	10.0	8	8.6			1	1.5		
Sale of Drug	3	3.8	6	6.5	3	7.1	4	6.2	1	1.1
UDAA	4	5.0	4	4.3	1	2.4	2	3.1	3	3.3
Larceny by Check	4	5.0	6	6.5	1	2.4	4	6.2	7	7.7
Obstructing Justice	1	1.3			1	2.4	1	1.5		

Comparing the original charges for the success group, we find 30.7% or sixty-seven cases were some type of breaking and entering offense. The next highest percent is larceny (from a building, automobile, etc.) making up 16%. Total property offenses accounted for almost 60.9% of the offenders who were successful on either probation or parole. Drug offenders accounted for another 13.8% (7.8 possession and 6.0 sale). Armed robbery accounted for 7.8 compared to 2.3 for unarmed robbery and only 1.9 for some form of murder. Assaults were 4.6% and sex offenses 1.0%. The borderline cases showed a similar distribution except a much higher percent were convicted for armed robbery (18.2%) and possession

of drugs (13.7%). Again property offenses were high. Larcenies were 18.1% but there were no B & E cases. Assaults were much higher (9.1) compared to 4.6% for the successful group), but other property offenses and carrying concealed weapons was about the same for both groups.

Looking at the failure group, we find the largest percent of failures were originally charged with B&E (31.7%) and the next largest were charged with other property offenses (17.1). Armed robbery accounted for a high 12.2% compared to 9.8% for larceny and 7.3% each for sale of drugs and larceny by check. Property offenses as a whole accounted for almost 66% of this group, a percentage similar to both the successful and borderline cases if armed robbery is included in the borderline group. Thus the majority of both successful, borderline and failure groups were originally convicted of property offenses and drug offenses were prevalent in both the successful and failure group as was larceny by check. Thus there is no clear difference between the three groups and no clear pattern can be discerned, especially because the low number of cases in some categories makes it difficult to make comparisons.

Comparison of the research groups for the offense as adjudicated finds the greatest difference is between the prison exclusionary group and all the groups. There were three second degree murder charges in group E compared to zero for all other groups. For felony manslaughter, there were five or 5.5% for E compared to zero percent for A and E and slightly over

Table 6.--New offenses as charged according to success trichotomy

Offense as Charged	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Murder	4	1.9	1	4.5		
Armed robbery	17	7.8	4	18.2	5	12.2
Unarmed robbery	5	2.3			1	2.4
Assault	10	4.6	2	9.1	1	2.4
Sex offense	2	1.0			1	2.4
B&E	67	30.7			13	31.7
Property offense	10	4.6	1	4.5	7	17.1
CCW	13	6.0	1	4.5	1	2.4
Larceny (from bldg., auto, etc.)	35	16.0	4	18.1	4	9.8
Poss. of drugs	17	7.8	3	13.6		
Sale of drugs	13	6.0			3	7.3
UDAA	9	4.1			2	4.9
Larceny by check	12	5.5				
Other	3	1.4				

1% for B and D. The next most serious charge, armed robbery, again found group E with the highest percent, 6.6 compared to zero percent for all other categories except Project Probation (A) which had a 3.8% level. Unarmed robbery which is usually broken down from armed robbery found 6.6% in category # compared to only 4.5 in category D and 1.1 in category B and zero in categories A and C. Most other offenses varied, but in no consistent pattern as for the most serious charges. For example, attempted armed robbery found the Project group compared to the regular probation group each 7.5% yet the prison exclusionary group was only 2.2% compared to group C, 2.4% and for those

offenders randomly sent to prison, group D, 4.5%. For assault 2.5% were in group A, 3.2% in group B compared to a high of 7.7% for group E and 6.1% in group D and zero percent for group C. The differences here between group A and D are understandable if both are from the same population but the vast difference between group C and D is hard to interpret. Final adjudication of sex offenses were very low, only one case in group B and one case in group D. There were several sex offenders in the project, but the final adjudication was trespassing or assault. Possession or receiving stolen property went from a low of 2.5% for the project probation (group A) to 3.2% for regular probation to 7.1% for group C to 10.6% for group D and a high of 13.6% for group E. Again there seems to be no relationship between the offense and the research category the offender ended up in. Especially in nonthreatened crime like possession or receiving of stolen property do we find the highest percent in group E, supposedly the most dangerous criminals and the lowest percent in group A and B (approximately the same) supposedly the least innocuous of the groups. On the other hand, possession of a gun or carrying a concealed weapon was found to be highest among group A (7.5%) and lowest among group D (0%) and next lowest was for the supposedly most dangerous, group E (3.3%). The percentage for each category of larcenies was approximately the same, ranging from 6.1 to 8.8%. Again attempted larcenies was similar to A, B, C, and D but much lower (5.5%) for group E

compared to around 10% for the other groups. Attempted possession of a drug was again about the same for groups A through D (about 6%) and zero percent for group E. The supposedly serious crime of sale of drugs was highest in group C (4.8%) and lowest in group A (1.3%) and zero percent in group E. Another nonthreatening crime, larceny by check, was ironically highest in the prison group (8.8%) and lowest in group C (2.4%) and next lowest in group D (3.0%) with group A and B being both close to 5%.

In examining the misdemeanor final adjudications a striking expected difference is noticed: the majority of misdemeanor adjudications are from group A and B with only seven cases sentenced to prison in the total exclusionary category, four cases randomly sentenced from the prison pool, and eight cases randomly sentenced to the project from the prison pool.

Table 7a.--New misdemeanors as adjudicated in each research group

Misdemeanors	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Manslaughter							1	1.5		
Assault	4	5.0	1	1.1						
Sex Offense	1	1.3								
Att. B & E	2	2.6								
CCW	1	1.3	3	3.3						
Lar. (From Bldg., Auto, etc.)	3	3.8	1	1.1	2	4.8				
Att. Lar. (From Bldg., etc.)	10	12.5	9	9.7	3	7.1	3	4.5	6	6.6
Poss. of Drug	3	3.8	4	4.3	2	4.8			1	1.1
Att. Poss. of Drug	2	2.5	1	1.1						
Sale of Drug					1	2.4				
UDAA by Check	2	2.5	1	1.1						
Larceny by Check			3	3.3			1	1.5		
Obstructing Justice			1	1.1						
Other			1	1.1						



Table 7b.--New felonies as adjudicated in each research group

Offense as Adjudicated Felonies	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
2nd Degree Murder									3	3.3
Manslaughter			1	1.1			1	1.5	5	5.5
Armed Robbery	3	3.8							6	6.6
Unarmed Robbery			1	1.1			3	4.5	6	6.6
Att. Armed Robbery	6	7.5	7	7.5	1	2.4	3	4.5	2	2.2
Att. Unarmed Robbery			2	2.2	2	4.8	2	3.0		
Assault	2	2.5	3	3.2			4	6.1	7	7.7
Sex Offense			1	1.1			1	1.5		
B & E	1	1.2	2	2.2	4	9.5	1	1.5	7	7.7
Att. B & E	6	7.5	11	11.8	7	16.7	13	19.7	11	12.1
Poss; Rec. Stolen Prop.	2	2.5	3	3.2	7	7.1	7	10.6	12	13.6
CCW & Stt.	6	7.5	4	4.3	2	4.8			3	3.3
Lar. (From Bldg., Auto, etc.)	7	8.8	6	6.5	3	7.1	4	6.1	6	6.6
Att. Lar, (From Bldg., etc.)	6	7.5	10	10.8	5	11.9	10	15.2	5	5.5
Att., and Poss. of Drug	5	6.3	6	6.4	2	4.8	4	6.0		
Att. Sale of Drug	1	1.3	3	3.2	2	4.8	1	1.5		
Att. & UDAA	3	3.8	4	4.4	2	4.8	2	3.0	2	2.2
Att. & Lar. by Check	4	5.1	4	4.3	1	2.4	2	3.0	8	8.8
Obstructing Justice							3	4.5		

Comparing final adjudications between the successful, borderline and failure divisions, some trends could be noticed and some go counter to existing perceptions. For instance, the failure group had no possession/sale of drugs or UDAA convictions. In the felony groups none of the failures were convicted of manslaughter, CCW, or obstructing justice, all charges there is much concern about repeating. There is a very low percentage in the successful group of these cases, and because a very low number were convicted of these charges in the first place, a low number would thus correspondingly be violated from these groups. The most consistent pattern, which would be

expected, is the high number of failures among those originally convicted of armed robbery. Of the successful group only 2.3% were adjudicated of armed robbery compared to 19.1% of the borderline and 12.1% of the failure group. The same is true for a felony B&E adjudication, 14.7% for the successful group compared to only 9.1 for the borderline but a high of 29.2 for the failure group. Again possession or receiving stolen property accounted for 12.2% of the failure group and only 4.6% of the successful group and zero percent of the borderline group. Those offenders having a greater chance of failing are those offenders originally convicted of some type of property offense. Even larceny from an automobile or building which is a misdemeanor found 4.9% of the failure category compared to only 1.8% of the successful category. Interestingly while attempted larceny both as a felony and a misdemeanor accounted for 22.0% of the successful category, they accounted for only 4.9% of the failure group. Thus, while property offense adjudications more often fail, attempted property offenses possibly fail less often. Larceny by check which accounted for only 2.7% of the successful group and zero percent of the borderline group accounted for a high of 7.3% of the failure group.

The breakdown for sex and race shows several striking differences. The vast majority of offenders in all categories were male, with approximately the same number of females in each category (A, 6.3%; B, 9.7%; C, 4.8%; D, 3.0% and #, 4.4%).

Table 3.--New offense as adjudicated according to success trichotomy

Offense as Adjudicated	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>MISDEMEANORS</b>						
Manslaughter	1	0.5				
Assault	4	1.8	1	4.5		
Sex offense	1	0.5				
B&E	2	1.0				
CCW	2	1.0	1	4.5	1	2.4
Lar. (from bldg, auto, etc.)	4	1.8			2	4.9
Att. lar. (from bldg, auto, etc.)	20	9.2	5	22.7	1	2.4
Poss. of drugs	11	5.1	1	4.5		
Sale of drugs	1	0.5				
UDAA	3	1.4				
Larceny by check	3	1.4	2	9.1	1	2.4
<b>FELONY</b>						
Manslaughter	2	0.9				
Armed robbery	21	2.3	4	10.1	5	12.2
Assault	7	3.2			2	4.9
Rape, sex offense	1	0.5			1	2.4
B&E	32	14.7	2	9.1	12	29.2
Poss., rec. stolen prop.	10	4.6			5	12.2
CCW	11	5.0				
Lar. (from bldg., auto, etc.)	15	6.9	2	9.1	2	4.9
Att. lar. (from bldg., auto, etc.)	28	12.8	2	9.1	1	2.4
Poss. of drug	14	6.4	2	9.1	1	2.4
Att. sale of drug	5	2.3			2	4.9
UDAA	9	3.1			2	4.9
Larceny by check	8	2.7			3	7.3
Obstructing justice	3	1.4				

The percent of Negroes was 28.8 for category A and 24.7 for category B, indicating the effectiveness of the random selection technique. But category C had only 23.8% compared to category D which had 41.8%, clearly indicating that something is amiss.

Category C was similar to category A and B in the percentage of Blacks but category D was clearly similar to category E (47.3%) clearly showing that Blacks are sentenced to prison in a much higher percent of the cases. While category D is more often very similar to categories A, B and C, in this case category D is very similar to E. Even when offenders are in a pool and randomly selected to receive project probation or prison, Blacks somehow still end up in prison a much higher percentage of the time.

Table 9.--Classification of sex and race according to research group

	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
<u>MALE</u>										
Caucasian	51	63.8	59	63.4	30	71.4	37	55.2	44	48.3
Negro	23	28.8	23	24.7	10	23.8	28	41.8	43	47.3
Other	1	1.3	2	2.2						
<u>FEMALE</u>										
Caucasian	2	2.5	3	3.2	2	4.8			1	1.1
Negro	3	3.8	6	6.5			2	3.0	3	3.3
Other										

The trichotomy breakdown for sex and race shows that females are clearly more successful, females making up 7.0% of the successful group and 7.6% of the borderline group compared to 2.4% of the failure group. Male Negroes on the other hand only make up 26.0% of the successful group but 42.3% of the borderline group and 41.5% of the failure group. Clearly race is a factor in probation or parole success. Male caucasians were about evenly distributed through the three groups,

65.6% for the successful group, 50.0% in the borderline group and 56.1% in the failure group.

Table 10.--Classification of sex and race according to success trichotomy

Sex and race	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Male caucasian	141	65.6	13	50.0	23	56.1
Female caucasian	6	2.8	1	3.8		
Male negro	56	26.0	11	42.3	17	41.5
Female negro	9	4.2	1	3.8	1	2.4
Male other	3	1.4				

Table 11, date of offense, did not distinguish any of the groups, possibly because too small a number was worked with and there are obviously numerous factors that influence the date an offense is committed. The total, though, did show some pattern, i.e., decrease of crime in the summertime, and increase in September and October; and November and December continuing to be high months.

The date of offense when examined according to the success trichotomy showed few or no patterns as there were such few cases in each breakdown (R - 0 - 11, the majority having 0 or 1 case) that conclusions would be almost pure guesswork.

Table 11.--Date of current offense according to research group

Date of Offense	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
January 1-7	1	1.3	1	1.1	1	2.4	1	1.5		
" 8-15	1	1.3	2	2.2			1	1.5	3	3.3
" 16-23					1	2.4	1	1.5	3	3.3
" 24-31			2	2.2			1	1.5		
February 1-7	3	3.8	4	4.3			3	4.5	2	2.2
" 8-15	3	3.8					1	1.5	2	2.2
" 16-23	2	2.5			3	7.1	1	1.5	1	1.1
" 24-29			2	2.2			2	1.5		
March 1-7	3	3.8	3	3.2			1	1.5	1	1.1
" 8-15	1	1.3	2	2.2			1	1.5		
" 16-23	3	3.8	1	1.1			2	3.0	2	2.2
" 24-31	2	2.5	1	1.1	1	2.4				
April 1-7	1	1.3	1	1.1	1	2.4	3	4.5	1	1.1
" 8-15	5	6.3	3	3.2	2	5.0			4	4.3
" 16-23			2	2.2	1	2.4	1	1.5	1	1.1
" 24-31	3	3.8	4	4.3	1	2.4	2	3.0	4	4.3
May 1-7	1	1.3	1	1.1	3	7.1	2	3.0	1	1.1
" 8-15	1	1.3	2	2.2	1	2.4	1	1.5		
" 16-23	1	1.3								
" 24-31	1	1.3	2	2.2	2	5.0	2	3.0		
June 1-7	2	2.5					1	1.5	2	2.2
" 8-15	2	2.5			2	5.0	1	1.5	2	2.2
" 16-23			2	2.2	1	2.4				
" 24-30			3	3.2	1	2.4	3	4.5	1	1.1
July 1-7	2	2.5	1	1.1			4	5.0	1	1.1
" 8-15	2	2.5	6	6.5			1	1.5	1	1.1
" 16-23	2	2.5	1	1.1			4	5.0	4	4.3
" 24-31	1	1.3	1	1.1	1	2.4				
August 1-7	1	1.3	1	1.1			1	1.5	2	2.2
" 8-15	4	5.0	4	4.3	1	2.4			4	4.3
" 16-23	2	2.5	3	3.2					2	2.2
" 24-30	1	1.3	4	4.3	2	5.0	1	1.5	2	2.2
September 1-7	2	2.5	2	2.2	1	2.4	2	3.0	1	1.1
" 8-15	2	2.5	4	4.3	2	5.0	1	1.5	12	13.2
" 16-23	2	2.5			1	2.4	1	1.5	1	1.1
" 24-31	1	1.3	4	4.3	1	2.4	2	3.0	1	1.1
October 1-7	1	1.3							3	3.3
" 8-15	2	2.5	4	4.3			2	3.0	2	2.2
" 16-23	2	2.5	2	2.2			3	4.5	4	4.3
" 24-30	2	2.5	5	5.4	2	5.0	1	1.5	2	2.2
November 1-7	1	1.3	1	1.1					1	1.1
" 8-15	1	1.3	2	2.2	1	2.4	4	5.0	2	2.2
" 16-23	1	1.3	1	1.1	1	2.4	1	1.5	2	2.2
" 24-30	1	1.3	1	1.1	2	5.0			2	2.2
December 1-7	5	6.3	2	2.2	1	2.4			2	2.2
" 8-15	3	3.8	3	3.2	3	7.1	1	1.5	1	1.1
" 16-23							5	7.5	6	7.0
" 24-31	3	3.8	3	3.2	2	5.0	3	4.5	3	3.3

Table 12.--Date of current offense according to success trichotomy

Date of Offense		Successful		Borderline		Failure	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
January	1-7	2	0.9	1	3.8	1	2.4
"	8-15	4	1.9				
"	16-23	1	0.5			1	2.4
"	24-31	3	1.4				
February	1-7	4	1.0	3	11.5	3	7.3
"	8-15	5	2.3	1	3.8		
"	16-23	3	1.4	1	3.8		
"	24-29	6	2.8				
March	1-7	6	2.8			1	2.4
"	8-15	4	1.9				
"	16-23	5	2.3	1	3.8		
"	24-31	3	1.4	1	3.8		
April	1-7	5	2.3			1	2.4
"	8-15	8	3.7	1	3.8	1	2.4
"	16-23	4	1.9				
"	24-30	7	3.3	1	3.8	2	4.9
May	1-7	5	2.3			2	4.9
"	8-15	4	1.9			1	2.4
"	16-23	1	0.5				
"	24-31	6	2.8	1	3.8		
June	1-7	2	0.9	1	3.8		
"	8-15	5	2.3				
"	16-23	2	0.9			1	2.4
"	24-30	3	1.4			3	7.3
July	1-7	4	1.9	1	3.8	2	4.9
"	8-15	7	3.3			2	4.9
"	16-23	4	1.9			3	7.3
"	24-31	3	1.4				
August	1-7	2	0.9			1	2.4
"	8-15	8	3.7			1	2.4
"	16-23	4	1.9			1	2.4
"	24-31	7	3.3	1	3.8		
September	1-7	6	2.8			1	2.4
"	8-15	6	2.8	1	3.8	2	4.9
"	16-23	3	1.4	1	3.8		
"	24-31	5	2.3	2	7.7	1	2.4
October	1-7	1	0.5				
"	8-15	8	3.7				
"	16-23	5	2.3	1	3.8	1	2.4
"	24-31	7	3.3	2	7.7	1	2.4
November	1-7	1	0.5	2	7.7		
"	8-15	7	3.3			1	2.4
"	16-23	2	0.9	2	7.7		
"	24-30	2	0.9	1	3.8	1	2.4

TABLE 12 (con'd)

Date of Offense	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
December 1-7	6	2.8			2	4.9
" 8-15	7	3.3			3	7.3
" 16-23	4	1.9			1	2.4
" 24-31	11	5.1				

Place of residence at offense showed several interesting results. The wealthier areas, including Birmingham, Pleasant Ridge, and Oak Park found the majority in the probation pool (eight and seven cases in category A and category B respectively) and even though this was a small number of the total cases, the dividing was consistent. For category C and D there were three offenders each and only one for category E. The vast majority of offenders came from Detroit (outside of Oakland County) and Pontiac (inside of Oakland County). The number ranged from 22.5% from Detroit for category A to a low of 13.2% for category E from Detroit. Pontiac, Oakland County's only real high crime producer found almost half of category A were from Pontiac (41.3%) and slightly over half in category E (53.8%), these two groups being most similar. Thus the more serious cases (group E) were most alike with the least serious (groups A and B) with groups C and D, the total prison pool, having the lowest number, 21.4% and 19.2%. All other cities had less than eight offenders each and the majority less than four. Thus the majority of crime is committed by offenders from Detroit or Pontiac.



Table 13.--Area of residence at offense according to research group

Area of Residence at Offense	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Detroit . . . . .	18	22.5	26	27.9	12	28.6	20	30.8	12	13.2
Pontiac . . . . .	33	41.3	28	30.1	9	21.4	19	19.2	49	53.8
Royal Oak			2	2.1	5	11.9			6	6.6
Ferndale, Hazel Park. .	3	3.8	8	8.8			4	6.1	4	4.4
Troy, Birmingham										
Pleasant Ridge, Oak Park, Southfield. . . .	8	10.0	7	7.5	3	7.1	4	4.6	1	1.1
Berkley, Madison Hts., Royal Oak Twp, Clawson Novi, Clarkston, Walled Lake, Northville, Holly	2	2.6	4	4.3	6	14.2	5	7.6	5	5.5
Livonia, Keego Harbor, So. Lyon, Rochester, Waterford Twp, Davis- burg, Highland, Oakland County Child Center . .	8	10.0	5	5.4	2	4.8	4	61.	1	1.1
Other (Non Oakland County) . . . . .	13	16.3	13	41.0	5	11.9	10	15.4	13	14.3

The success trichotomy showed similar patterns with a high percentage of successful cases as well as a high percent of borderline and failure cases from both Detroit and Pontiac. The fluctuation here showed no pattern. Detroit had a higher number of cases in the failure group but Pontiac had a better rate of success. The next largest group, Birmingham, Oak Park, etc. had the highest number of cases in the successful group (eighteen) and only three cases in the borderline group and no cases in the failure group. A person coming from a wealthier community has much lower chances of going to prison and much higher chance of success if given probation. Even though Pontiac was the same size as Royal Oak (and many other cities in Oakland County), the number of offenders from Pontiac was greater than from all

other Oakland County cities combined, many of which are considerably larger than Pontiac. This would be expected considering the social economic status in Pontiac compared to the other Oakland County cities.

Table 14.--Area of residence at offense according to success trichotomy

Area of Residence at Offense	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Detroit	58	27.0	6	23.1	13	31.7
Pontiac	71	33.0	8	30.8	11	26.8
Royal Oak	5	2.3	1	3.8	1	2.4
Ferndale, Hazel Park	8	3.7	2	7.7	5	12.2
Troy, Birmingham, Pleasant Ridge, Oak Park, Southfield	17	7.9	4	15.4		
Berkley, Madison Hts, Royal Oak Township, Clawson, Novi Clarkston, Walled Lake, Northville, Holly	11	5.2			6	14.7
Livonia, Keego Harbor, So. Lyon, Rochester, Waterford Twp, Davisburg, Highland, Oakland County Child Ctr.	11	5.1	2	7.7	1	2.4
Other (Non Oakland County)	34	15.8	3	11.5	4	9.8

The group breakdown for the number of children shows group B had, by far, the least number of children, 70.1% had no children. The other four groups, excluding B, found from 45.2 to 47.8% were childless, all groups within a very narrow range of this. Those having one child ranged from 15.2% to 32.8% for B and D respectively. Two children families are definitely few among group B (3.3% compared to 14.9% for D, 14.3% for E and a high of 19.0% for group C compared to second lowest low, 8.9% for group A. Thus there were few differences excepting groups C, D, and E had fewer children.

Table 15.--Number of children according to research group

No. of Children	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
0	36	45.6	65	70.1	19	45.2	32	47.8	43	47.3
1	17	21.5	14	15.2	8	19.0	22	32.8	26	28.6
2	7	8.9	3	3.3	8	19.0	10	14.9	13	14.3
3	10	12.7	6	6.5	4	9.5	1	1.5	5	5.5
4	5	6.3	2	2.2	2	4.7	2	3.0	3	3.3
5	2	2.5	2	2.2	1	2.4			1	1.1
8-9	2	2.6								

The success trichotomy showed an increase in the number of offenders having fewer children toward the failure end of the trichotomy. The percent having no children in the successful group was 51.6 compared to 53.8 for the borderline group and 68.3 for the failure group. The few number of offenders having one or more children was so small for the borderline and failure group that it is difficult to see a clear pattern. The mean number of children was 1.03 for the successful group compared to .65 and .68 for the borderline and failure groups respectively.

Table 16.--Number of children according to success trichotomy

Number of Children	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
zero	111	51.6	14	53.8	28	68.3
one	45	20.9	10	38.5	7	17.1
two	32	10.7	1	3.8	4	9.8
three	10	4.7				
four	4	1.9			1	2.4
five or more	1	0.5	1	3.8	1	2.4

An examination of the age at offense for the five groups

shows few differences except an extreme difference between group A and B (15.0% and 48.4%) for the 16-19 year old category. Groups C, D and E were all larger than group A for the 16-19 year old category but much smaller than B. Most other age groups were similar for the 24-up category, the second greatest differences were for the 20-23 age range, a smaller number for groups A and B (18.8%, 21.5% respectively) than for the groups C, D and E (42.9, 41.8, and 34.1% respectively). The totals for 16-19 and 20-23 show much smaller differences between the groups.

Table 17.--Age in years at offense according to research group

Age in years at Offense	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
16-19	22	15.0	45	48.4	9	21.4	17	25.4	19	20.8
20-23	25	18.8	20	21.5	18	42.9	28	41.8	31	34.1
24-27	9	11.3	8	8.6	5	11.9	4	6.0	20	20.9
28-31	10	12.5	10	10.8	3	7.1	4	6.0	6	6.6
32-35	5	6.3	5	5.3	2	4.8			5	5.5
36-39	2	2.5	4	4.3	2	4.8	3	4.5	2	2.2
40-44	4	5.0			2	4.8	1	1.5	2	2.2
45-49	1	1.3					1	1.5	4	4.4
50-61	2	2.6	1	1.1	1	2.4	1	1.5	2	2.2

The success trichotomy found few differences with respect to age, except that the successful offenders were clearly older and had a wider range of ages. The successful and borderline concentrated over 60% of its cases between the 16 and 26 year olds and the failure over 90% of its cases were between 16 and 29. The mean age for the successful group was 24.4 years compared to the borderline's 22.8 and

the failure's 22.0.

Table 18.--Age in years at offense according to success trichotomy

Age, in years, at Offense	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
16-17	19	8.8	5	19.2	9	22.0
18-20	68	31.6	10	38.4	15	36.6
21-23	47	21.9	4	15.3	7	17.1
24-26	18	8.4	2	7.7	5	12.2
27-29	22	10.2			2	4.8
30-32	13	6.9	2	7.7		
33-35	8	3.7			1	2.4
36-39	10	4.6	1	3.8		
41-44	4	1.8	2	7.7	1	2.4
46-53	5	2.3				
56-61	1	0.5			1	2.4

The recommendations of the probation officer show interesting patterns. Two offenders were recommended jail or delayed sentence, the majority probation and jail or prison. A slightly higher percentage in group A was recommended prison (15%) compared to its control group, B (12.9%) and a much higher percentage (30%) was recommended to serve a jail sentence with probation than B (18.3%), showing group A, the project probation cases, were seen as "more serious." On the other hand group D was seen as more serious, as a whole, compared to group C as 86.6% were recommended by the P.O. to go to prison compared to 57.1% for C.

If offenders were randomly selected, group C and group D should have approximately the same percent recommended for prison. As expected the highest prison recommendation was group E. 96.7%, Interestingly, in group E one offender was

recommended for probation, one for probation and jail and one for a delayed sentence. Group E was clearly seen by the P.O. as much more of a threat to the community, but so was group D (86.6%) and group C (57.1%). Comparing group A with group B found a higher percentage recommended for prison in group A, indicating that group A is slightly more serious in the factors considered negative by standard correctional procedure than group B. Recommendations for probation fluctuated widely, from only 1.1% for group E to 4.5% for group D, 21.4% for group C and 46.3% for A and 60.2% for group B. Thus there were significant differences for all groups, partially accounted for by the combination probation and fail recommendation, which if added would reduce some of the differences between groups.

Table 19.--Probation officer recommendation according to research g

Recommendation	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Probation	37	46.3	56	60.2	9	21.4	3	4.5	1	1.1
Probation & Jail	24	30.0	17	18.3	7	16.7	4	6.0	1	1.1
Jail	2	2.5	3	3.2	1	2.4				
Prison	12	15.0	12	12.9	24	57.1	58	86.6	88	96.7
Delayed	5	6.3	4	4.3	1	2.4	2	3.0	1	1.1

Comparing the success trichotomy for the recommendations, a probation recommendation found a similar percent of success as failure (36.3% compared to 29.0% respectively). Those offenders that were recommended for probation and jail had a much higher level of success than failure (21.9% compared to 4.9%). For this recommendation borderline was in the

middle (11.5%). Fine, restitution, jail and delayed had such a small number of cases that no generalization can be made. Even though thirteen people were given a delayed recommendation, all but one were rated as successful, the single case rated as borderline. Prison recommendations showed the most outstanding difference, those recommended for prison made up 34.4% of the successful group compared to 53.7% of the failure group. The more difficult cases are given a prison recommendation and whether or not they receive prison, given this recommendation, the chances are much higher of failing probation or parole.

Table 20.--Probation officer recommendation according to success trichotomy

Recommendation	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Fine, Restitution	1	0.5				
Probation	78	36.3	11	42.3	16	39.0
Probation & Jail	47	21.9	3	11.5	2	4.9
Jail	5	2.3			1	2.4
Prison	74	34.4	9	34.6	22	53.7
Delayed	10	4.7	3	11.5		

The breakdown of the parent's home state showed that a much higher percentage of county residents received probation (about 25% of each group A and B) compared to prison, 19.4% of group D and 18.0% of group E. The percent living out of the county, but in Michigan, was approximately the same for all groups except E, very close to 37% for groups A through D and 27.5% for group E. Those born outside of Michigan, though, showed a definite pattern. Group E had 51.6% of the parents

living outside of Michigan when the child was younger compared to 40.3% of group D and a low of 23.8% of group C. Here again group D and E are more alike than group C, group C having the lowest percentage (A = 36.3% and B = 32.3%) even lower than groups A and B.

Table 21.--Offender's parents' home state according to research group

Parents' Home State	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
In County	20	25.0	25	26.9	14	33.3	13	19.4	16	18.0
Out, but in Mich.	30	37.5	36	38.7	16	38.1	24	35.8	25	27.5
Out of Mich.	29	36.3	30	32.2	10	23.8	27	40.3	47	51.6
Out of USA	1	1.3	2	2.1	2	4.0	2	3.0	1	1.1

Table 22 shows the success trichotomy compared to the state the offender was raised in. Here a clear pattern can be seen. Those raised in the county made up 27.9% of the successful group compared to 19.2% of the borderline group and only 17.1% of the failure group. Those offenders raised out of the county but still in Michigan made up 36.3 percent of the successful group compared to 42.3% of the borderline group and 39.0% of the failure group. But those born outside of Michigan found the opposite trend increasing from 33.1% for the successful group to 39.0% for the failure group.



Table 22.--Offender's parents' home state according to success trichotomy

Parent's Home State	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
In County	60	27.9	5	19.2	7	17.1
Out, but in Mich.	78	36.3	11	42.3	16	39.0
Out of Mich.	71	33.1	10	38.4	16	39.0
Out of USA	5	2.3			2	4.9

The majority of the offenders were born in or their parents came from the northern middle states, all groups around 50% (from 49.4% to 76.2%). The second area of origin was either the middle south or the deep south. A wide variation was found here with few patterns except the high total from the southern states, 9.5% for group C to 33.0% for group E.

Table 23.--Parents' home state according to research group

Parent's Home State	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Unknown	1	1.3	2	2.2	2	4.8	2	3.0	1	1.1
Western USA	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.5	1	1.1
Middle West USA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lower Middle USA	2	2.5	0	0	1	2.4	1	1.5	2	2.2
Upper Middle USA	4	5.0	5	5.4	0	0	3	4.5	7	7.7
North, Middle USA	54	67.5	64	68.8	32	76.2	40	59.7	44	49.4
Middle South USA	12	15.0	8	8.6	3	7.1	6	9.0	19	20.9
Deep South USA	6	7.5	12	12.9	1	2.4	12	17.9	11	12.1
Upper East USA	0	0	0	0	1	2.4	0	0	0	0
Lower East USA	1	1.3	2	2.2	2	4.8	2	3.0	6	6.6

The only clear pattern found in the trichotomy breakdown was a very high percent of the borderline cases were from the deep south. Otherwise the percent of offenders from the south in the successful and failure groups was about the same, around 10% except 4.9% for group E from the deep south. Most of these were in the borderline group.

Looking at the actual probation sentence, group C was given much longer sentences as only 15% of group A had a thirty-six month sentence compared to 22.6% of group B, and 35.7% of group C. A sixty month probation sentence, on the other hand, made up only 6.3% of group A and 4.3% of group G but 11.9% of group C. A twelve month sentence made up 15% of group A, 10.8% of group B and a low of 2.4% for group C.

Table 25.--Current probation and prison sentence according to research group

Probation Sentence	A		B		C	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
3m						
6m	1	1.3	1	1.1		
12m	12	15.0	10	10.8	1	2.4
18m			1	1.1		
24m	50	62.5	54	58.1	21	50.0
36m	12	15.0	21	22.6	15	35.7
48m			2	2.2		
60m	5	6.3	4	4.3	5	11.9
Prison Sentence	D		E			
	#	%	#	%		
1	8	12.3	2	2.2		
2	26	39.4	25	27.5		
3	22	33.3	19	20.9		
4	4	6.1	11	12.1		
5	3	4.5	1	1.1		
6	1	1.5	4	4.4		
7	1	1.5	4	4.4		
8	1	1.5	1	1.1		
9			6	6.6		
10			3	3.3		
11			2	2.2		
12			3	3.3		
14			1	1.1		
15			1	1.1		
17			1	1.1		
30			3	3.3		
99			4	4.4		

Twenty-four month sentences, the standard sentence given in probation, was given to over 50% of all three groups; the highest, group A, had 62.5% and the next highest, group B, 58.1% and group C exactly 50%. Prison sentences, on the other hand, can only be compared between groups D and E. Considering the exclusionary category the sentences for group E will be much longer. The medium sentence for group D was number 2 (1-3). Of the D group 39.4% had a number 2 sentence compared to 27.5% of group E (interestingly also the most common sentence for group E). The longest sentence given for group D was 9 and for group E there were 6 nines, 3 tens, etc. up to 4 ninety-nines (life sentence).

The original sentence had little relationship with success, except possibly the standard sentence, 24m. Unusual sentences such as 18m, 6m, etc. all tended to increase toward the failure end of the trichotomy. There was no relationship between the length of the sentence and success, the longer sentences were not more or less successful.

Table 26.--Current probation sentence according to success trichotomy

Probation Sentence	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
3 months	6	2.3	1	3.8	2	4.9
6 months	21	9.8	2	7.7	6	14.6
12 months	31	14.4	3	11.5	10	24.4
18 months	1	0.5	1	3.8	3	7.3
24 months	10	47.0	12	46.2	15	36.6
36 months	4	19.1	5	19.2	3	7.3
48 months	3	1.5				
60 months	11	5.1	2	7.7	2	4.9

The large number of unknown times hinders accurate evaluation of the time pattern, but some patterns can be seen.

There are few differences between the groups except groups C and E where many offenses are committed between one o'clock and four o'clock in the morning (partially because of the large number of murderers in group E and the tendency is for murders to occur during these hours). For all groups

Table 27.--Time of current offense according to research group

Time of Offense	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Unknown	45	57.0	43	46.2	21	50.0	34	50.7	49	53.8
<u>AM</u>										
12:01 - 1:00	1	1.3	6	6.5	4	9.5	1	1.5	1	1.1
1:01 - 2:00	3	3.8	3	3.2			2	3.0	2	2.2
2:01 - 3:00	1	1.3	3	3.2	2	4.8	2	3.0	5	5.5
3:01 - 4:00	3	3.8	7	7.5	2	4.8	3	4.5	6	6.6
4:01 - 5:00	2	2.5			1	2.4	3	4.5	2	2.2
5:01 - 6:00			2	2.1			2	3.0	1	1.1
6:01 - 7:00										
7:01 - 8:00			1	1.1					2	2.2
8:01 - 9:00			1	1.1	1	2.4	1	1.5		
9:01 - 10:00	1	1.3								
10:01 - 11:00			2	2.1					3	3.3
11:01 - 12:00	1	1.3								
<u>PM</u>										
12:01 - 1:00	1	1.3			1	2.4	2	3.0	1	1.1
1:01 - 2:00	1	1.3			1	2.4			1	1.1
2:01 - 3:00			4	4.3	1	2.4	1	1.5	1	1.1
3:01 - 4:00	3	3.8	3	3.2			3	4.5	4	4.4
4:01 - 5:00	2	2.5	1	1.1			3	4.5	1	1.1
5:01 - 6:00	1	1.3	1	1.1			2	3.0	1	1.1
6:01 - 7:00	3	3.8	5	5.4	1	2.4				
7:01 - 8:00	1	1.3	2	2.1					1	1.1
8:01 - 9:00	1	1.3	4	4.3			3	4.5	4	4.4
9:01 - 10:00	3	3.8	2	2.1	1	2.4	1	1.5	1	1.1
10:01 - 11:00	4	5.1	2	2.1	5	11.9	2	3.0	3	3.3
11:01 - 12:00	2	2.5	1	1.1	1	2.4	2	3.0	2	2.2

there is a low level of criminal activity from between five o'clock in the morning to one or two o'clock in the afternoon. It picked up considerably from two o'clock until midnight for all groups except C, which remained quite low for all periods except from ten o'clock p.m. to four o'clock in the morning. If there were more cases in this group, it probably would have had a pattern more similar to group A or B.

The success trichotomy for the time of offense factor showed some interesting contrasts. The three to four o'clock in the morning offenses were in the majority of cases successful. Out of the fourteen committed at this time, thirteen were successful, and only one was ranked as borderline and none as failure. On the other hand, offenses committed from four to five o'clock a.m. found two of the five in the successful group and one in the borderline group and three in the failure group. Possibly utilizing half hour segments instead of hour segments would eliminate this difference. Interestingly, both four to five a.m. and p.m. showed the same pattern --.9% of the success group committed the offense at this time compared to 3.8 of the borderline and 7.3% of the failure group. Four to five o'clock p.m. showed 1.4 for the successful group, 3.8% for borderline and 4.9% for the failure group.

Table 28.--Time of current offense according to success trichotomy

Time of Offense	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unknown	117	54.5	11	42.3	17	41.5
AM						
12:01 - 1:00	9	4.2	1	3.8	2	4.9
1:01 - 2:00	5	2.3			3	7.3
2:01 - 3:00	7	3.3			1	2.4
3:01 - 4:00	13	6.0	1	3.8		
4:01 - 5:00	2	0.9	1	3.8	3	7.3
5:01 - 6:00	4	1.9				
6:01 - 7:00						
7:01 - 8:00	1	0.5				
8:01 - 9:00	2	0.9	1	3.8		
9:01 - 10:00	1	0.5				
10:01 - 11:00	1	0.5	1	3.8		
11:01 - 12:00	1	0.5				
PM						
12:01 - 1:00	3	1.4			1	2.4
1:01 - 2:00			2	7.7		
2:01 - 3:00	4	1.9	1	3.8	1	2.4
3:01 - 4:00	7	3.3	1	3.8	1	2.4
4:01 - 5:00	3	1.4	1	3.8	2	4.9
5:01 - 6:00	2	0.9	1	3.8	1	2.4
6:01 - 7:00	4	1.9	1	3.8	4	9.8
7:01 - 8:00	2	0.9	1	3.8		
8:01 - 9:00	4	1.9			4	9.8
9:01 - 10:00	6	2.8			1	2.4
10:01 - 11:00	11	5.1	2	7.7		
11:01 - 12:00	6	2.8				

The day of offense for the research groups showed no pattern, the peak for A was on Thursday as was the peak for B, but for C and D the peak was on Saturday and for group E the peak was again on Thursday. Monday was among the lowest level for all five groups.

Table 29.--Day of current offense according to research group

Day of Offense	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Monday	11	13.8	15	16.1	4	9.5	8	12.1	7	7.7
Tuesday	13	16.3	10	10.8	12	28.6	10	15.2	18	19.8
Wednesday	10	12.5	15	16.1	5	11.9	9	13.6	11	12.1
Thursday	16	20.0	16	17.2	6	14.3	7	10.6	21	23.1
Friday	12	15.0	12	12.9	3	7.1	12	18.2	16	17.6
Saturday	8	10.0	16	17.2	7	16.7	14	21.2	8	8.8
Sunday	10	12.5	9	8.7	5	11.9	6	9.1	10	11.0

The success trichotomy showed the successful groups' original offenses were spread out on virtually every day of the week with the lowest on Sunday (11.2%) and the highest on Thursday (17.7%). The borderline group was highest on Tuesday and Saturday, each 26.9%, and lowest on Thursday, Friday and Sunday (each 3.3%). The failure group, on the other hand, was highest for Tuesday (24.6%) and next highest on Saturday (19.5%) with a tri-model percent on Wednesday, Friday and Sunday of 9.8%.

Table 30.--Day of current offense according to success trichotomy

Day of Offense	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unknown	2	0.9				
Monday	28	13.0	5	19.2	5	12.3
Tuesday	29	13.5	7	26.9	10	24.4
Wednesday	31	14.4	4	15.4	4	9.8
Thursday	38	17.7	1	3.8	6	14.6
Friday	34	15.8	1	3.8	4	9.8
Saturday	29	13.5	7	26.9	8	19.5
Sunday	24	11.2	1	3.8	4	9.8

The breakdown of the circumstances of the offense for

each group was very similar among almost all groups. Group A, 37.6% of group B, 38.1% of group C, 43.3% of group D, and 38.5% of group E. Interestingly, none of the offenders that were rated as psychotic as an important contributing element in the offense were in the project, groups A and C; but B had one case, D three and E one. The offenders that the project was most likely to help were least available. Offenses which an altercation was a precipitating cause in showed the project probationers (group A) and the prison exclusionary group most alike, 10% and 8.8% respectively. Group B and group D had only two cases each, and group C had zero cases. Sexual rival motive was similar for groups A, B, and D, all around 6% with E 8.8% and C with a high of 14.3%.

Table 31.--Circumstances of current offense according to research group

Circumstances of Offense	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Accident							1	1.5		
Negligence	2	2.5	1	1.1						
Cultural-Recreational	2	2.5	5	5.4	3	7.1	1	1.5		
Sub-Cultural-Recreational	12	15.0	18	10.4	5	11.9	5	7.5	9	9.9
Sex Rival (Heterosexual)	5	6.3	6	6.5	6	14.3	4	6.0	8	8.8
Altercation	8	10.0	2	2.2			2	3.0	8	8.8
Robbery (to support drugs)	17	21.3	24	25.8	12	28.6	22	32.8	30	32.1
Robbery, Larceny, etc.	32	40.0	35	37.6	16	38.1	29	43.3	35	38.5
Sex Offense, Rape, etc.	2	2.3	1	1.1						
Psychotic			1	1.1			3	4.5	1	1.1

Offense circumstances showed several interesting patterns for the success trichotomy. Cultural or recreational circumstances accounted for 4.2% of the successful group, 2.4% of



the failure group and 3.8% of the borderline group. Many of the offenses committed by borderline offenders were "drunk and disorderly," CCW or other cultural-recreational offenses, indicating the offenders were continuing their lifestyle but not carrying it as far as the original arrest. Subcultural recreational amounted to a high percent of the successful group (15.3%) and 11.5% of the borderline but only 9.8% of the failure group. The recent cultural changes in society as well as the offenders just growing up and accepting more responsibility could clearly account for this breakdown. On the other hand, robbery to support drugs was 24.4% of the successful group and a high 38.5% of the borderline and 31.7% of the failure group. Pure robberies were 39.5% of the successful group, 38.5% of the borderline group and 41.5% of the failure group. The study dealt mainly with material acquisition offenses and these figures indicate the lower levels of success are with this type of an offense. An interesting pattern was found in the sex offences where out of fourteen cases nine were successful and five failed, a very low level of success. The sex offense was the charge the courts were able to prosecute an offender on, but many were heavily involved in "criminal" type offenses.

Table 32.--Circumstances of current offense according to success trichotomy

Circumstances of Offense	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Accident	1	0.5				
Negligence	3	1.4				
Cultural-recreational	9	4.2	1	3.8	1	2.4
Sub-cultural-recreational	33	15.3	3	11.5	4	9.8
Sexual offense	9	8.8			5	12.2
Altercation	10	4.7	2	7.7		
Robbery (to support drugs)	52	24.2	10	38.5	13	31.7
Robbery, larceny, etc.	85	39.5	10	38.5	17	41.5
Psychotic	3	1.4			1	2.4

In the majority of cases for all groups the relationship of the victim and the offender was classified as an innocent bystander or a stranger. Classification "acquaintance" was 7.5% of the A group, and 7.5% of the B group compared to only 2.4% of the C group and 3.0% of the D group. The C and D groups were clearly alike in this factor but ironically the E group was more like the A and B group than the C and D group, producing an 8.8% level. In victimless crimes, D and E were clearly alike, 4.5% and 5.5% respectively with C 9.5% and A and B also similar, 18.8% and 16.1% respectively. The pattern shows that in all cases the victim is similar except in a higher percent of the probation cases the victim is the offender himself.

The same pattern was found in the success trichotomy, the majority of victims were an innocent bystander, unknown to the offender. Here again approximately 8% of the cases

Table 33.--Relation of the victim and the offender according to research group

Relation of Victim and Offender	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Immediate family	2	2.5	1	1.1						
Close friend, relative	3	3.8	1	1.1	2	4.8	1	1.5	4	4.4
Business relationship	5	6.3	3	3.2	4	9.5	2	3.0	4	4.4
Acquaintance	6	7.5	7	7.5	1	2.4	2	3.0	8	8.8
Innocent bystander, accident	48	60.0	66	71.0	31	73.8	57	85.1	70	76.9
Stranger, not accident	1	1.3					2	3.0		
Self (as drug related)	15	18.8	15	16.1	4	9.5	3	4.5	5	5.5

in both the successful, borderline and the failure group were in this category, slightly lower for borderline (69.2%) and slightly higher for failure (78.0%) compared to the successful (70.2%). Victimless crimes were found in 14.7% of the successful cases compared to 11.5% of the borderline and a low of 4.9 for the failure group. Of the thirty-seven cases, three were borderline and only two failure. The only clear relationship was business relationship--of the fourteen only one was rated as failure.

Table 34.--Relation of the victim and the offender according to success trichotomy

Relation of Victim and Offender	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Family	3	1.4	1	3.8	1	2.4
Close friend	4	1.9	1	4.5	1	2.4
Business relationship	13	6.0			1	2.4
Acquaintance	11	5.1	3	11.5	3	7.7
Innocent bystander, accident	15	70.2	18	69.2	32	78.0
Stranger, not accident	1	0.5	1	3.8	1	2.4
Self (as drug related)	32	14.7	3	11.5	2	4.9

Place of offense, which relates to the type of offense, found the living room to be the offense location of 20% of B, 21% of C, 25% of D, and 22% of E and a low of 15% for A. Non-home offense scenes again were similar for all groups. Store, gas station or bank accounted for 40% of A, 37.6% of B, 31.0% of C and 39.8% of D and 36.3% of E. For road or highway breakdown A, B and E were similar, 20.0% for A and 15.4% for E, closely followed by B with 14.0%. C and D were very much alike with 9.5% for C and 7.5% for D. For bar and restaurant occurrences, all groups were quite low except C with 14.3%, followed by B with 7.5%, D with 4.5% and E with 3.3% and last A with 2.5%. Inside an automobile was high for A and B (7.5% and 4.3%) and there was no more than one case for groups C, D, or E. The rate for A was 7.5% and B 4.3%. Parking lot occurrences were high for both C and D (11.9% each) and also for E (8.8%) but considerably lower for B (5.4%) and lowest for A (3.8%).

Table 35.--Place of current offense according to research group

Place of Offense	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
<u>Home</u>										
Living room	12	15.0	19	20.4	9	21.4	17	25.3	20	22.0
Bedroom	2	2.5	7	7.5	4	9.5	6	9.0	5	5.5
Kitchen, dining room	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2.2
Yard, garage	5	5.3	2	2.2	0	0	1	1.5	5	5.5
<u>Non-Home</u>										
Store, gas station, bank	32	40.0	35	37.6	13	31.0	26	39.8	33	36.3
Road, highway	16	20.9	13	14.0	4	9.5	5	7.5	14	15.4
Bar, restaurant	2	2.5	7	7.5	6	14.3	3	4.5	3	3.3
Field, woods, park	2	2.5	1	1.1	1	2.4	0	0	0	
Inside auto	6	7.5	4	4.3	0	0	1	1.5	1	1.1
Parking lot	3	3.8	5	5.4	5	11.9	8	11.9	8	8.8

The success trichotomy showed several trends. Offenses occurring in the living room made up 16.9% of the successful group compared to 18.2% of the borderline group and a high of 36.6% for the failure group. The non-home offense at a store, gas station, bank, etc. was about the same for each division, 38.6% of the successful group, 30.8% of the borderline and 36.6% of the failure group. Road or highway occurrence was highest for borderline (23.1%) and about the same for successful and failure, each around 12% or about half of the borderline group. Of the twenty-one cases which occurred in a parking lot, seventeen were in the successful group as were the ten of the eleven that occurred inside an automobile.

Table 36.--Place of current offense according to success trichotomy

Place of Offense	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Home</u>						
Living room	36	16.7	7	26.9	15	36.6
Bedroom	15	7.0	2	7.7	2	4.9
Yard, garage	7	3.3	1	3.8		
<u>Non-Home</u>						
Store, gas station, bank	83	38.6	8	30.8	15	36.6
Road, highway	27	12.6	6	23.1	5	12.2
Bar, restaurant	16	7.4	1	3.8		
Field, woods, park	4	1.9				
Inside auto	10	4.7	1	3.8		
Parking lot	17	7.9			4	9.8

The activity during offense was similar for all groups with a few trends noted. After school or work leisure time accounted for only 8.8% of the E category compared to around 20% for all other categories. Yet robbery or larceny related

accounted for only 21.3% of A, 33.3% of B, and 38.1% of C and 37.3% of D, with a high of 46.1% of E. C and D are clearly similar and are closer to B than E. Drug related was lowest for B with 24.7% and around 28% for both groups A and C with a high of 34% for D. Group E was closer to group C than group C was to D, E was only 30.8% or the second highest for the offense rated as drug related.

Table 37.--Activity during current offense according to research group

Activity During Offense	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Weekends or holiday leisure	18	22.5	7	12.9	7	16.7	5	7.5	17	7.7
After work, school leisure (non weekend)	16	20.0	8	22.6	7	16.7	13	19.4	8	8.8
Drug related	23	27.5	28	24.7	12	28.6	23	34.3	28	30.8
Robbery, larceny related	17	21.3	42	33.3	16	38.1	25	37.3	42	46.1
Work related	3	3.8	1	2.1	0	0	0	0	1	1.1
Family activities	1	1.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Drinking or bar related	2	2.5	2	2.1	0	0	1	1.5	2	2.2
Attempted settle problems	1	1.3	3	1.1	0	0	0	0	3	3.3
	$\bar{X}=2.9$		$\bar{X}=3.1$		$\bar{X}=2.9$		$\bar{X}=3.1$		$\bar{X}=3.5$	

The trichotomy showed few trends. There is some evidence that drug related and property offenses are less successful. Drug and larceny offenses are more directed or planned, less leisure and accidental oriented.

Table 38.--Activity during current offense according to success trichotomy

Activity during offense	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Weekends or holiday leisure	35	16.3	2	7.7	5	12.2
After work, school leisure (non weekend)	45	20.9	5	19.2	7	17.1
Drug related	58	27.0	10	38.5	13	31.7
Robbery, larceny related	65	30.2	9	34.6	14	34.1
Work related	5	2.3				
Family activities	2	0.9				
Drinking or bar related	4	1.9			1	2.4
Attempted settle problems	1	0.5			1	2.4

The weapon used was in the majority of all cases a hand gun, with group E the highest, or 29.7% followed by group C with 28.6% and B with 21.5% and then group D, 17.9% and lastly group A (15%). The exclusionary factor of having a gun during the offense indicates that group C is much more dangerous than group D and only very slightly less dangerous than group E. Thus D is more similar to A and B; and C to E than A, B, C and D are similar in contrast to E as would be expected. All other weapons were used in a very small percent of cases. The highest, 5.5%, was a knife with the majority 1% or less.

Table 39.--Weapon used in current offense according to research group

Weapon used	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	63	78.8	64	68.8	30	74.4	49	73.1	49	53.8
Handgun	12	15.0	20	21.5	12	28.6	12	17.9	27	29.7
Drugs	0	0	0	0			0	0	3	3.3
Other gun	2	2.5	5	5.4			1	1.5	1	1.1
Chemical, fire, etc.	0	0	0	0			1	1.5	0	0
Knife	2	2.5	4	2.4			0	0	5	5.5
Other	1	1.3	0	0			4	6.0	6	6.6

The same pattern was found with the success trichotomy; the weapon used made little difference in the outcome of the case. Of the successful group 72.1% compared to 76.9% of the borderline group compared to 78.0% of the failure group did not use a weapon. Again the handgun was used in the vast majority of cases where a weapon was used, 20.0%, 11.5% and 22% respectively. The only other weapon used appreciably was a knife, and all six cases were in the successful group.

Table 40.--Weapon used in current offense according to success trichotomy

Weapon used	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	155	72.1	20	76.9	32	78.0
Handgun	43	20.0	3	11.5	9	22.0
Other gun	5	2.3	3	11.5		
Chemical, fire, etc.	1	0.5				
Knife	6	2.8				
Other	5	2.3				

The breakdown of other offender factors found that approximately 20% of all cases were related to alcohol, ranging from 28.7% for A to a low of 9% for group D. Groups B and C were most alike in this category, both 21%. Drug related was lowest for group A, 27.6% and highest for group D, 62.7%, almost the opposite was found for alcohol related. Group B was most similar to group E, the percentage for group E was 47.3%. All other categories were very close to only 1%. Thus only alcohol and drugs were the main "additional" factors involved in the crimes investigated.



Table 41.--Other offender factors in current offense according to research group

Other offender factors	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	24	30.0	18	19.4	10	23.8	15	22.4	25	27.5
Alcohol related	23	28.7	20	21.5	9	21.4	6	9.0	19	20.9
Drug related	30	37.6	44	47.3	23	51.8	42	62.7	43	47.3
Permanent mental disorder	1	1.3	0	0	0	0	1	1.5	1	1.1
Strong peer influence	1	1.3	6	6.5	0	0	3	4.5	3	3.3
Strong emotional pressure	1	1.3	2	2.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Emotional pressure & drugs, alcohol	0	0	2	2.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elements of self protection	0	0	1	1.1	0	0	0	0	0	0

The breakdown for the success trichotomy found again the majority of additional factors were alcohol and drugs. Drugs can be clearly seen to contribute to failure. Of the successful group 46.0% were involved with drugs compared to 54.5% of the borderline group and a high of 61.0% for the failure group. Alcohol is indicative of success and 22.8% of the successful group used alcohol compared to 19.2% of the borderline group and a low of 9.8% for the failure group. Here, as in the previous breakdown, drugs and alcohol seemed to be, in many ways, opposites as to their influence.

Table 42.--Other offender factors in current offense according to success trichotomy

Other offender factors	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	51	23.7	6	23.1	10	24.4
Alcohol	41	22.8	5	19.2	4	9.8
Drugs	99	46.0	13	50.0	25	61.0
Medication	1	0.5			1	2.4
Permanent mental disorder	2	0.9				
Strong peer influence	7	3.3	2	7.7	1	2.4
Other	6	2.8				

Of the five research groups, it was found that psychological ratings do not differentiate any set as no pattern could be discerned. The majority of the offenders in all groups were rated as having minor psychological problems and an immature personality. The percent ranged from 56.3% for group A to 62.4% for group B. Groups C and D were considerably different, 38.1% compared to 58.2% respectively, while group E fell in between group C and D with 41.8%. The only other major categorization was immature personality and anti-social or dyssocial factors which made up 15% of group A, and a low of 10.4% of group D. Group C was most similar to group A with 14.3% and group B was very similar to group D with 10.8% compared to D's 10.4%. Group E again was in the middle with 12.1%. Thus those individuals with this type of a psychological diagnosis tended to first get into the project and next into prison and lastly into either of the control groups. All other of the thirty some odd categories utilized each had less than 7%, the majority less than 1% in each group.

Table 43.--Psychological evaluation of offender according to research group

Psychological Evaluation	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Minor psychological problems			5	5.4			2	3.0		
Immature personality			1	1.1	1	2.4			1	1.1
Sexual deviation	1	1.3								
Psychopathic personality	1	1.3							1	1.1
Naurotic - Borderline psychotic			1	1.1					1	1.1



TABLE 43 (con'd)

	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Psychotic personality- brain damage									1	1.1

The psychological evaluation again distributed itself quite evenly with minor psychological problems and immaturity ranking the highest in all groups. Successful had 54.0% in this category compared to 57.7% for the borderline and 65.9% for the failure group. The only other high category was immature personality with antisocial and dyssocial effects. This was 12.5% for the successful group compared to 11.5% for borderline and 12.2% for the failure group. Again all other categories were less than 6%, the majority less than 1%.

Table 44.--Psychological evaluation of offender according to success trichotomy

Psychological Evaluation	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No psychological problems	1	0.5				
Minor psychological problems	7	3.3				
Immature personality	1	0.5	1	3.8		
Sexual deviation	1	0.5				
Psychopathic personality	1	0.5				
Neurotic - borderline	1	0.5				
psychotic	1	0.5				
Minor psych. problems & immature personality	116	54.0	15	57.7	27	65.9
Minor psych. problems - anti-/dyssocial pers.	2	0.9			1	2.4
Immature personality - Sexual deviation	1	0.5				

TABLE 44 (con'd)

	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Immature personality - suicide drives	2	0.9	2	7.7	1	2.4
Immature personality - anti-/dyssocial pers.	27	12.6	3	11.5	5	12.2
Immature & psychopathic personality	10	4.7	1	3.8	1	2.4
Immature pers.-neurotic borderline psychotic	13	6.0				
Immature personality - psychotic (schizoid, etc)	1	0.5				
Sexual deviation - anti-/dyssocial pers.	2	0.9				
Sexual deviation - psychopathic pers.	1	0.5	1	3.8	2	4.9
Sexual dev. - neurotic - borderline psychotic	1	0.5				
Sexual dev. - psychotic - (schizoid, paranoid, etc)	1	0.5				
Suicide drives - anti-/dyssocial pers.	3	1.4				
Suicide drives - psychopathic pers.	3	1.4			1	2.4
Suicide drives-neurotic - borderline psychotic	9	4.2	2	7.7		
Suicide drives-psychotic- (schizoid, etc.)	1	0.5				
Antisocial, dyssocial, psychopathic pers.	2	0.9				
Antisocial, dyssocial pers. - neurotic - borderline psychotic	5	2.3			2	4.9
Antisocial, dyssocial pers. - psychotic (schizoid, paranoid, etc)	1	0.5	1	3.8		
Psychopathic personality - neurotic - borderline psychotic	2	0.9				

Comparing the previous records, we find that property offenses ranked high in all groups. Of group A property offenses made up 67.5%, of group B 70.9%, of group C 59.5%, of group D 69.7% and of group E 58.2%. Property and drugs

previous offenses made up an additional high proportion of group C, 16.7% compared to less than half of that for group E and not quite half of this for group E, 8.7% which was identical to group A. Group D was very close to group E, 9.1% and the lowest of all groups, more than half as low as the next lowest group, was group B with 4.3%. Previous drug record showed an unusual pattern with the highest in group C (9.5%) and 0% for group E, 1.5%, group D, with A and B both close to 5%.

Offenders with previous records of primarily aggressive offenses found group A, C and E most similar with B at quite a low level, 2.2%. Interestingly, assigning a ranking for each type of offense and finding the mean for groups A through E found group A through D very much alike, with less than a point difference, and group E considerably different, twelve points higher or approximately 50% more serious previous records according to this ranking.

The successful trichotomy ranking showed those property offense backgrounds had the least chance of being successful as of the successful groups 67.5% were made up of offenders with primarily a history of property offenses compared to 61.5% of the borderline group and 73.4% of the failure group. No other clear patterns could be seen. Of the three offenders that had very minor records, one was rated borderline and the other two successful. Offenders with drug histories made up 5.2% of the successful group compared to 3.8% borderline

and 2.4% failure. This statistic should be encouraging to new drug programs.

Table 45.--Type of previous record according to research group

Type of Previous Record	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Primarily minor, drinking, etc.	1	1.3	2	2.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Primarily property, B&E, etc.	54	67.5	66	70.9	25	39.5	45	59.7	53	58.2
Property and drugs	7	8.7	4	4.3	7	16.7	6	9.1	8	8.7
Primarily drugs	4	5.0	4	4.3	4	9.5	1	1.5	0	0
Sexual offenses			2	2.1	1	2.4	1	1.5	1	1.1
Aggressive, person offenses	5	6.3	2	2.2	2	4.8	5	7.6	5	5.5
Other	2	2.5	1	1.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Property, aggressive, drugs, etc.	6	7.5	10	10.7	3	7.1	6	9.1	20	21.9
Previous murder, homicide	1	1.3	1	1.1	0	0	0	0	4	4.4

Table 46.--Offender's previous record rating according to research group

Previous Record Rating	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Least Serious 0	4	5.0	7	7.5	2	4.8	1	1.5	0	0
1	27	33.8	32	34.4	14	33.3	18	27.3	9	9.9
2	18	22.5	24	25.8	7	16.7	13	21.3	13	14.3
3	10	12.5	8	8.6	2	4.8	6	9.1	11	12.1
4	6	7.5	9	9.7	3	7.1	9	13.6	7	7.7
5	2	2.5	7	7.5	4	9.5	6	9.1	4	4.4
6	4	5.0	1	1.1	3	7.1	4	6.1	11	12.1
7	2	2.5	1	1.1	2	4.8	1	1.5	10	11.0
8	1	1.3	1	1.1	0	0	3	4.5	5	5.5
Most Serious 9	6	7.5	3	3.2	5	11.9	4	6.1	21	23.1

Table 47.--Offender's previous record rating according to success trichotomy

Previous Record Rating	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	2	0.9	1	3.8		
Primarily minor, drinking, etc.	2	0.9	1	3.8		
Primarily property, B&E, etc.	145	67.5	16	61.5	30	73.4
Property & drugs	18	8.5	2	7.6	4	9.6
Primarily drugs	11	5.2	1	3.8	1	2.4
Sexual offenses	3	1.4			1	2.4
Aggressive, person offense	12	5.6			2	4.9
Other	1	0.5	1	3.8	1	2.4
Property, aggressive, drugs, etc.	19	8.9	4	15.3	2	4.9
Previous murder, homicide	2	0.9				
Total points - seriousness	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%

Table 48.--Offender's previous record rating according to success trichotomy

Previous Record Rating	Successful		Borderline		Failure		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Least Serious	0	12	5.6	1	3.8	2	4.9
	1	67	31.2	10	38.3	13	31.7
	2	49	22.9	7	26.9	8	19.5
	3	20	9.3	1	3.8	5	12.2
	4	21	9.9	2	7.7	4	9.8
	5	15	7.1			4	9.8
	6	10	4.7	2	7.7		
	7	3	1.4			3	7.3
	8	4	1.9			1	2.4
Most Serious	9	13	6.0	3	11.5	1	2.4

Birth order finds that group A is different importantly in the percent of "only child" making up its population, 16.5% compared to an average of around 9% for all other categories. The first of a small family (two to three children) found B different from other categories with 9.9% compared to around 13% for all other categories. The youngest of a family no larger than three children made up the largest part of group C,



19% compared to around 7% for all other groups except D with 11.9%.

Table 49.--Offender's birth order according to research group

Birth Order	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Only child	13	16.5	8	8.7	3	7.1	8	11.9	9	9.9
First of small (to 3)	11	13.9	9	9.9	16	14.3	10	15.0	11	12.1
Second (to 3)	9	11.4	9	9.8	4	9.4	5	7.5	5	5.5
Last of small (to 3)	5	6.3	7	7.6	8	19.0	8	11.9	6	6.6
1st, 2nd of med. (to 6)	16	20.3	20	21.7	7	16.7	9	13.4	23	25.3
3rd, 4th of med. (to 6)	7	8.9	4	4.3	7	16.7	2	3.0	7	6.6
Last, 2nd last (to 6)	5	6.3	9	9.8	3	7.1	11	16.4	6	7.0
1st, 2nd of lg. (7 & up)	5	6.3	5	5.4	0	0	6	9.0	9	9.9
Middle of lg. (7 & up)	6	7.6	17	18.4	4	9.5	6	9.0	12	13.2
Last, 2nd last (7 & up)	2	2.5	4	4.3	0	0	2	3.0	3	3.3
	$\bar{X}=3.5$		$\bar{X}=5.0$		$\bar{X}=3.5$		$\bar{X}=3.9$		$\bar{X}=4.3$	

The successful trichotomy showed that a slightly higher percent of offenders from larger families were in the failure groups with few other specific patterns present. An only child tended to be more successful and a first child of a small family tended to be less successful as did the first of a medium size and large family. The greatest contrast was between the successful and failure for first, second child for a median family, having the highest rate of failure of any classification.

The pattern of child rearing found the majority of offenders from group A and less than half of both D and E were raised by both parents, group D being lower (41.8%).

Table 50.--Offender's birth order according to success trichotomy

Birth Order	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Only child	28	13.0	2	7.7	4	9.8
1st of small (to 3)	27	12.6	2	7.7	7	17.1
2nd of small (to 3)	26	12.1			1	2.4
Last of small (to 3)	22	10.2	4	15.4	2	4.9
1st, 2nd of med. (to 6)	35	16.3	7	26.9	10	24.4
3rd, 4th of med. (to 6)	14	6.5	2	7.7	4	9.8
Last, 2nd last (to 6)	20	9.3	5	19.2	3	7.3
1st, 2nd of large (7 & up)	11	5.1	1	3.8	4	9.8
Middle of large (7 & up)	26	12.1	2	7.7	5	12.2
Last, 2nd last (7 & up)	6	2.8	1	3.8	1	2.4

Of group A 15% were raised by "mother only" compared to 14.3% of group C. Both groups were thus very similar. Groups B, D and E were also similar, group B with 19.4% and D and E almost identical, 23.9% and 25.3% respectively. Another pattern was 7.5% of A and around 4% for both B and C and a high of 13.4% for D and 13.2% for E were mother and stepfather reared. According to this breakdown D and E are similar in many ways in contrast to groups A, B and C. Only one case out of the entire group sampled, including the prison only group, was raised by his natural father and a stepmother. "Unstable" found the highest percent for groups A and E, 12.5% and 12.1% respectively. Groups C and D were almost identical, 7.1% and 7.5% respectively, with group B in between, 8.6%.

Table 51.--Person offender was predominantly reared by according to research group

Predominantly Reared by	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Both parents	47	80.8	56	60.2	26	61.9	41.8	4	44.0	
Mother only	12	15.0	18	19.4	6	14.3	23.9	23	25.3	
Father only	1	1.3	1	1.1	1	2.4	3.0	1	1.1	
Mother and stepfather	6	7.5	4	4.3	2	4.8	13.4	12	13.2	
Father and stepmother	0	0	1	1.1	0	0	0	0	0	
Relatives (grandmother, etc.)	0	0	3	3.2	3	7.1	9.0	2	2.2	
Institution	2	2.5	1	1.1	0	0	0	1	1.1	
Foster home	2	2.5	1	1.1	1	2.4	1.5	1	1.1	
Unstable	10	12.5	8	8.6	3	7.1	7.5	11	12.1	
	$\bar{X}=3.0$		$\bar{X}=2.3$		$\bar{X}=2.4$		$\bar{X}=2.9$		$\bar{X}=2.9$	

The success trichotomy shows several clear trends, all of which would be expected. Children reared by "mother only" have a higher chance of failure as do children reared by "father only," "relatives" or an "unstable" rearing. Of the successful group 16.7% were reared by the mother only compared to 23.1% of the borderline group and 24.4% of the failure group. Father only did not show a clear trend; the successful group included 1.4% of this category and the borderline 4.5% compared to the failure's 2.4%. A better chance of success was found if an offender is raised by both parents, the high of over 57.2% of the successful group compared to 46.3% of the failure group, but the highest (61.5%) was for the borderline group.

Table 52.--Person offender was predominantly reared by according to success trichotomy

Predominantly Reared By	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Both parents	123	57.2	16	61.5	19	46.3
Mother only	36	16.7	6	23.1	10	24.4
Father only	3	1.4	1	3.8	1	2.4
Mother & stepfather	17	7.9			3	7.3
Father & stepmother	1	6.5				
Relatives (grandmother, etc)	9	4.2	1	3.8	2	4.9
Institution	3	1.4				
Foster home	4	1.9			1	2.4
Unstable	19	8.8	2	7.7	5	12.2

An examination of the home climate within each research group found no clear patterns or differences. Only 3.8% of group A had beneficial home climates, similar to group E with 2.2% but somewhat different from group C with 7.1% and group B with 10.8%. A marginal rating was approximately the same for all groups, ranging only from 40.7% for group E to 45.2% for group B, and not in the expected direction. Groups C and D were almost identical, only one percentage point difference.

An unsatisfactory rating was similar for all groups, groups B and D were almost identical, and group C (27.5%) was very similar to group A (26.3%). The unstable rating was highest for group A with 8.8% and next highest for group D with 7.5% followed by B with 5.4%. Strict upbringing was similar in both groups A and D, 7.5% and 7.1% respectively and negligible in all other groups. A terrible upbringing, where the child was physically abused, etc. was similar in all groups, a low of 5.4% in group B to a high of

9.0% in group E, the other three groups being very close to 7%.

Table 53.--Offender's predominant home climate according to research group

Predominant Home Climate	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.5	1	1.1
Beneficial	3	3.8	10	10.8	3	7.1	3	4.5	2	2.2
Marginal	33	41.3	42	45.2	18	42.9	28	41.8	37	40.7
Unsatisfactory	21	26.3	15	16.1	9	21.4	12	17.9	35	27.5
Unstable	7	8.8	5	5.4	1	2.4	5	7.5	3	3.3
Very lax	4	5.0	13	14.0	5	11.9	11	16.4	13	14.3
Very strict	6	7.5	3	3.2	3	7.1	0	0	0	0
Terrible, physically abused, etc.	6	7.5	5	5.4	3	7.1	6	9.0	8	8.8
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.5	2	2.2

The success trichotomy was closer to what would be expected. A poor home environment was more conducive to failure, especially a lax home environment. Of the successful group only 10.7% were rated as very lax compared to 11.5% of the borderline group and 14.6% of the failure group. Yet unsatisfactory was found in 19.5% of the successful group and 23.1% of the failure group, only a slight difference but in the expected direction. Very strict was found to make up 3.7% of the successful group, 7.7% of the borderline group and 4.9% of the failure group, somewhat as expected. There was not much difference between the successful or failure groups where the home climate was rated as terrible, physically abused, etc. Marginal ratings dropped down slightly, 44.7% for successful to 39.0% for failure. Unexpectedly, only 6.5% of the successful group had a beneficial home climate compared to 11.5%

of the borderline and a low of 4.9% of the failure.

Table 54.--Offender's predominant home climate according to success trichotomy

Predominant Home Climate	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unknown	0	0	0	0	1	2.4
Beneficial	14	6.5	3	11.5	2	4.9
Marginal	96	44.7	10	38.5	16	29.0
Unsatisfactory	42	19.5	6	23.1	0	22.0
Unstable	14	6.5	2	7.7	2	4.9
Very lax	23	10.7	3	11.5	6	14.6
Very strict	8	3.7	2	7.7	2	4.9
Terrible, physically abused, etc.	18	8.4	0	0	3	7.3

An examination of the social economic ranking found the distributions very close. Those ranked as having a low socio-economic status made up 20% of group A, 18.3% of group B and only 14.3% of group C. Groups D and E were almost identical, both similar to group A. Those ranked as "lower" were proportionally in greater numbers in D and E, with groups A, B and C being very similar. Lower middle rankings were scattered, groups B, D and E were most alike with percents of 6.5, 6.1 and 6.6 respectively. Group A was similar to group C with 12.5% and 14.3%. There were so few offenders in upper middle and no offenders in lower upper, middle upper and upper upper that no clear pattern could be seen.

The successful trichotomy breakdown for socio-economic ranking found a slightly higher chance of failure for the lower socio-economic statuses. The successful group was

Table 55.--Offender's socio-economic ranking according to research group

Socio-economic Ranking	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Low, lower	16	20.0	17	18.3	6	14.3	13	19.7	19	20.9
Lower	33	34.3	31	33.3	13	31.0	32	48.5	45	49.5
Upper-lower	19	23.8	34	36.5	13	31.0	14	21.2	20	22.9
Lower-middle	10	12.5	16	6.5	6	14.3	4	6.1	6	6.6
Middle	2	2.5	2	2.1	3	7.1	2	3.0	9	0
Upper-middle	0	0	3	3.2	1	2.4	1	1.5	1	1.1
Lower-upper, middle-upper, upper-upper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

made up of 17.2% compared to 28.1% for the borderline, and 22.0% for the failure group for lower-lower socio-economic class. Again lower made up 38.1% of the successful group compared to 34.6% for borderline and 43.9% for failure group. Upper lower reversed this trend, finding a higher percentage in the successful group (30.2%) compared to 23.1% for the borderline and 22.0% for the failure group. Lower middle was almost identical except borderline (15.9%), both slightly over 9%. Of the nine middle class cases, eight were successful and one was rated failure and of the five upper middle class cases only one was not successful, and this case was only borderline.

The breakdown of the living arrangement at the offense found few patterns except a higher percent in the more serious categories lived alone as did, ironically, a higher percent with the parental family. The percent living with conjugal family was clearly lower among the more serious groups.

Table 56.--Offender's socio-economic rating according to success trichotomy

Socio-economic Ranking	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unknown	1	0.5				
Low-lower	37	17.2	6	23.1	9	22.0
Lower	82	38.1	9	34.6	18	43.9
Upper-lower	65	30.2	6	23.1	9	22.0
Lower-middle	18	8.4	4	15.4	4	9.8
Middle	8	3.7			1	2.4
Upper-middle	4	1.9	1	3.8		

Group A was made up of 25% living with the conjugal family compared to a low of 11.9% for D and 13.2% for group E. Group B and C had 16.1% and 21.4% respectively. Common law living arrangement showed groups A and E to be more similar, 13.8% and 12.1% respectively. Groups B and D were also similar with 8.6% and 9.0% respectively. Group C was almost half the next lowest category with 4.8%. Living with both parents and conjugal family was a high of 14.3% for group C with all other groups very close to 3%.

Living with the conjugal family was found to be clearly influential in success as in the successful group, 23.3% lived with their conjugal family compared to only 3.8% of the borderline and a low of 2.4% for the failure group. Living with friends was clearly indicative of failure as this category accounted for 4.7% of the successful group and 19.2% of the borderline group and 12.2% of the failure group. Living common law was also indicative of failure, accounting



Table 57.--Offender's living arrangement at offense according to research group

Living Arrangement at Offense	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Alone	2	2.5	4	4.3	5	11.9	5	7.5	4	4.4
With parental family	30	37.5	53	57.0	17	40.5	36	53.7	50	55.0
With conjugal family	20	25.0	15	16.1	9	21.4	8	11.9	12	13.2
Common law	11	13.8	8	8.6	2	4.8	6	9.0	11	12.1
Relatives, grandparents	7	8.8	5	5.4	0	0	4	6.0	2	2.2
Friends	7	8.8	5	5.4	2	3.8	6	6.0	2	2.2
Both parents and conjugal family	2	2.5	3	3.2	6	14.3	2	3.0	3	3.3
Automobile, street, park, etc.	1	1.3	0	0	1	2.4	0	0	0	0

for 8.4% of the successful group, 7.7% of the borderline group and 17.1% of the failure group. Ironically, also living with parental family was related with failure, the lowest percent was 47.0% for the successful group and the highest 56.1% for the failure group. The borderline group was similar to the successful group with 46.2%. Living alone was indicative of success as 6.0% of the successful group lived alone compared to 7.7% of the borderline group but 2.4% of the failure group.

Table 58.--Offender's living arrangement at offense according to success trichotomy

Living Arrangement at Offense	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alone	13	6.0	2	7.7	1	2.4
With parental family	101	47.0	12	46.2	23	56.1
With conjugal family	50	23.3	1	3.8	1	2.4
Common law	18	8.4	2	7.7	7	17.1
Grandparents	1	0.5				
Relatives	12	5.6	1	3.8	2	4.9
Friends	10	4.7	5	19.2	5	12.2
Both parental and conjugal family	8	3.7	3	11.5	2	4.9
Auto, street, park, etc.	2	0.9				

The group breakdown for marital status at offense found groups A and B similar, each with close to 20% married and a high of 40.5% in group C and a low of 7.7% in group E. The percent single in most cases was close to 50%, the extreme groups were 33.3% for group C and 64.5% for group B for the percent single. No patterns could be seen except group E and B were most alike and were not much different from group D and A, the only outstandingly different group was group C.

Table 59.--Offender's marital status at offense according to research group

Marital Status at Offense	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Married	17	21.3	19	20.4	17	40.5	10	14.9	7	7.7
Widow(er)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.5	1	1.1
Single	42	52.5	60	64.5	14	33.3	39	58.2	55	60.4
Divorced-remarried	3	3.8	2	2.1	0	0	0	0	3	3.3
Divorced	5	6.3	2	2.1	4	9.5	6	9.0	11	12.1
Separated	6	7.5	4	4.3	3	7.1	7	10.5	11	12.1
Common law	1	1.3	3	3.2	0	0	1	1.5	1	1.1
Divorced, remarried, separated, etc.	6	7.5	3	3.2	4	9.5	3	4.5	2	2.2

The marital status when examined according to the success

trichotomy found that, as expected, there is a relationship between success and marriage. Of the successful group, 24.7% were married compared to only 23.1% of the borderline group and a low of 9.8% of the failure group. The single group was 52.6% of the successful group compared to 57.7% of the borderline and 54.9% of the failure groups. Offenders who divorced and remarried indicated a positive factor for success as the successful group had 8.4% in this category compared to the borderline group of 3.8% and the failure group's low of 2.4%. All three cases that admitted living common law were successful. The only widower was a failure, possibly because of chance.

Table 60.--Offender's marital status at offense according to success trichotomy

Marital Status at Offense	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	53	24.7	6	23.1	4	9.8
Widow(er)					1	2.4
Single	113	52.6	15	57.7	27	65.9
Divorced	13	6.0	2	7.7	2	4.9
Separated	15	7.0	1	3.8	4	9.8
Common law	3	1.4			2	4.9
Divorced, remarried, separated, etc.	18	8.4	1	3.8	1	2.4

The circumstance of marriage rating had some interesting patterns. The most discernible was a "pregnancy which forced a marriage" was found highest in group E (13.2%), with group D and C almost identical, less than a half a percentage point away from 9% and group B 3.2% and group A 7.5%. Immaturity was found in about 20% of the cases, the lowest percent being

among the prison group (6.6%) with group C and D almost identical as group A and B were, which would be expected according to the randomization rule. A compounding factor in this category is that often it could not be determined what specific negative factors were present and thus many elements which were possibly present were not recorded.

Table 61.--Circumstances of offender's marriage according to research group

Circumstances of Marriage	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
No negative factors known or no marriage	46	57.5	67	72.0	16	38.1	42	62.7	62	68.1
Very young (to 18)	2	2.5	5	5.4	1	2.4	0	0	3	3.3
Immature	13	16.3	16	17.2	10	23.8	15	22.4	6	6.6
Wife pregnant, forced	6	7.5	3	3.2	4	9.5	6	9.0	12	13.2
Difference in back- ground, values, etc.	9	11.3	0	0	10	23.8	3	45.5	7	7.7
Personality difference	1	1.3	1	1.1	1	2.4	0	0	0	0
Wife, husband mentally abnormality	3	3.9	1	1.1	0	0	1	1.5	1	1.1

In examining this factor for the success trichotomy the only difference found was that no marriage or no known factors were related to failure. Of the successful category 59.1% were rated "unknown or no marriage" compared to 65.4% of the borderline and 65.9% of the failure group. Possibly this slight increase is made up by offenders who were not married or information is not known about the circumstances of marriage which would help explain this slight increase. An immature personality rating was given to 20.0% of the unsuccessful group, compared to the failure group's 11.5%, less than half

compared to the borderline group, 19.5%.

Table 62.--Circumstances of offender's marriage according to success trichotomy

Circumstances of Marriage	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No negative factors known or no marriage	127	59.1	17	65.4	27	65.9
Very young (to 18)	6	2.8	2	7.7		
Immature	43	20.0	3	11.5	8	19.5
Wife pregnant, forced	16	7.4	1	3.8	2	4.9
Difference in background, values, etc.	18	8.4	1	3.8	3	7.3
Personality differences	3	1.4				
Wife, husband mentally abnormal	1	0.5	1	3.8		
Wife, husband sexually abnormal			1	3.8	1	2.4
Other	1	0.5				

Marriage rating produced no clear patterns but several clear differences. Of group C 23.8% were rated as having a general poor adjustment compared to 9.9% of the E group and 18.8% of the A group. Here the E and B groups were rather similar as were the A and D groups. Very few marriages were rated excellent and the lowest percentage, as expected, was in group E (1.1%). The highest number of excellent ratings were found in the B group, but this was only 5.4% followed by C with 4.8%, than D with 3.0% and next to last A with 2.5%. Of the A cases 10.0% were rated poor, several major problems, compared to the probation control group (0%), one of several conflicting trends.

Table 63.--Offender's marriage rating according to research group

Marriage Rating	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
No marriage	40	50.0	61	65.6	14	33.3	39	58.2	55	60.4
All indicators excellent	2	2.5	5	5.4	2	4.8	2	3.0	1	1.1
Fair, few problems	7	8.8	10	10.8	4	9.5	3	4.5	7	7.7
General poor adjustment	15	18.8	8	8.6	10	23.8	12	17.9	9	9.9
Husband drinking	7	8.8	6	8.5	6	9.3	3	4.5	11	12.1
Poor, both parties, several of above	8	10.0	0	0	4	4.5	5	7.5	3	3.2

The success trichotomy found, as in the above category, that the marriage and marriage rating was clearly indicative of success. Of the eleven who were rated as excellent in all four research groups, all were successful. Where there is no marriage the failure is higher, 63.4% compared to the success group's 52.8%. The borderline group was in the middle with 59.1%. Even where the marriage was rated as rather poor there tended to be more success. All cases rated as "sexually promiscuous husband," "all indicators excellent," and "good, lately deteriorated" were rated as successful, an example of the very unclear or slightly contradictory patterns which were seen.

Intelligence level ranking when examined according to research group showed several trends. Very few offenders had an IQ rated above average. The only offenders with an IQ above 126 were in the project group (group A) and group E.

Table 64.--Offender's marriage rating according to success trichotomy

Marriage Rating	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No marriage	113	52.6	15	57.7	26	63.4
All indicators excellent	11	5.1				
Fair, few problems	17	7.9	4	15.4	3	7.3
Good, lately deteriorated	3	1.4				
General poor adjustment	38	17.7	2	7.7	5	12.2
Wife, husband						
sexual problem	3	1.4	1	3.8	1	2.4
Sexually promiscuous,						
husband	4	1.9				
Husband drinking	14	6.5	3	11.5	2	4.9
Poor, both parties,						
several of above	12	5.6	1	3.9	4	9.8

Of those rated below average (from 75 to 90), A and E again were clearly alike (28.8% and 29.6% respectively). Group C had the least number in this category (19.0% with group D 25.4% and group B 23.7%). Definitely below average was similar in all groups except C, a low 2.4% compared to very close 6% for the other groups. Group C definitely had fewer offenders below average and more offenders with either average or slightly above average. The percent rated above average was 11.9 for group C and only 8.8 for A, 4.5 for D, 2.2 for E and 1.1 for B. As a whole there were more differences within the groups than between the groups.

Table 65.--Offender's intelligence level according to research group

Intelligence Level	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Unknown	1	1.3	1	1.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Retarded (up to 60)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Definitely below average (61-75)	5	6.3	6	6.5	1	2.4	4	6.0	8	8.9
Below average (75-90)	23	28.8	22	23.7	8	19.0	17	25.4	26	28.6
Average (91-100)	35	43.7	44	47.3	12	28.6	27	40.3	41	45.1
Average (101-110)	8	10.0	19	20.4	16	38.1	16	23.9	12	13.2
Above average (111-125)	7	8.8	1	1.1	5	11.9	3	4.5	2	2.2
Superior (126-135)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2.2
136+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Genius, in special area	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

When intelligence was broken down according to the success trichotomy an interesting pattern emerged. All of those in the failure category were rated as having an IQ between 75 and 110. Of those in the above average category (111-125) all fifteen cases were successful (except one) as was the case rated as superior. Of the sixteen cases rated as below average fourteen were successful and only two were borderline. The indications are that average or slightly above average intelligence is indicative of failure in corrections. Possibly this indication would not be present if the categories were broken down further as the 75-90 range found a high level of failure cases (22.3% successful, 19.2% borderline and 41.5% failure). The percent was no more than ten percentage points difference for the 91-100 average rating between all three groups. A 101-110 average rating ranged from 15.4% for the borderline to 17.1% for the failure to a



high of 22.3% for the success group. There is a slight positive relationship between IQ and success on probation and parole.

Table 66.--Offender's intelligence level according to success trichotomy

Intelligence Level	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Code highest category						
Unknown	1	0.5	1	3.8		
Definitely below						
average (61-75)	14	6.5	2	7.7		
Below average (75-90)	48	22.3	5	19.2	17	41.5
Average (91-100)	88	40.9	13	50.0	17	41.5
Average (101-110)	48	22.3	4	15.4	7	17.1
Above average (111-125)	15	7.0	1	3.8		
Superior (126-135)	1	0.5				

The number of school years completed is similar for all research classifications. The mean for A was 9.8, for B 10.0, C 10.1, D 9.7 and lastly for E was 9.6. Only 19% graduated from high school, the majority having approximately a tenth grade education with a much higher percentage of group E having a ninth grade education (28.6% compared to 17% for categories A through D).

In comparing the number of school years completed with the trichotomy breakdown, the majority of offenders that failed had between seven and twelve years of school, with ten and eleven each accounting for 29.3% of the failure group. Seven and twelve years of school each accounted for 4.9% of the failure group, producing the very normal curve around nine to eleven years of school. All eleven offenders having

Table 67.--School years completed by offender according to research group

School Yrs. Completed (Number)	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
3,4	1	1.3	1	1.1					1	1.1
5			1	1.1			1	1.5	2	2.2
6	1	1.3					1	1.5	1	1.1
7	4	5.0	4	4.3	2	4.8	2	3.0	2	2.2
8	12	15.0	8	8.6	4	9.5	10	14.9	14	15.4
9	14	17.5	16	17.2	7	16.7	12	17.9	26	28.6
10	20	25.0	28	30.1	12	28.6	14	20.9	15	16.5
11	15	18.8	19	20.4	8	19.0	16	23.9	19	20.9
12	10	12.5	11	11.8	8	19.0	8	11.9	11	12.1
13	2	2.5	3	3.2	1	2.4	2	3.0		
14	1	1.3	2	2.1						
	$\bar{X}=9.8$		$\bar{X}=10.0$		$\bar{X}=10.1$		$\bar{X}=9.7$		$\bar{X}=9.6$	

more than twelve years except one in the borderline category were in the successful group. Interestingly also is the fact that all offenders having had only three to six years of schooling were in the successful group. The peak for the successful, borderline and failure groups was tenth grade which corresponds with the legal age to quit school. The mean for the three classifications was almost identical: 9.6-10.1.

The academic performance rating shows few consistent patterns except group E had the poorest (6.4) compared to group C and D's 6.1 and group A's 6.0 and group B's 5.7. Thus poor school performance did not clearly differentiate the groups. The majority in all groups were rated as D performance with low grades and poor attendance (51.9% for A, 43% for B, 59.5%

Table 68.--School years completed by offender according to success trichotomy

School Years Completed	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
2	1	0.5			1	2.4
3	1	0.5				
4	3	1.4				
5	1	0.5				
6						
7	10	4.6			2	4.9
8	28	12.8	1	4.5	5	12.2
9	36	16.5	5	22.7	7	17.1
10	55	25.2	7	31.8	12	29.3
11	41	18.8	5	22.7	12	29.3
12	32	14.7	3	13.6	2	4.9
13	8	3.7				
14	2	0.9	1	4.5		
	$\bar{X}=9.6$		$\bar{X}=10.1$		$\bar{X}=9.6$	

for C, 53.7% for D, and 53.9% for E). The next most common rating was C average with few problems with 30.4% for A, 26.9% for B, 23.8% for C and 17.9% for D with the lowest of these four in E, 15.4%. All other ratings were extremely small and scattered and inconsistent.

Breaking academic performance down according to the success trichotomy found that low grades and poor attendance clearly indicated failure. Of the successful group 49.8% was rated in this category compared to 38.5% of the borderline and 63.4% of the failure group. On the other hand, of the

Table 69.--Offender's academic performance according to research group

Academic Performance	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
"A"-Superior in all areas, no problems	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"B"-Above average, no problems	1	1.3	6	6.5	0	0	2	3.0	4	4.4
"B"-Good grades, some problems	1	1.3	4	4.4	2	4.8	0	0	3	3.3
"C"-Average, few problems	24	30.4	25	26.9	10	23.8	12	17.9	14	15.4
"C"-Average, serious problems	0	0	2	2.2	1	2.4	6	9.0	0	0
"D"-Poor, low grades, few problems	6	7.6	4	4.3	1	2.4	3	4.5	6	6.6
"D"-Poor, low grades, poor attendance	41	51.9	40	43.0	25	59.5	36	53.7	49	53.9
"E"-Very poor, low grades, serious problems	4	5.1	9	9.7	2	4.8	4	6.0	2	2.2
"E"-Very poor, failed two or more grades	2	2.5	3	3.2	1	2.4	3	4.5	13	14.3

successful group, 27.4% were rated as having a C average with few problems compared to 23.1% in the borderline group and a low of 14.6% for the failure group. All superior students were in the successful category and all "B average, no problem" students were in the successful category except two which were in the borderline category. Even students rated as "good, some problems" found no cases in the failure group although there were only two cases in the borderline compared to five in the successful group. Those rated as "very poor with

very poor grades and serious problems" not expectedly made up 5.1% of the successful group and 15.4% of the borderline group, and 9.8% of the failure group.

Table 70.--Offender's academic performance according to success trichotomy

Academic Performance	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unknown	1	0.5				
"A"-Superior in all areas, no problems	1	0.5				
"B"-Above average, no problems	7	3.3	2	7.7		
"B"-Good grades, some problems	5	2.3	2	7.7		
"C"-Average, few problems	59	27.4	6	23.1	6	14.6
"C"-Average, serious problems	4	1.9	1	3.8	3	7.3
"D"-Poor, low grades, few problems	13	6.0	1	3.8		
"D"-Poor, low grades, poor attendance	107	49.8	10	38.5	26	63.4
"E"-Very poor, low grades, serious problems	11	5.1	4	15.4	4	9.8
"E"-Very poor, failed two or more grades	7	3.3			2	4.9

General employment ratings found a slightly higher percent of unskilled workers in group E (90.1% compared to 88.1% for both C and D and 87.1% for B and 85.0% for A). All other employment categories had a very small percent. The next largest was skilled which was highest for group B (9.7%) and next highest for group E (6.6%) followed by group D (6.0%). Groups A and C were almost identical (around 5%). The only professionals in all the groups was one in group A and one in group C, one an engineer (B.S.), the other a self-made artist. All the other employment categories contained less

than two offenders, the majority zero.

Table 71.--Offender's general employment level at offense according to research group

General Employment Level	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	1	1.3	1	1.1	0	0	1	1.5	0	0
Unskilled	68	85.0	81	87.1	37	88.1	59	88.1	82	90.1
Housewife	3	3.8	0	0	1	2.4	0	0	0	0
Skilled	4	5.0	9	9.7	2	4.8	4	6.0	6	6.6
Clerical, sales	1	1.3	0	0	1	2.4	2	3.0	1	1.1
Manager, proprietor	2	2.5	2	2.2	0	0	1	1.5	2	2.2
Professional	1	1.3	0	0	1	2.4	0	0	0	0

The tricotomy for employment level shows that of the failure group, 100% were unskilled and of the borderline group 96.1% were unskilled compared to only 84.6% of the successful group. The next largest category, skilled, found 8.4% in the successful group compared to 3.8% in the borderline group. While all the categories were small, all cases fell in the successful category.

Table 72.--Offender's general employment level at offense according to success trichotomy

General Employment Level	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unskilled	182	84.6	25	96.1	41	100.0
Housewife	4	1.9				
Skilled	18	8.4	1	3.8		
Clerical, sales	4	1.9				
Manager, proprietor	5	2.3				
Professional	2	0.9				

The employment ratings saw a strong relationship between employment record and final sentence. Of category E, 64.8% had very poor work records compared to only 28.6% of category C and 28.8% of category A. B and D were very close with

39.8% and 41.8% respectively. Thus the project control group was more like the prison control group than the project prison experimental group. The next highest rating was "fair record with some problems" which accounted for only 14.3% of category E compared to 40.5% of category C and 31.3% of category A. Categories B and D again were almost identical, 22.6% and 20.9% respectively. Few offenders had excellent records and of the few that did the majority were in groups A and B and almost none in C and D and only four offenders in group E. Offenders rated as having a good record showed A and B were similar, as was C and D, and E was unlike all other four groups (18.8%, 19.4%, 14.4%, 9.0% and 2.2% respectively).

Table 73.--Offender's employment rating at offense according to research group

Employment Rating	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Excellent record	7	8.8	6	6.5	0	0	2	3.0	4	4.4
Good record	15	18.8	18	19.4	6	14.4	6	9.0	2	2.2
Fair record, some problems	25	31.3	21	22.6	17	40.5	14	20.9	13	14.3
Poor record, absenteeism, etc.	8	10.0	5	5.4	6	14.3	8	11.9	5	5.5
Poor record, much absenteeism, etc.	2	2.5	5	5.4	0	0	9	13.4	6	6.6
Part-time only (school)	0	0	1	1.1	0	0	0	0	2	2.2
No work record-- valid reasons	0	0	0	0	1	2.4	0	0	0	0
Very poor, worked only sporadically	23	28.8	27	39.8	12	28.6	28	41.8	59	64.8

The success tricotomy showed that those with very poor records amounted to 41.5% of the failures compared to 33.5%

of those cases rated borderline and 46.1% of the successful. Those with a fair record and some problems amounted to 29.3% of the failure group and 22.7% of the borderline group compared to 28.4% for the group rated successful, a percentage slightly under the failure group. Of the fifteen offenders rated as having an excellent record, thirteen were in the successful group, two in the borderline group, and zero in the failure group. Of the forty-four given a good work record, thirty-nine were in the successful group, four in the borderline group and only two in the failure group. As a whole the trend here is clear, the poorer one's work record, the less one's chances of succeeding on probation.

Table 74.--Offender's employment rating at offense according to success trichotomy

Employment Rating	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No employment	2	0.9	1	3.8		
Excellent record	13	6.0	2	7.7		
Good record	39	18.1	4	15.4	2	4.9
Fair record, some problems	61	28.4	2	15.4	12	29.3
Poor record, absenteeism, etc.	18	8.4	1	3.8	8	19.5
Poor record, much absenteeism, etc.	10	4.7	3	11.5	2	4.9
Part-time only (school)	1	0.5				
No work record--valid reasons	1	0.5				
Very poor, worked only sporadically	72	33.5	12	46.1	17	41.5

The yearly earning was highest for group A and lowest for group E, group E averaging less than half the earnings for group A. Incomes of \$10,500 and up, considered a minimum



income for a middle class family, was earned by only 6.3% of group A, 4.3% of group B, 3.0% of group C, 3.0% of group D and 2.2% of group E. The vast majority of all offenders made an income under the level of poverty established by the government.

Table 75.--Offender's yearly earnings according to research group

Yearly Earnings	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
0 - (valid reasons, housewife, school)	0	0	2	2.2	1	2.4	0	0	0	0
1-500	8	10.0	17	18.3	3	7.1	8	11.9	44	48.4
501-1000	11	13.8	14	15.1	8	19.0	20	29.9	20	22.0
1001-2500	13	16.3	18	19.4	7	16.6	11	16.4	9	9.9
2501-4000	19	23.8	18	19.4	12	28.6	15	22.4	4	4.4
4001-5500	13	16.3	8	8.6	5	11.9	4	6.0	3	3.3
5501-7000	4	5.0	6	6.5	2	4.8	2	3.0	2	2.2
7001-9000	6	7.5	3	3.2	3	7.1	5	7.5	7	7.7
9001-10,500	1	1.3	3	3.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
10,501 and up	5	6.3	4	4.3	2	3.0	2	3.0	2	2.2

Income, when examined according to the success tricotomy showed a strong relationship between income and success on probation or parole. All twelve individuals with incomes of \$10,501 and up were in the successful category. Of the twenty-two offenders in the category of \$7,001 to \$10,500, all but two were in the successful category. Of the forty-four persons who made from \$4,001 to \$7,000, only one was in the failure category and six in the borderline, the rest successful. Clearly one's income while on probation is related to probation success rate.

Table 76.--Offender's yearly earnings according to success trichotomy

Yearly Earnings	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0 - (valid reasons, housewife, school)	3	1.4				
1-500	29	13.5	3	11.5	5	12.2
501-1000	32	14.9	9	34.6	12	29.3
1001-2500	31	14.4	5	10.2	12	29.3
2501-4000	52	24.2	3	11.5	9	22.0
4001-5500	25	11.6	4	15.4	1	2.4
5501-7000	12	5.6	2	7.7		
7001-9000	15	7.0			2	4.9
9001-10,500	4	1.9				
10,501 and up	12	5.6				

Health ratings shows a relationship between the groups and health problems, the prison groups having more health problems. Offenders having both mental and health problems were made up of 11% of group A, 8% of group B, 16% of group C, 10% of group D, and 14% of group E. Thus, as a whole, the prison group (including the prison only offenders) were rated as having more mental problems. Interestingly, group C has the highest number of mental problems of all groups. Of the total number of cases which were blind, deaf or had a limb amputated (six), half were in group E and one each in groups D, B and A. Those offenders with "mental problems only" found 6.3% in A, 2.2% in B, 4.8% in C, 7.5% in D, and 7.7% in E. Chronic ill health was found in 8.8% of A, 5.4% of B, 7.1% of C, 6.0% of D, and 9.9% of E. Offenders with "some health problems" were approximately half of this group and those with no health problems was lowest for group E (11.0%) and next lowest for group C (19.0%) and highest for group B (32.4%). Out of all

offenders, only three were listed as having excellent health, one each in A, B and D.

Table 77.--Offender's health rating according to research group

Health Rating	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Excellent, no problems	1	1.3	1	1.1	0	0	1	1.5	0	0
Good, no problems	22	27.5	30	32.4	8	19.0	18	26.9	10	11.0
Some health problems	35	43.8	46	49.5	22	52.4	31	46.3	49	53.9
Chronic ill health	7	8.8	5	5.4	3	7.1	4	6.0	9	9.9
Amputation, Blindness, deaf	1	1.3	1	1.1	0	0	1	1.5	3	3.3
Mental problems	5	6.3	2	2.2	2	4.8	5	7.5	7	7.7
Mental and health problems	9	11.3	8	8.6	7	16.7	7	10.5	13	14.3

The successful tricotomy shows either none or a slight negative relationship between health and failure, the better the health the higher the rate of failure. Although the three offenders that were listed as having excellent health were in the successful group, of the seventy-six offenders that were rated as having good health, thirteen (31.7%) were in the failure group and five (19.2%) in the borderline, the other fifty-nine (27.4%) in the successful group. Offenders rated as having some health problems made up 46.5% of the failure group and 57.7% of the borderline group compared to 38.8% of the successful group. The other categories were predominately in the successful group except offenders rated as having mental problems, six of the forty-five were in the failure group, three of the thirty-nine were in the borderline group and the thirty-six remaining were in the successful

group. Offenders rated as having mental problems tend to do better on probation or parole than offenders without mental problems.

Table 78.--Offender's health rating according to success trichotomy

Health Rating Code Highest Directly Health Related Problem	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Excellent, no problems	3	1.4				
Good, no problems	59	27.4	5	19.2	13	31.7
Some health problems	100	46.5	15	57.7	20	48.8
Chronic ill health	13	6.0	3	11.5	2	4.9
Serious disease	1	0.5				
Amputation, blindness, deaf	3	1.4				
Mental problems	10	4.7	1	3.8	3	7.3
Mental and health problems	26	12.1	2	7.7	3	7.3

The breakdown of leisure activities shows those offenders with more negative leisure activities are more likely to be in the more serious group, especially group E, prison only. The mean rating for group A is 5.4, group B 5.0, group C 5.5, group D 6.0 and group E 7.0, the higher the number the more negative the average activity. There were only two offenders rated as having excellent activities, ironically, one in group D and the other in group E. Of the seven offenders rated as having good activities, one offender was in A, five in B and one in C. Those offenders rated as having fairly good activities again found the majority were in groups A and B. The more negative activities (involvement in criminal activity, drinking, parties, etc.) account for 2.5% of A, compared to,

for example, 15.4% of E and 7.5% of D compared to 7.1% of C. While the trends were there, no clear overall pattern was seen.

Table 79.--Offender's leisure activities according to research group

Leisure Activities	A		B		C		D		E	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Excellent-reading, educational, commun	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.5	1	1.1
Very good hobbies, beneficial interests, no negative	1	1.3	5	5.4	1	2.4	0	0	0	0
Good-semi-skilled activities only	3	3.8	13	4.0	4	9.5	3	4.5	0	0
Good-hunting, fishing, TV, etc.	5	6.3	9	9.7	0	0	4	6.0	2	2.2
Good-hunting, TV, some illegal activity	16	20.0	20	21.5	5	11.9	10	14.9	6	6.6
Fair, other	13	16.3	14	15.1	9	21.4	10	14.9	11	12.1
Fair-TV, passive pursuits	20	25.0	14	15.1	11	26.2	17	25.4	16	18.7
Drinking, parties, some criminal activity	16	20.0	8	8.6	6	14.3	15	22.4	23	25.3
Drinking, parties, much crime involved	2	2.5	4	4.3	3	7.1	5	7.5	14	15.4
Largely crime, negative activities	4	5.0	6	6.5	3	7.1	2	3.0	17	18.7

The successful tricotomy breakdown showed some tendencies in the expected direction but no clear patterns (the more negative activities, the higher chance of failure). For example, offenders rated as having very good activities made up only 2.3% of the successful group compared to 7.7% of the borderline group and 0% of the failure group. The only offender rated as "excellent" was in the failure group. Offenders rated as having basically good activities but some negative made up 18.6% of the successful group compared to 19.2% of the

borderline group and 14.6% of the failure group. This pattern was repeated for the "fair" rating resulting in 18.1, 7.7, 9.8 percent respectively. The more negative activities, on the other hand, were found in the expected direction, 14.0%, 7.7% and 31.7% respectively. Involvement in largely crime or other negative activities was 4.7% of the successful group, 7.7% of the borderline group and 9.8% of the failure group.

Table 80.--Offender's leisure activities according to success trichotomy

Leisure Activities	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Excellent-reading, educational, commun	0	0	0	0	1	2.4
Very good-hobbies, beneficial interests, no negative	5	2.3	2	7.7		
Good-semi-skilled activities only	21	9.8	2	7.7		
Good-sports, hunting, fishing, TV, etc.	15	7.0	2	7.7	1	2.4
Good-hunting, TV, some illegal activity	40	18.6	5	19.2	6	14.6
Fair, other	39	18.1	2	7.7	4	9.8
Fair-TV, passive pursuits	46	21.4	6	23.1	10	24.4
Drinking, parties, some criminal activity	30	14.0	2	7.7	13	31.7
Drinking, parties, much crime involved	9	4.2	3	11.5	2	4.9
Largely crime, negative activities	10	4.7	2	7.7	4	9.8

The number of cases having no supervision rule violations was equal for groups A and B, both 45%. Of group D 42% had rule violations compared to 52% for group C, or slightly higher. Thus, an approximately equal percent of all four groups did not, according to the P.O., violate any supervision

rules. The most common rule violations were not reporting or paying court costs. Not paying court costs alone amounted to 21.3% for group A, 11.8% for group B, and 30.9% for group C. Group D would not have had any court costs as offenders going to prison are not assessed court costs. Nonreporting alone was found in 4.3% of group B and 7.7% of group D. Nonreporting combined with not paying costs was given in 12.5% of group A, 22.6% of group B, and 11.9% of group C. The other violations were scattered throughout the group. Second violations were not listed for 89% of group A, 90% of group B, 95% of group C but only 60% of group D. The most common second violation was nonreporting, or nonreporting and not paying court costs. Group D had considerably more both first and second violations, the mean for second violations was up to ten times higher for category D than for any other.

Table 81.--New supervision rule violation(s) according to research group

Supervision Rule Violation(s)	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	36	45.0	42	45.2	22	52.4	28	42.4
Not pay court cost	17	21.3	11	11.8	13	30.9		
Non report	0	0	4	4.3	0	0	5	7.7
Non report and pay costs	10	12.5	21	22.6	5	11.9		
Leaves state w/o permission	1	1.3	1	1.1	0	0	1	1.5
Associate with felons	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	7.7
Did not maintain employment	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4.6
Did not obtain psychological help	1	1.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	15	18.8	14	15.1	2	4.8	24	36.4

Comparing the rule violations with the success tricotomy

found 91.6% of the successful group had no violations compared to 69.2% of the borderline group and 48.8% of the failure group. Most rule violations increased significantly for both the borderline group and significantly again in the failure group. For instance, nonreport was 3.3% of the successful group compared to 7.7% of the borderline group and 12.2% of the failure group.

Table 82.--New supervision rules violation(s) according to success trichotomy

Supervision rules violation(s)	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	197	91.6	18	69.2	20	48.8
Non report	1	0.5			3	7.3
Non report and pay costs	7	3.3	2	7.7	5	12.2
Leaves state w/o permission			1	3.8	4	9.8
Moved w/o notifying P.O.	1	0.5				
Associate with felons					3	7.3
Did not maintain employment	2	0.9	1	3.8	1	2.4
Did not obtain psychological help						
Other	7	3.3	4	15.4	5	12.2

Examining further legal difficulties (which include both the adjudicated and nonadjudicated charges), we find that only five people committed what would be termed very serious charges which were, in all cases, armed robbery. Only one person from group A compared to three from group B, none from group C and one from group D were charged with armed robbery. Only one offender from the project groups was convicted of a serious charge; the other four were from the control groups. The control groups not only committed more offenses but the offenses were much more serious. The next most serious charge,



unarmed robbery, was committed by two individuals, both of whom were part of group D. The third most serious offense, attempted armed robbery, was again committed by the control group, one offender in group B and one offender in group D. Assault, which includes offenses anywhere from a social fight to attempted murder, involved four cases. Of these three were in group B and only one in the project, in group A. Interestingly, the only sex offense committed in the follow-up period was committed by an individual in the project, group A. The largest number of offenses committed were "B&E's," nine in group D, one in group C, three in group B and six in group A. Thus the project had a total of seven "B&E's" compared to twelve for the total control group.

Possession of stolen property, which is usually reduced from a "B&E" charge (or results from a B&E offense), was committed by five people, four control group cases and one project case (group A). Two were from the probation control group (B) and the other two from the prison control group (D). Attempted B&E was committed by five project cases, two from group A and three from group C. The other two were from group B. This is the first charge that the project had more cases of than the control group. Carrying a concealed weapon was charged in two project cases (group A) and three control group cases, all in category D. Larceny from a building had four cases in group A and six in group D. Possession of drugs had two cases in group A, two in group B, one in group C, and four

in group D. Thus project cases had only three possession of drug charges compared to six for the control group. There was only one larceny by check offense (group D) and five other personal offenses (one in group C and four in group D) and two other property offenses, both in group B. The total felony charges for group A equal twenty compared to group B's nineteen. Though group A had one more charge, the charges as a whole were much less serious. Group C had six charges compared to group D's thirty-two, or over five times higher. This shows that offenders randomly diverted from prison into the project probation committed not only one-fourth the offenses, but, as a whole, less serious offenses compared to offenders randomly diverted into prison.

Table 83.--New felony charges according to research group

New felony charges	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	52	65.0	58	62.4	27	64.3	27	40.9
Armed robbery	1	1.3	3	3.2			1	1.5
Unarmed robbery							2	3.0
Attempted armed robbery	0	0	1	1.1			1	1.5
Assault	1	1.3	3	3.2				
Sex offense	1	1.3						
B & E	6	7.5	3	3.2	1	2.4	9	13.6
Poss. stolen prop.	1	1.3	2	2.2			2	3.0
Att. B & E	2	3.0	2	2.2	3	7.1		
CCW	2	3.0	0	0			3	4.5
Lar. (From bldg, auto, etc)	4	5.1					6	9.1
Poss. of drugs	2	3.0	2	2.2	1	2.4	4	6.0
Larceny by check	0	0	1	1.1				
Other person	0	0			1	2.4	4	7.1
Other property	0	0	2	2.2				
Total	26	26.8	10	20.6	6	14.3	32	59.1

By definition, 76.3% of the successful group had no further

legal difficulties as all borderline or failure cases had new charges. Of the successful group, there were a total of twenty-four misdemeanors committed, the majority larcenies, compared to eleven offenses committed in the borderline group and to only three misdemeanors in the failure group. A new misdemeanor charge did not necessitate violation, thus most were in the successful group. Felonies reverse the picture as there was only one armed robbery committed in the successful group (he was found not guilty) compared to two in the borderline group and two in the failure group. It should be noted that this breakdown includes all charges, including those adjudicated as innocent and those not yet adjudicated. Thus some of the successful group will have serious charges. An offender was not classified as a failure unless there was a legal disposition which would warrant that failure classification. Interestingly, of the successful group, there were three felony assault charges compared to one assault charge for the borderline group and none for the failure group. The only sex offense was in the successful group and the only attempted larceny against a person was in the failure group. B & E, the most common charge, found six cases in the successful group, three in the borderline, and ten in the failure group. Of the failure group, 24.4% of the offenses were B & E, 7.3% CCW, 9.8% other property, 4.9% other person, and 9.8% attempted B & E. Of the successful group, there were a total of thirty-one felony charges compared to thirteen in

the borderline group (a much smaller group, one-tenth as small) and thirty-six in the failure group. While much concern is made over drug charges, there were only new drug charges, four possession of drugs in the successful group, three possession of drugs in the failure group, and one sale of drugs case in the failure group.

Table 84.--New further legal difficulties according to success trichotomy

Further Legal Difficulties - Charges	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	164	76.3				
<u>Misdemeanors:</u>						
Larceny from a person	2	1.0				
Assault	3	1.4				
Lar. (from bldg, auto, etc.)	2	0.9	3	11.5	1	2.4
Poss. of drugs	3	1.4	1	3.8		
Other person	7	3.3	6	23.1		
Other property	6	2.8	1	3.8	2	4.9
<u>Felonys:</u>						
Armed robbery	1	0.5	2	7.7	2	4.9
Unarmed robbery	1	0.5			2	4.8
Att. armed robbery					1	2.4
Assault	3	1.4	1	3.8		
Sex offense	1	0.5				
B & E	8	7.1	2	7.7	10	24.4
Poss. stolen prop.	1	0.5	1	3.8	2	4.9
Att. B & E	1	0.5	2	7.7	4	9.8
Carrying concealed weapon	2	0.9			3	7.3
Lar. (from bldg, auto, etc.)	7	3.3	4	15.4	3	7.3
Poss. of drugs	4	1.9			3	7.3
Sale of drugs					1	2.4
Larceny by check			1	3.8		
Other person	1	0.5			4	9.8
Other property	1	0.5			2	4.9

Looking at further legal difficulties involving misdemeanor offenses, we find that the most serious misdemeanor was an assault. Assault charges were lodged against three offenders, two in category C and one in category D. The most common

misdemeanor charge, a larceny from a building, automobile, etc., was listed for eight cases, three in project probation A, one in project probation C, and four in regular probation B. Possession of drugs was charged three times, two for group C and one for group D. Other personal offenses were lodged seven times against the project cases (four in A and three in C) and six times for the control group (four for B and two for D) where other property offenses were lodged a total of seven times, one each in A and C and the other five in group B. The total misdemeanor charges were eight for group A compared to thirteen for group B, and nine for group C compared with group D's four. Group C had many more misdemeanor charges but many less felony charges again showing that while the total number of arrests does not differ greatly, the seriousness of the charges did.

Table 85.--New misdemeanor charges according to research group

New misdemeanor charges	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Assault	0	0			2	4.8	1	1.5
Lar. (From bldg, auto, etc.)	3	3.9	4	4.3	1	2.4		
Poss of drug	0	0			2	4.8		
Other person	4	5.0	4	4.3	3	7.1	2	3.0
Other property	1	1.3	5	5.4	1	2.4		
Total	8	9.2	13	14.0	9	20.7	4	6.0

Examination of court appearance according to the case found several interesting patterns. Six offenders in group B were continued on probation even though convicted of a new offense compared to only one offender in group A. Groups

C and D are more comparable, two and one offenders respectively received no penalty for a conviction. On the other hand, five offenders in group A received a suspended sentence compared to only three offenders in group B. C and D were identical in the number receiving a suspended sentence, fine or restitution, five offenders each. On the other hand, the project probation group A used a jail sentence five times compared to only three times for group A, once for group C and twice for group D. A new probation sentence was used in an identical number of cases for A and B (4) and C and D (1). Violations which resulted in the offender being returned to prison were adjudicated twice for each category except A, which was only slightly different (three cases). On the other hand, institutionalization in Jackson State Prison for a new sentence was twice as high for B and A (ten cases from group B compared to five cases from group A). For the prison groups, group D had sixteen times the rate of new major sentences as C, one case for C and sixteen for D. Thus while several offenders in the project groups A and C were violated because of not completing some requirements of probation, a far greater number of the control group went to prison because of a new sentence, the main concern for probationers.

Table 86.--Outcome of new charges according to research group

Outcome of New Charges	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
No appearance, not adjudicated yet	53	66.3	61	65.6	29	69.0	36	54.5
Case dismissed	4	5.0	2	2.2	1	2.4	3	4.5
Continued on probation/parole, no penalty	1	1.3	6	6.5	2	4.8	1	1.5
Suspended sentence, fine restitution	5	6.3	3	3.2	5	11.9	5	7.6
Jail sentence	5	6.3	3	3.2	1	2.4	2	3.0
New probation sentence	4	5.0	4	4.3	1	2.4	1	1.5
To state correctional facility (violated)	3	3.8	2	2.2	2	4.7	2	3.0
New sentence-institutionalized	5	6.3	10	10.8	1	2.3	16	24.2
Successful	63	72.5	69	74.3	32	76.2	40	60.5
Borderline	14	17.5	10	10.7	7	16.7	8	12.1
Failure	8	10.1	10	15.0	3	7.0	18	27.2

A separate examination of the second most serious adjudication shows that over 90% of all offenders did not have any type of second case adjudicated. This, of course, is primarily because a first major offense usually results in incarceration, precluding committing another offense at least until after the incarceration date. In cases where two or more offenses were committed, the state often will only try to prosecute for the case they feel they have the most chance of obtaining a conviction. A second case which alone would have resulted in a borderline classification was found in 3.9% of the A cases, 5.4% of the B cases, 9.6% of the C cases, and highest of all, 12.0% for the D cases. Most of the second cases were committed by offenders whose first case would result in a failure rating, showing that the regular probation group not only had a higher failure rate but each failure was

adjudicated of more crimes than the regular probation group. Likewise, the second case adjudication rate was almost twice as high for group C as for group A or B. While the lowest number of offenders were rated as failure in this group, these committed, per person, more crimes than any other group. Offenders randomly diverted to prison had the highest number of serious second cases both in terms of the absolute number (17) and the percent of the total group (12%).

Table 87.--New charges, second case according to research group

Second Case	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
No appearance, not adjudicated yet	74	92.5	88	94.6	38	90.5	56	84.9
Case dismissed	2	2.5					2	3.0
Continued on probation/parole, no penalty	1	1.3					0	0
Suspended sentence, fine, restitution	1	1.3			2	4.8	2	3.0
Jail sentence	1	1.3	3	3.2	1	2.4	1	1.5
New probation sentence	1	1.3	2	2.2	1	2.4	5	1.5
Six months or more jail							9	6.1
To state correctional facility (violated)								
New sentence-institutionalized								
Successful	77	96.3	88	94.6	38	90.5	58	87.9
Borderline	3	3.9	5	5.4	4	9.6	17	12.0
Failure	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

There were fourteen new sentences in group A compared to control group B which had sixteen new prison or jail sentences. Six of group A's fourteen sentences were the shortest, category 1 compared to only three in this category from group B. The next most serious category, 4, was received by two offenders in group A and twice this, or four, were in group



B. There were no 3 ratings in group A but four in group B. Thus group A had fewer prison sentences and the majority of them, by far, were quite minor. Group B's were more serious and longer. Comparing the prison groups, we find that group C received seven new prison (or jail) sentences compared to group D's seventeen new sentences. The most serious offense was armed robbery (25) or 10-40 received by a group B case. The next two most serious prison sentences in the total sample were both in group D. These sentences were given to an offender who committed a property offense. Looking at the project prison experimental group, most of the sentences were quite low on the scale, one 1, two 2's and two 3's. This compares with three 1's for D, six 2's, one 3, three 4's, two 6's, one 8 and one 9. No offender in group C was convicted of a major offense, and as a whole the sentences are much longer in groups B and D, indicating more extensive and more serious criminal activity. Thus the project not only had a lower rate of new convictions, but the convictions were much less serious.

Comparing the length of new institutional sentence for the success trichotomy, by definition the majority of sentences would be in the failure group. Because in this category jail sentences were included, there were nine jail sentences of one month or less in the successful group and a total of six jail sentences in the borderline group, one for one month, one for two months, two for three months, and one for six months.

Table 88.--Length of new prison or jail sentence according to research group

(subtract minimum from the maximum and  
1/2 of this to the minimum)  
10 - 20 = 10 + 5 = 15)

Length of new prison or jail sentence	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
0	66	82.5	76	81.7	36	85.7	49	74.2
1	6	7.5	4	4.3	1	2.4	3	4.6
2	5	6.3	3	3.2	2	4.8	6	9.1
3			4	4.3	2	4.8	1	1.5
4	2	2.5	4	4.3			3	4.6
5							0	0.0
6	1	1.3	1	1.1			2	3.0
7								
8							1	1.5
9							1	1.5
25			1	1.1				

In the failure group, five persons had a number one sentence, fourteen a number two, four a number three, nine a number four, four a number six, and one each for eight, nine and twenty-five

Table 89.--Length of new institutional sentence according to success trichotomy

Length of new Institutional sentence	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No new sentence	213	99.1	12	46.2	2	4.9
1	1*	0.5	7*	26.9	5	12.2
2	1*	0.5	1*	3.8	14	34.1
3	0	0	4*	15.4	4	9.8
4	0	0	0	0	9	22.0
6	0	0	1*	3.8	4	9.8
8	0	0	0	0	1	2.4
9	0	0	1	3.8	1	2.4
25	0	0	0	0	1	2.4

\*Jail

Probation sentences, according to research groups, found the most serious sentence, sixty months, was one each in groups A and B. Of the next most serious, thirty-six months, two were in group A and one in group B. The six "typical" sentences of twenty-four months were all found in the control groups, five in B and one in D. For the twelve month sentences, one was found in group D, one in C, and two in B. Six month sentences were found twice in each group C and group A. Thus the more serious probation offenses seem to be found in group A or B and the least serious offenses, as judging by the sentence duration, was found in groups C and D. There were too few new probation sentences, to make many generalizations, but group D probably had fewer probation sentences because more offenders received prison sentences and group C had very few new convictions, thus few new probation terms.

Table 90.--New probation sentences according to research group

New probation sentences	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	75	93.8	83	89.2	40	95.2	64	97.0
6m	2	2.4			1	2.4		
12m			2	2.2	1	2.4	1	1.5
24m			5	5.4			1	1.5
36m	2	2.5	1	1.1				
48m								
60m	1	1.3	1	1.1				
Other								

New probation sentences for the success tricotomy showed that of the failure group, two offenders received a twelve month sentence and one offender received a sixty month sentence

in addition to their prison sentences. Of the borderline group there was a total of twelve new probation sentences, most of them (five) were for twenty-four or twelve months. Of the successful group there was only one probation sentence which was for less than one month.

Table 91.--Length of new active probation according to success trichotomy

Length of new active probation	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	214	98.5	14	53.8	38	92.7
1m	1	0.5				
6m			2	7.7		
12m			2	7.7	2	4.9
24m			5	19.2		
36m			2	7.7		
60m			1	3.8	1	2.4

The date of the first new arrest was most commonly during the first two to four months after the offender was released to the community. There were only four cases arrested between the seventeenth and twentieth month after probation or parole began. Group A tended to have more arrests sooner after being put on probation than group B, and group D tended to have arrests sooner than group C. The arrests for group C were spread out somewhat evenly between one and twenty months, but nineteen out of thirty-five arrests in group D were made within the first three months of parole.

Table 92.--Date of first new arrest according to research group

Date of first new arrest	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
No arrest	52	65.0	63	67.7	31	73.8	30	45.5
1 m	8	10.0	9	9.7	1	2.4	9	13.6
2 m	1	1.3	3	3.2	2	4.8	6	9.1
3 m	3	3.8	2	2.2	1	2.4	4	6.1
4 m	4	5.0	0	0	1	2.4	2	3.0
5 m	1	1.3	5	5.4	2	4.8	1	1.5
6 m	1	1.3	1	1.1	-	-	3	4.6
7-8 m	1	1.3	2	2.2	2	4.8	4	6.0
9-10m	3	3.8	2	2.2			3	4.5
11-13m	2	2.5	4	4.4	1	2.4	1	1.5
14-16m	2	2.6	1	1.1			1	1.5
17-20m	2	2.6	-	-	1	2.4	1	1.5

Date of first new arrest for the success trichotomy shows that the majority of offenders in the failure group were violated within the first month (29.3), more than any other single month in the twenty-four month follow-up. The next most common month the failure group was arrested in was the third month (14.6%) and the third was the second month (12.2%). The remaining arrests were spread out fairly thinly between the fifth and the twenty-fourth month. The borderline group, on the other hand, contained 31.8% of its arrests in the first month and 7.7% in less than one month. Of the successful group, 78.9% either had no arrests or the arrests were made before the first month in the community. Here the spread was most even, with still the majority in the first and second months, but percentage-wise much lower than the other two groups. This supports the observation that if an offender is going to violate the chances are much greater that he will be violated at the beginning of his probation or parole term.

Table 93.--Date of first new arrest according to success trichotomy

Date of first new arrest Number of months after disposition date	Successful		Broderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No arrests	173	80.5	2	7.7	1	2.4
1m	7	3.3	8	30.8	12	29.3
2m	4	1.9	3	11.5	5	12.2
3m	2	0.9	3	11.5	6	14.6
4m	2	0.9	2	7.7	3	7.3
5m	4	1.9	2	7.7	3	7.3
6m	4	1.9			1	2.4
7m	3	1.4			2	4.9
8m	3	1.4			1	2.4
9m	3	1.4	1	3.8	1	2.4
10m	3	1.4				
11m	1	0.5				
12m			3	11.5	2	4.9
13m	1	0.5			1	2.4
14m	1	0.5	1	3.8	1	2.4
15m			1	3.8		
16m					1	2.4
17m	3	1.4				
19m	1	0.5				
20m					1	2.4

The number of months spent in custody was no more than six. Only four offenders spent from four to six months waiting for trial activities in custody (usually in jail). Of these, two were in group D and one each in A and B. The majority of offenders spent one month or less in custody: eight offenders from group A, seven from group B, four from group C and eighteen from group D. Eighteen offenders from the project (groups A and C) spent some time in custody compared to forty-two offenders in the control groups B and D.

Table 94.--Number of months spent in custody according to research group

Months spent in custody	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
0m	68	85.0	75	80.6	36	85.7	40	60.6
1m	8	10.0	7	7.5	4	9.5	10	27.3
2m	2	2.5	3	3.2			4	6.1
3m	1	1.3	5	5.4	2	4.8	2	3.0
4-6m	1	1.3	1	1.1			2	3.0

The successful groups most often had custody sentences of one month or less. Of the thirteen from this group who spent time in jail, twelve spent less than one month and one offender spent two months. For the borderline group, 50% did not spend any time in custody, 26.9% one month, 3.8% two months, 3.8% three months, and 15.4% four months. Of the failure group, only 12.2% did not spend time in custody compared to 43.9% spending one month in custody, 17.1% two months, 19.5% three months, 4.9% four months and 2.4% six months. The majority of the successful group (93.5%) did not spend any time in custody compared to 50.0% of the borderline group and 12.2% of the failure group. Thus those failing spend considerably more time in custody, few of this group not spending some time.

Table 95.--Number of months spent in custody according to success trichotomy

Months spent in custody	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0m	201	93.5	13	50.0	5	12.2
1m	12	5.6	7	26.9	18	43.9
2m	1	0.5	1	3.8	7	17.1
3m			1	3.8	8	19.5
4m			4	15.4	2	4.9
5m					1	2.4

Supervision services showed that the greatest difference between the groups was for services administered by the agency between the experimental and control groups. The project rendered services in thirty-seven instances for group A compared to group B's seventeen. Group C, the project prison group, were rendered services in twenty-three instances compared to zero for group D.

Table 96.--Supervision services according to research group

Supervision services	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
00 No supervision needed	0	0	2	2.2	0	0	2	3.0
01 No other services provided	1	1.3	33	35.5	2	4.8	45	68.2
Provided by staff								
Information	6	7.5	8	8.6	4	9.5		
Financial	3	3.8	3	3.2				
Transportation	2	2.5			1	2.4		
Educational	4	5.0	2	2.2	1	2.4		
Group counseling	21	26.3	2	2.2	17	40.5		
Family group counseling			1	1.1				
Drug group counseling	1	1.3	1	1.1				

Table 97.--Contract supervision services according to research group

Contract supervision services	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Financial	1	1.3	1	1.1	2	4.8		
Psychological/psychiatric	4	5.0	1	1.1	5	11.9		
Educational					1	2.4	2	3.0
Drug group counseling	1	1.3	4	4.3				

Table 98.--Contribution supervision services according to research group

Contribution supervision services	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Information	1	1.3	1	1.1				
Financial	7	8.8			2	4.8		
Psychological/psychiatric	12	15.0	5	5.4	3	7.1	2	3.0
Transportation							1	1.5
Educational	2	2.5	6	6.5	1	2.4	11	16.7



TABLE 98 (con'd)

	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Drug group counseling	1	1.3	6	6.5				
Half-way or drug house	1	1.3	4	4.3				
Alcoholic counseling	1	1.3	1	1.1				

Table 99.--Supervision services needed but not provided according to research group

Supervision services needed, not provided	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Financial			3	3.2				
Psychological/psychiatric	3	3.6	3	3.2	1	2.4	2	3.0
Transportation	2	2.5	2	2.2	1	2.4		
Educational	1	1.3	3	3.2	1	2.4		
Group counseling	4	5.0						
Drug group counseling	1	1.3	4	4.3			1	1.5

The breakdown of supervision services according to the successful trichotomy shows few clear trends. In this comparison it must be remembered that these were services that were offered, but not always successfully accepted or utilized. To understand the significance of particular contribution, an examination of the reception of that contribution should be made. A major problem in this category was that there were so few offenders in each category and so many services offered to a small few that it was difficult to see any trends. Another factor which was possibly present in the evaluations made was the "halo-effect," where an offender impressed the officer, causing emotional adjustment ratings or ratings in other areas to be higher than they might be.

Table 100.--Supervision services provided according to success trichotomy

	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Supervision services						
No supervision needed	11	5.2			1	2.4
No other services						
needed or provided	151	70.3	17	65.4	39	95.1
Information, project staff	22	10.2	1	3.8	1	2.4
Information, contribution	1	0.5	1	3.8	1	2.4
Financial, project staff	6	2.8			2	4.9
Financial, contract	3	1.4			1	2.4
Financial, contribution	11	5.2	1	3.8	2	4.9
Financial, needed, not provided	3	1.4	1	3.8		
Psychological/psychiatric contract	17	7.9	2	7.7	3	7.3
Psychological/psychiatric, contribution	19	8.9	4	15.4	5	12.2
Psychological/psychiatric, needed, not provided	10	4.6	1	3.8	1	2.4
Transportation, project staff	5	2.3				
Transportation, contribution					2	4.9
Transportation, needed, not provided	13	6.0			1	2.4
Educational, project staff	9	4.2			2	4.9
Educational, contract	7	3.3	1	3.0	1	2.4
Educational, contribution	27	12.5	2	7.7	4	9.7
Educational, needed, not provided	12	5.6			3	7.3
Group counseling, project staff	51	23.7	6	23.0	4	9.7
Group counseling, contract	3	1.4			1	2.4
Group counseling, needed, not provided	2	0.9	2	7.7	2	4.9
Group counseling, contribution	2	0.9				
Family group counseling, project staff	2	0.9	2	7.7		
Family group counseling, needed, not provided	5	2.3	2	7.7		
Family group counseling, contract					1	2.4
Drug group counseling, project staff	2	0.9	1	3.8	1	2.4
Drug group counseling, contract	6	2.8	2	7.7		

TABLE 100 (con'd)

	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Drug group counseling, contribution	12	5.6	3	11.5	2	4.9
Drug group counseling, needed, not provided	1	0.5	1	3.8	2	4.9
Half-way or drug house, contribution	10	4.6	1	3.8		
Alcoholic counseling, contribution	2	0.9				
Marriage counseling, project staff					1	2.4
Marriage counseling, needed, not provided	2	1.0	1	3.8		
Volunteer	4	1.8				
Volunteer not provided	2	0.9				

Change in marital situation showed most of the improvement was with the project cases. Of group A 3.8% showed slight improvement compared to zero percent of group B, 2.4% of group C and 3.0% of group D. Only two cases showed major improvement, one in group B and one in group C. Some differences in the percent were primarily because there are several major differences in the percent in each group that are married. Almost twice as many of group B were not married compared to group C (63.4% compared to 35.7%) and 59.1% of group D were not married compared to 48.8% of group A. Of those offenders that were married, the greatest percent in each group showed no changes. Fifty offenders of group A were married compared to thirty-four of group B, twenty-seven of group C and twenty-seven of group D. Therefore C and D are directly comparable. Interestingly, 9.5% of group C were

separated during the probation time and 2.4% obtained a divorce compared to only 3.0% separated in group D and zero percent obtaining a divorce. Possibly the only solution in many cases in working out marital difficulties is separation or divorce. Only two offenders in group C showed minor deterioration compared to five in group D. The same percentage of A and D, around 6%, were divorced and remarried during the probation period. In group A two offenders were divorced and two separated compared to one offender divorced in group B and five separated. A major deterioration rating was given to two offenders in group A and only one offender in group B.

Table 101.--Change in marital situation during supervision according to research group

Change in marital situation	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Not married	39	48.8	59	63.4	15	35.7	39	59.1
Major improvement	0	0	1	1.1	1	2.4	0	0
Some improvement	11	1.3	1	1.1	0	0	1	1.5
Slight improvement	3	3.8	0	0	1	2.4	2	3.0
No changes	23	28.8	19	20.4	15	35.7	15	22.7
Minor deterioration	3	3.8	0	0	2	4.8	5	7.6
Major deterioration	2	2.5	1	1.1	0	0	0	0
Separated	2	2.5	5	5.4	4	9.5	2	3.0
Divorce	2	2.5	1	1.1	1	2.4	0	0
Divorce, remarried	5	6.3	6	6.5	3	7.1	2	3.0
	50		34		27		27	

The marital situation ratings for the success trichotomy found the vast majority of offenders that were married in the failure group had a rating of "no change" and three were rated "minor deteriorations" and only one was separated. Comparisons are difficult to make as 75.6% of this group was not married compared to 61.5% of the borderline

group and 49.3% of the successful group. This is one of the most meaningful comparisons: married offenders do much better on probation and parole. The majority of both the improvement and the deterioration is found in the successful group, partly because more were married. Of the seven married offenders in the borderline group, six showed no change and one was separated. But of the successful group, eleven were separated, sixteen divorced and remarried, three showed major deterioration and seven minor deterioration. On the other hand, cases that improved are found in the successful group, six with slight improvement, three with some improvement, and two with major improvement.

Table 102.--Change in marital situation during supervision according to success trichotomy

Change in marital situation	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not married	106	49.3	16	61.5	31	75.6
Major improvement	2	0.9	0	0	0	0
Some improvement	3	1.4	0	0	0	0
Slight improvement	6	2.8	0	0	0	0
No changes	59	27.4	7	26.9	6	14.6
Minor deterioration	7	3.3	0	0	3	7.3
Major deterioration	3	1.4	0	0	0	0
Separated	9	4.2	3	11.5	1	2.4
Divorce	4	1.9	0	0	0	0
Divorce, remarried	16	7.4	0	0	0	0

The employment record breakdown shows a majority of offenders were rated as having an extremely poor record, A and D being almost equal with around 36% and C with 26% and D with 30%. Offenders rated "poor record, absenteeism" made up about the same percent of group A and B. Offenders in group

D had worse records than group C and group D had more cases of offenders whose work records were rated poor as compared to group C. On the other hand, of the ten offenders who had work records rated "excellent with promotions," seven were in group A and only one each in groups B, C, and D. Offenders with an excellent record were 27% of group A, 14% of group B, 21% of group C and 8% of group D, showing the project groups had, for both groups, better ratings. On the other hand, a "good record" evaluation was made in only 6% of group A but 14% of group B and 14% of group C compared to 23% of group D. Thus there was no major overall difference but groups A and C tended to have, as a whole, better records.

Table 103.--Employment record during supervision according to research group

Employment record	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
No employment	0	0	3	3.2	0	0	2	3.0
Excellent record, promotions	7	8.8	1	1.1	1	2.4	1	4.6
Excellent record	22	27.5	13	13.9	9	21.4	5	7.6
Good record	5	6.3	13	13.9	6	14.4	15	22.7
Fair record, some problems	7	8.8	12	12.9	4	9.5	13	19.7
Poor record, absenteeism, etc	8	10.0	7	7.5	5	11.9	1	1.5
Poor record, much absenteeism, etc.	1	1.3	8	8.6	3	7.1	6	9.1
Part-time only (school)	0	0	0	0	2	4.8	1	1.5
No work record-valid reasons	2	2.5	1	1.1	1	2.4	0	0
Very poor, worked only sporadically	28	35.0	35	37.6	11	26.2	20	30.3
	$\bar{X}$ =5.1		$\bar{X}$ =5.5		$\bar{X}$ =5.1		$\bar{X}$ =5.1	

The success trichotomy showed that of the successful offenders, only 25.6% were given work ratings of very poor compared to 42.3% of the borderline and 68.3% of the failure

groups. Of the successful group 4.7% was given a rating of "poor record, much absenteeism" compared to 11.5% of the borderline group and 12.2% of the failure group. On the other hand 14% of the successful group was given a "fair record, some problems" compared to 23.1% of the borderline group and 9.8% of the failure group. Of the successful group 17.7% was given a "good record" compared to 2.8% of the borderline group and 0% of the failure group. Of the twelve cases that received "excellent records with promotions," ten were found in the successful group, and the other two in the failure group. Of the forty-nine offenders receiving "excellent records," forty-seven were in the successful group and only two in the borderline group. There is thus a clear relationship between the employment evaluation while on probation and parole and the outcome of the case. This was one of the most consistent and strongest correlations of any factor examined.

Table 104.--Employment record during supervision according to success trichotomy

Employment Record	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No employment	2	0.9	1	3.8	2	4.9
Excellent record, promotions	10	4.7			2	4.9
Excellent record	47	21.9	2	7.7		
Good record	38	17.7	1	3.8		
Fair record, some problems	27	12.6	6	23.1	4	9.8
Poor record, absenteeism	19	8.8	2	7.7		
Poor record, much absenteeism, etc.	10	4.7	3	11.5	5	12.2
Part-time only (school)	3	1.4				
No record-valid reasons	4	1.9				
Very poor, worked only sporadically	55	25.6	11	42.3	28	68.3

The change in income shows that group A improved more than group B. There were four times as many offenders in group A in the \$10,500 and up category as in group B. While the \$9,000 to \$10,500 category was 2.5% of A and 2.2% of B, the \$7,001 to \$9,000 category was 13% and 2.2% respectively. On the lower levels, though, the \$2,501 to \$4,000 category was 11.3% to 14% respectively. Group C, compared to group D, found the same increases, only more so. The \$7,001 to \$9,000 category was 11.9% of C compared to only 1.5% of D. The \$10,500 and up category was 2.4% of C compared to 6.1% of D, contradicting the trend here. Thus the relationship here was not nearly as significant; C's improvement was only slightly better, as a whole, than D.

Table 105.--Income during supervision according to research group

Income while on Probation, Parole	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
0-(valid reasons, housewife, school)	1	1.3	5	5.4	0	0	2	3.0
1-500	28	37.0	44	47.3	13	31.0	19	28.8
501-1000	4	5.0	3	3.2	1	2.4	2	4.6
1001-2500	3	3.8	7	7.5	6	14.3	11	16.7
2501-4000	9	11.3	13	14.0	9	21.4	13	19.7
4001-5500	11	13.8	7	7.5	2	4.8	6	9.1
5501-7000	8	10.0	9	9.6	4	9.5	5	7.6
7001-9000	10	13.0	2	2.2	5	11.9	1	1.5
9001-10,500	2	2.5	2	2.2	1	2.4	2	3.0
10,500-and up	4	5.0	1	1.1	1	2.4	4	6.1

Income within the success trichotomy showed that of the ten individuals that were making \$10,501 and up, seven were in the successful group, one in the borderline, and two in



the failure group. Of the seven individuals making \$9,001 to \$10,500, six were in the successful group, and all eighteen making \$7,001 to \$9,000 were in the successful group, as were all of the twenty-six offenders making \$5,501 to \$7,000 per year. Twenty-three of the twenty-six offenders in the \$4,001 to \$5,500 group were in the successful group, two in the borderline group and only one in the failure group. The majority (55.9%) of offenders in the failure group made only from \$100 to \$500 and 9.8% made from \$501 to \$1,000. As with employment, income is probably one of the clearest relationships between success and failure. The successful group is clearly superior even though there are a number of offenders in the low income category. Income from \$100 to \$500 equaled 28.4% of the successful group in contrast to 61.5% of the borderline group and 65.9% of the failure group.

Table 106.--Income during supervision according to success trichotomy

Income while on Probation, parole 0- (valid reasons, house- wife, school)	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-500	61	28.4	16	61.5	27	65.9
501-1000	6	2.8	2	7.7	4	9.8
1001-2500	22	10.2	2	7.7	3	7.3
2501-4000	40	18.6	2	7.7	2	4.9
4001-5500	23	10.7	2	7.7	1	2.4
5501-7000	26	12.1				
7001-9000	18	8.4				
9001-10,500	6	2.8	1	3.8		
10,501-and up	7	3.3	1	3.8	2	4.9

Comparing the change in education, we find in group A

seventeen offenders started some type of educational program compared to fourteen in group B, eleven in group D and fifteen in group C. Although the majority of all groups showed no change (78.8% of A, compared to 85.0% of group B, and 64.3% of group C compared to 83.3% of group D) the majority of offenders in training programs rated as doing excellent were from groups A and C. There are three offenders from group A in college and one in group C compared to none in both groups B and D. Rated as doing excellent in a training program were two offenders in group D, two in group C and only one in group B. Thus while there was not a drastic difference, the main difference was in the number of offenders doing exceptionally well in college, showing the project was clearly superior. Five offenders from group A started college compared to four in group C and zero in groups B or D. Three offenders in group A completed the GED compared to two in group B and zero in groups C and D. Six offenders in group A started some training with adequate effort compared to five in group C, and four each in groups B and D. On the other hand, seven offenders in group B started training and put forth little effort as did four in group D compared to only two in group C and three in group A. Thus more project offenders started training and the project cases evidently did better than the control groups once they were in a training program.

Table 107.--Change in education during supervision according to research group

Change in education	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
No change	63	78.7	79	85.0	27	64.3	55	83.3
Started training, little effort	3	3.8	7	7.5	2	4.8	4	6.1
Started training	6	7.5	4	4.3	5	11.9	4	6.1
Completed GED	3	3.8	2	2.2	0	0	0	0
Started college, doing fair	2	2.5	0	0	3	7.1	0	0
Training program, excellent	0	0	1	1.1	2	4.8	2	3.0
In college, doing exceptional	3	3.8	0	0	1	2.4	0	0
Completed training program, excellent	0	0	0	0	2	4.8	1	1.5

Results are most outstanding in the dichotomy for change in education. Of the sixteen who started training, even though they put forth little effort, thirteen were in the successful group, one in the borderline, and two in the failure. Of the nineteen who started training and were doing fairly well, fourteen were in the successful group, two in the borderline and three in the failure group. Of the five who completed the GED, four were in the successful group and the other offender was in the borderline group. All five who were in the training program and doing excellent were in the successful group. Of those who started college, four were in the successful group and only one was in the borderline group. All of those who completed a training program (three offenders) or who are in college doing an excellent job (four offenders) were in the successful group except one offender. Clearly there is a relationship here between success and additional training. Only five of the failures involved themselves in training programs (12.2%) compared to six of the borderline

(23.1%) compared to forty-seven (21.6%) of the successful group.

Table 108.--Change in education during supervision according to success trichotomy

Change in education	Successful		Broderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	171	78.4	20	76.9	36	87.8
Started training, little effect	13	6.0	1	3.8	2	4.9
Started training	14	6.5	2	7.7	3	7.3
Completed GED	4	1.9	1	3.8		
Started college, doing fair	4	1.9	1	3.8		
Training program, excellent	5	2.3				
In college, doing exceptional	4	1.9				
Completed training program, excellent	2	0.9	1	3.8		

Drug use breakdown showed that 53.8% of A did not have any drug problems compared to 64.5% of B, according to the information gathered. The prison group, D, had a higher level of difficulties (56.1% compared to C's 47.6% did not list any). The majority of drug use was interpersonal and was considered somewhat minor (primarily marijuana or drugs purchased from a drug store). Minor use amounted to 11.3% of A compared to 16.1% of B, 14.3% of C and 9.1% of D. Major interpersonal use was approximately the same for groups A and B, around 8%. For group C it was higher (19.1%) compared to D's 16.7%. Eighteen offenders in group A were arrested for drug difficulties compared to nine in group B and six each in groups C and D. Thus the arrests were much higher

for the project groups compared to the control groups. The arrests in group A were almost two and one-half times as high as group B and group B was almost twice as high as group D. Three offenders in group A had major arrests compared to two offenders in group B, two in group C and three in group D, showing little difference. Both experimental groups compared to both control groups were about equal, as a whole, as to drug use. There were only three offenders violated for drug use (all cases were serious heroin use and sale) and all three were in group D.

Table 109.--Reported drug use during supervision according to research group

Drug use	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	43	53.8	60	64.5	20	47.6	37	56.1
Interpersonal use, minor	9	11.3	15	16.1	6	14.3	6	9.1
Interpersonal use, major	7	8.8	7	7.5	8	19.1	12	16.7
Legal (arrests)	18	22.5	9	9.7	6	14.3	6	9.1
Legal, major arrests	3	3.8	2	2.1	2	4.8	3	4.6
Greater use - violated	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4.6

Drug use when broken down according to the success trichotomy found that interpersonal use was higher for the successful groups but major interpersonal use and arrests were mostly in the failure group. Of the successful group 13.5% was listed as having interpersonal use compared to 19.2% of the borderline group and 4.9% of the failure group. In contrast, major interpersonal use was found among 8.8% of the successful group compared to 15.4% of the borderline group and 24.4% of the failure group. Of the successful group 11.2% were arrested for drug use compared to 19.2% of

the borderline group and 26.8% of the failure group. Of those offenders who had no use, 65.6% were successful compared to 34.1% rated borderline and 24.4% failure. Thus the successful group either had no use or minor use (only approximately 20% had any use that would be considered a problem compared to almost 70% of the borderline group and 70% of the failure group). Drug use, according to this evaluation, is dependent upon the P.O.'s knowledge and is clearly correlated with success on probation or parole.

Table 110.--Reported drug use during supervision according to success trichotomy

Drug use	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	140	65.1	10	38.5	10	24.4
Interpersonal use, minor	29	13.5	5	19.2	2	4.9
Interpersonal use, major	19	8.8	4	15.4	10	24.4
Legal (arrests)	24	11.2	5	19.2	14	34.1
No change in use	3	1.4	2	7.7	5	12.2

Alcohol use difficulties also found a higher percent of the control group having no difficulties, 73.5% of B compared to 42.5% of A and 62.1% of D compared to 47.6% of C. Minor use again was lower among both B and D, 15.1% of B compared to 32.6% of A and 15.2% of D compared to 33.3% of C. Major use was still lower among both B and D, 5.4% compared to 10.0% and 9.1% compared to 9.5% respectively. The number of arrests showed a slight change in C compared to D; 12.1% of group D was arrested compared to 9.5% of C. Group B had only 4.4% compared to A's high of 15.0% arrested

for alcohol use.

Table 111.--Reported alcohol use during supervision according to research group

Alcohol use	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	34	42.5	70	75.3	20	47.6	41	62.1
Interpersonal use, minor	26	32.6	14	15.1	14	33.1	10	15.2
Interpersonal use, major	8	10.0	5	5.4	4	9.5	6	9.1
Legal (arrests)	12	15.0	4	4.4	4	9.5	9	13.6

The success trichotomy showed that there was not a large difference between the successful group and the failure group in terms of alcohol usage. Of the successful group 61.0% were reported not to use alcohol compared to 63.4% of the failure group but only 38.5% of the borderline group. On the other hand, minor usage was found among 24.7% of the successful group and 23.1% of the borderline group, but unexpectedly only 9.8% of the failure group. On the other hand, major interpersonal use was found among only 6.0% of the successful group but 15.4% of the borderline group and 14.6% of the failure group. Alcohol arrests were 7.4% of the successful group, 19.2% of the borderline group and, the lowest figure of all, 7.3% of the failure group, producing a conflicting trend. Major arrests were .9% of the failure group. There was only one case violated for greater use, which, by definition, was in the failure group.

Table 112.--Reported alcohol use during supervision according to success trichotomy

Alcohol use	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	131	61.0	10	38.5	26	63.4
Interpersonal use, minor	53	24.7	6	23.1	4	9.8
Interpersonal use, major	13	6.0	4	15.4	6	14.6
Legal (arrests)	16	7.4	5	19.2	3	7.3
Legal, major arrests	2	0.9	1	3.8	2	4.8
Greater use - violated					1	2.4

Emotional adjustment showed the greatest improvement among A and C. Rated as having "great improvement" were 20% of group A and 14.3% of group C compared to only 7.5% of the B control group and 4.6% of the D control group. On the other hand, only 3.8% of the project group (A) compared to 11.8% of the control group (B) showed "some improvement" in contrast to 14.3% of group C showing "some improvement" and 12.1% of group D. Group A showed the highest percent of "no change," 36.3% compared to 21.5% for group B and 35.7% for group C compared to 21.2% for group D. The lower percentage showing no change among groups B and D is accounted for by the regression ratings. Of group A 28.7% showed some regression compared to 33.3% of group B and 28.6% of group C compared to 42.4% for the control group, group D, almost half. Only 10% of group A was rated as having great regression, compared to 17.2% of group B. One of the strongest contrasts was between groups C and D for the great regression rating, 4.8% compared to 16.7%. Thus, according to these rating scales, the emotional adjustment of A and C is clearly



superior compared to the control group, B or D. The difference is more pronounced between C and D than between A and B.

Table 113.--Rated emotional adjustment according to research group

Emotional adjustment	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Great improvement	16	20.0	7	7.5	6	14.3	3	4.6
Some improvement	3	3.8	11	11.8	6	14.3	8	12.1
No change	29	36.3	20	21.5	15	35.7	14	21.2
Some regression	23	28.7	37	33.3	12	28.6	28	42.4
Great regression	8	10.0	16	17.2	2	4.8	11	16.7
	$\bar{X}=3.9$		$\bar{X}=5.0$		$\bar{X}=3.8$		$\bar{X}=5.0$	

Examining emotional adjustment according to the success trichotomy found that 13.0% of the successful group compared to 15.4% of the borderline cases were rated as having "great improvement." Of the successful group 12.1% was rated "moderate improvement" compared to 7.7% of the borderline group. Of the successful group 32.6% were rated as having some improvement compared to 15.4% of the borderline group and not unsurprisingly 7.3% of the failure group. Of the successful group 32.1% were rated "no change" compared to 38.5% of the borderline group and 39% of the failure group. On the other hand, only 7.0% of the successful group were rated as experiencing "some regression" compared to 19.2% of the borderline group and, as expected, 41.5% of the failure group. Only 2.8% of the successful group were rated having great regression compared to 3.8% of the borderline group and a high of 12.2% for the failure group. Clearly professional evaluation of emotional adjustment is greatly related to success on

probation or parole.

Table 114.--Rated emotional adjustment according to success trichotomy

Emotional adjustment	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unknown	1	0.5				
Great improvement	28	13.0	4	15.4		
Moderate improvement	26	12.1	2	7.7		
Some improvement	70	32.6	4	15.4	3	7.3
No change	69	32.1	10	38.5	16	39.0
Some regression	15	7.0	5	19.2	17	41.5
Great regression	6	2.8	1	3.8	5	12.2

Breaking down predominant living arrangement according to research group showed the groups to be very similar, the most contrast being between C and D. The majority of offenders lived with either their conjugal family or parental family. A much lower percentage of D was married as compared to C. thus only 15.2% of D lived with their family compared to 26.2% of group C. Figures for A and B were 23.7% compared to 25.0% respectively. Of group A 15% lived common law compared to 6.5% of B and 4.8% of C and 6.1% of D. The much

Table 115.--Offender's predominant living arrangement according to research group

Predominant living arrangement	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Alone	5	6.3	6	6.5	4	9.5	5	7.6
With parental family	31	38.8	38	49.9	18	42.9	29	43.9
With conjugal family	20	25.0	22	23.7	11	26.2	10	15.2
Common law	12	15.0	6	6.5	2	4.8	4	6.1
Relatives, grandparents	3	3.8	5	5.4	0	0	9	13.9
Friends	4	5.0	9	9.7	3	7.1	5	7.6
Both parents & conjugal family	1	1.3	1	1.1	3	8.1	1	1.5
Automobile, street, park, etc.	4	5.0	6	6.5	1	2.4	3	4.6
	$\bar{X}$ =3.0		$\bar{X}$ =3.0		$\bar{X}$ =2.3		$\bar{X}$ =3.0	

higher percentage of A could be because of more awareness of the offender's living patterns, but the very low percentage of C does not agree with this possibility.

The living arrangement according to the success trichotomy found that almost 50% of all three categories lived with their parents. A significant difference was in the successful group where 27.0% lived with their conjugal family compared to 7.7% for the borderline and 7.3% for the failure groups. The percent living alone is about the same for all three groups--from 7.0% to 7.7%. Thus the main difference is in the successful group in which almost four times as many offenders were married.

Table 116.--Offender's predominant living arrangement according to success trichotomy

Predominant living arrangement	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alone	15	7.0	2	7.7	3	7.3
With parental family	86	40.0	13	50.0	18	43.9
With conjugal family	58	27.0	2	7.7	3	7.3
Common law	14	6.5	5	19.2	5	12.2
Grandparents	1	0.5			1	2.4
Relatives	14	6.5			1	2.4
Friends	14	6.5	1	3.8	6	14.7
Both parents and conjugal family	4	1.9	2	7.7		
Automobile, street, park, etc.	9	4.2	1	3.8	4	9.8

Participation and treatment evaluation found that 45.5% of D failed to follow through compared to only 21.4% of the

experimental group C. Of group B 34.4% failed to follow through compared to only 26.3% of group A. The percent failing some conditions was approximately the same for all groups, except D, 10% for group A, 10.8% for B, 11.9% for C, and 18.2% for D, or almost twice the average for the three groups. A "followed through reasonably well" evaluation was similar for groups A through C, all around 45%, and group D was almost half, or 27.3%. The rating "followed through quite well" was, in percent, given for less than 10% for all groups. The number which "enthusiastically participated" was 12.5% for A compared to 7.5% for B and 11.9% for C compared to 3.0% for D.

Table 117.--Offender participation in treatment according to research group

Participation in treatment	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Failed to follow through	21	26.3	32	34.4	9	21.4	30	45.5
Failed some conditions	8	10.0	10	10.8	5	11.9	12	18.2
Followed through reasonably well	37	46.3	42	45.2	18	42.9	18	27.3
Followed through quite well	4	5.0	2	2.2	4	9.5	4	6.1
Enthusiastically participated	10	12.5	7	7.5	5	11.9	2	3.0

The percent that were rated as having a "very successful" outcome was 11.3% of A compared to 12.9% of B. On the other hand, C and D were also similar, 4.8% and 4.6% respectively. Moderately successful ratings amounted to about half of groups A, B, and C, but only 25.8% of D. Group C was 57.1% compared to B's 43.0% and A's 47.5%. About a quarter of each group was rated as having no improvement, A at 23% compared to B

at 22.6% and C at 26.2% compared to D at 28.8%. The percentage that lost ground was slightly lower in A compared to B, 15.0% compared to 17.2%. The difference here was dramatic between C and D, 7.1% compared to 28.8%. Ratings of tremendous regression were found in only 3.8% of group A and 4.3% of group B but 2.4% of C compared to 10.6% of the control group D. Thus again the extreme contrast is between C and D although group A is generally rated superior compared to group B.

Table 118.--Rated treatment outcome according to research group

Treatment outcome	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Very successful	9	11.3	12	12.9	2	4.8	3	4.6
Moderately successful	38	47.5	40	43.0	24	57.1	17	25.8
No improvement	18	23.0	21	22.6	11	26.2	19	28.8
Lost ground	12	15.0	16	17.2	3	7.1	19	28.8
Tremendous regression	3	3.8	4	4.3	1	2.4	7	10.6
	$\bar{X}=7.0$		$\bar{X}=7.0$		$\bar{X}=6.4$		$\bar{X}=7.1$	

Treatment evaluations according to the success trichotomy found that 22.3% of the successful group failed to follow through compared to 46.2% of the borderline group and 80.5% of the failure group. The pattern is the same for "failed some conditions," 12.6% 11.5% and 12.2% respectively. The "followed through reasonably well" category was given in 49.8% of the successful cases compared to 19.2% of the borderline cases and only 7.3% of the failure cases. The "followed through quite well" evaluation was given in 5.6% of the successful cases compared to 7.7% of the borderline cases and none of the failure cases. Thus offenders who did not

involve themselves in a treatment program were much more likely to be violated for a new offense. "Enthusiastically participated" was found in 9.3% of the successful cases compared to a high of 11.5% of the borderline cases.

Table 119.--Offender participation in treatment according to success trichotomy

Participation in treatment	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Failed to follow through	48	22.3	12	46.2	33	80.5
Failed some conditions	27	12.6	3	11.5	5	12.2
Followed through reasonably well	107	49.8	5	19.2	3	7.3
Followed through quite well	12	5.6	2	7.7		
Enthusiastically participated	20	9.3	3	11.5		

Evaluation as "very successful" was given to only 11.5% of the successful cases, 3.8% of the borderline and none of the failure cases. A "mildly successful" rating was given to 50.9% of the successful cases, and 26.9% of the borderline cases compared to only 4.9% of the failure cases. No improvement was seen in 24.8% of the successful cases compared to 30.8% of the borderline cases and 12.2% of the failure cases. The low percentage was seen in the failure cases because most of this category was rated as "lost ground" (56.1%). The "lost ground" evaluation was given to only 11.0% of the successful cases and 19.2% of the borderline cases. Tremendous regression was found in only one successful case and three borderline cases but 26.8% of the failure cases.

Table 120.--Offender treatment outcome according to success trichotomy

Treatment outcome	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very successful	25	11.5	1	3.8		
Moderately successful	111	50.9	7	26.9	2	4.9
No improvement	54	24.8	8	30.8	5	12.2
Lost ground	24	11.0	5	19.2	23	56.1
Tremendous regression	1	0.5	4	15.4	11	26.8

The breakdown of the main improvement shows that work was rated as most significant in 17% of A cases, 21.5% of B, 14.3% of C, and 27.3% of D cases. Reduction of the use of drugs was seen as the most significant improvement, 8.9% of A compared to 6.5% of B and a high 23.8% of C compared to 0% of D. Emotional maturity was similar in A and B, 12.7% compared to 11.8% but D was less than half of C, 14.3% compared to 6.5%.

Table 121.--Other improvement areas according to research group

Other improvement areas	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	37	46.8	50	53.8	14	33.3	43	65.2
Work	14	17.7	20	21.5	6	14.3	18	27.3
Alcohol	4	5.1	1	1.1	2	4.8	1	1.5
Drugs	7	8.9	6	6.5	10	23.8	0	0
Emotional maturity	10	12.7	11	11.8	6	14.3	4	6.5
Living conditions	1	1.3	0	0	1	2.4	0	0
Educational	5	6.3	2	2.2	1	2.4	0	0
Attitude	0	0	1	1.1	1	2.4	0	0
Went into service	1	1.3	2	2.2	1	2.4	0	0
	$\bar{X}=1.8$		$\bar{X}=1.5$		$\bar{X}=2.3$		$\bar{X}=1.0$	

Work was the main improvement according to the success trichotomy for all groups. Of the failure group 90.2% had no improvement in any area compared to only about 50% of

the success and borderline groups. Of the failure group 4.9% had improvement in the area of drugs and 2.4% in emotional maturity. On the other hand, of the borderline cases, 19.2% showed work improvement compared to 24.2% for the successful group. Drug and alcohol improvement was close for both the successful and borderline groups. The highest improvement in the successful group was work and next highest was emotional maturity, 12.6%.

Table 122.--Other improvement areas according to success trichotomy

Other improvement areas	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	97	45.1	12	46.2	37	90.2
Work	52	24.2	5	19.2	1	2.4
Alcohol	7	3.8	1	3.8		
Drugs	17	7.9	4	15.4	2	4.9
Relating to others	1	0.5				
Emotional maturity	27	12.6	2	7.7	1	2.4
Living conditions	2	0.9				
Educational	7	3.3	1	3.8		
Attitude	2	0.9				
Went into service	3	1.4	1	3.8		

The counseling that the P.O. gave the offender was considered intensive in 45.6% of group A compared to only 16.1% of B and 31% of C compared to 7.5% of D. Intermediate counseling was seen in 36.7% of A compared to 33.7% of B, both remarkably similar. This similarity was also found in the prison group, 45.2% of C compared to 55.2% of D.



Table 123.--Counseling level received according to research group

Counseling	A		B		C		D	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	2	2.5	20	21.5	2	4.8	0	0
Counseling minimum	12	15.2	20	21.5	8	19.0	15	22.4
Counseling intermediate	29	36.7	36	33.7	19	45.2	37	55.2
Counseling intensive	36	45.6	15	16.1	13	31.0	5	7.5

Counseling, according to the success trichotomy, found that of the successful group 21.4% received intensive counseling compared to only 13.6% of the borderline group but a very high 34.6% of the failure group. Of the borderline group 11.9% did not receive counseling compared to 8.8% of the successful group and 7.3% of the failure group, thus all groups were very close. There tended to be several conflicting trends as well as several large contrasts as 47.4% of the successful group received intermediate counseling compared to 30.8% of the borderline group and a fairly high 29.3% of the failure group. The relationship between amount of counseling and success was not clear.

Table 124.--Counseling level received according to success trichotomy

Counseling	Successful		Borderline		Failure	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	19	8.8	3	11.8	3	7.3
Minimum	44	20.5	6	23.1	5	12.2
Intermediate	102	47.4	8	30.8	12	29.3
Intensive	46	21.4	9	34.6	14	34.1

## CHAPTER VIII

### DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

The most obvious factor in the failure rate is the similarity between groups A, B and C (all of whom received probation) in contrast to the institutionalized group. Group D had a failure rate three times higher than the next highest group, group B, or the probation control group. The failure rate for Group D was 3.86 times the failure rate for the prison control group, group C. Thus offenders randomly diverted into prison had a failure rate almost four times as high as offenders randomly diverted into probation. On the other hand, the failure rate of group B was only 1.30 times that of the project probation group, group A. Offenders receiving probation had a similar failure rate regardless of the type of probation they received, but similar offenders after a prison experience had a much higher failure rate. The factor that must influence the failure rate seems to be the prison experience.

Of all cases that failed 43.9% were from the prison control group, group D, compared to only 7.3% from the group randomly diverted from prison into probation, clearly demonstrating the success of group C.

Comparing the probation group and its control group we find that 19.5% of the failure group was cases from group A compared to 29.3% from group B. Clearly both experimental

groups were more successful than their respective control groups, although offenders randomly diverted from regular probation into the project were less successful than group C offenders. On the other hand, the borderline group had about the same percent of both the experimental and control groups although in both cases the control groups were slightly higher. It is difficult to compare the borderline group with either the failure or successful group because the total number of cases in the borderline group was very low. The larger number of arrests for groups A and B reduces the difference between the probation (A and B) and prison (C and D) groups.

When the borderline and failure groups were combined, group A had a total of fifteen cases compared to group B's twenty, showing that group A was superior according to this comparison. Group C's failure and borderline total was six offenders or 14% compared to the control group's twenty-two cases or 33%. The actual number of cases failing some aspects of parole in group D was not significantly higher than the other groups, especially group B, but the total number of cases was significantly less in group D. Thus percentagewise the differences were significant at the .01 level. It is more difficult to explain why those randomly diverted into the project from prison had the lowest rate (7%) of failure compared to all four groups. Group C, supposedly the most serious probation group and most likely to have gone to prison, compared to groups A and B, evidently had the least

number of problems. Some of the staff hypothesized that because this group normally receives a prison sentence, its expectation was to go to prison. The reality that they were fortunate in not receiving a prison term affected them in such a way that they cooperated more with the project program and thus were able to benefit from it to a greater degree than other offenders. It is also possible that many of these had not previously been to prison and escaping it this time when the threat value of prison is still very high will highly motivate them to do what they can to avoid a prison experience.

Both the probation and prison experimental groups had fewer offenders than their respective control groups. There were fourteen more cases in group B and twenty-five more cases in group D. The number of offenders that were possibly incorrectly assigned would be about half this, as misplacement tended to be into the control group in most cases, and each case that should have been assigned to the project group would lower the control group by one and add one to the experimental group. For both project groups (A and C) there were several cases where offenders had cases pending for an offense they committed before assignment to the project and were convicted soon after referral. These cases were not counted as "a failure," but do reduce the number of cases in the project, especially group C. For offenders randomly diverted into prison a previous charge is usually dropped and thus usually does not affect the current adjudication. Even

if the other charges are not dropped, if the offender is convicted, he usually serves both sentences concurrently. The greatest difference between the project and control groups is for new offenses. The probation control group was twice as high as the probation experimental group and the prison control group was sixteen times as high as the prison experimental group. While the prison experimental group had a fairly low number of offenders and chance could have affected the number convicted of new sentences (a follow-up study will probably lessen this difference), the difference is still great.

The rule violation rate was clearly similar for all groups but is slightly higher percentagewise in groups A and C, emphasizing that the project staff did not hesitate to violate an offender if he did not fulfill certain expected probation requirements.

Examination of court appearance according to the case found six offenders in group B were continued on probation even though they committed a new offense compared to only one offender in group A. Groups C and D are more comparable, two and one offenders respectively. On the other hand, five offenders in group A received a suspended sentence compared to only three offenders in group B. C and D were identical in receiving a suspended sentence, fine or restitution, both five offenders each. On the other hand, the project P.O.s used a jail sentence for the probation group A five times

compared to only three times for B and once for C compared to twice for D. A new probation sentence was used in an identical number of cases for A and B (four), and C and D (one). Violations where the offender was returned to prison were adjudicated twice for each category except A which was only slightly different (three cases). As discussed above, institutionalization to Jackson State Prison for a new sentence was twice as high for B as A (ten cases in B compared to five cases in A), and the prison group, group D, had sixteen times the rate of new major sentences as group C, one case for C and sixteen for D. Thus, while several offenders in the project groups A and C were violated because of not fulfilling probation or parole requirements, a far greater number of the control group went to prison because of a new sentence.

Interestingly, the rates of success for groups A, B and C were all around 74%, ranging from 72.5% for group A to 76.2% for group C, the most exceptional group of the four. Group D by far had the lowest rate of success, 60.5% were successful. The rate of failure (23.2%), on the other hand, was even more pronounced when compared to the experimental group C which had the lowest rate of failure (7.0%). (Group B had a 15.0% rate of failure compared to 10.1% for A.) Comparison of prison sentences shows group A again to be superior. There were fewer new sentences in group A and they were of much shorter duration. The new sentences for group C cases were also quite minor compared to several long sentences

given to cases in group D. The worst failure of all cases studied, a conviction for armed robbery, was in the B group. This offender received a prison sentence of from ten to forty years.

A problem in comparing some groups, as noted above, was the low number of offenders in a few groups. The distribution in the successful group was generally more normal, not because there was any real difference but because there was a larger number of offenders, thus producing a more normal curve. This can be seen in Table 66 on page 392 where the successful group shows a more normal curve compared to the failure group, the failure group having a very narrow standard deviation compared to the successful group, partially because of the small number of cases.

Comparing group C, or those offenders randomly diverted from prison into probation, with group D, those offenders going to prison, finds not only a much higher new offense rate for group D, but, excluding not paying court costs (which D cases were not assessed and thus could not be violated for), the number of rule violations was much higher. Excluding court costs, of group B approximately 67.6% had at least one violation compared to only 16.7% of group C. Again, excluding court costs, about 44% of group B had violations compared to 33% of group A. Group D not only had more offenders with one or more violations, but a much higher total number of violations. The number of second violations for D was up

to ten times higher than for any other category.

Most of the new offenses were rather minor. Only five people committed what is termed a very serious offense, which in all cases was armed robbery. Of the total project population (groups A and C), only one offender was convicted of Armed Robbery compared to four in the control group, three from group B and one from group D. The project evidently reduced not only the number of new offenses but the seriousness of the new offenses. When we examine other categories that could be considered "serious offenses" we see this same pattern. Unarmed robbery was committed by two offenders in group D and no offenders in the other groups. Attempted armed robbery was committed by one offender each in groups B and D, and no offenders in the project. Of the four assault cases committed, three were in group B and only one was in the project, and this was in group A. Thus most new "serious" offenses that were committed were control group cases. The total number of charges for group A was one charge higher than group B, but, as discussed above, they were considerably less serious. Group C had six charges compared to group D's thirty-two, or over five times higher. This information is strong evidence that the fear to release second felony offenders in the community is largely unfounded. The real threat is primarily against property, not against persons as is often dramatized.

A problem in evaluation is just when to cut off the follow-



up period and put a case in the success or failure column. Is it the day the case is officially "closed," or after the client has been off supervision for one, two, three, or four years? One study showed that a fourteen month report revealed a 51% success rate but the twenty-six month report showed a 42% success rate and the final three year follow-up showed just a 35% success rate. Although this study rated a case a failure on conviction of minor offenses, it can be seen that the longer the follow-up study the greater the chances of the offender either getting caught in a continued pattern of criminal conduct, or being reimmersed into a criminal subculture and subsequently getting caught. Success must be evaluated within the limits of present techniques, and some cutoff point must be established. Thus, for the present study an important question that must be considered is: Was the follow-up period long enough? Some offenders are put on probation for twelve months but the majority for twenty-four and some for thirty-six months, so it is not difficult to do a twenty-four month follow-up study on the majority of probationers. But offenders receiving parole usually are put on parole only for the duration of their original sentence which could vary anywhere from two months to five years and possibly more. But the majority of offenders that were eligible for the project had relatively short sentences, resulting in parole durations of an average of about six months. The follow-up study for the present CTP was made after the offender

was in the community for at least eighteen months or when he was discharged from probation or parole, which ever came first. After discharge most follow-up information cannot be gathered, limiting a follow-up study. The average number of months the follow-up study continued to audit the offenders was in the majority of cases well over eighteen months and only a few cases (usually from group D) was under eighteen months. There were a few cases where an offender received a twelve month probation sentence and was discharged, limiting the follow-up for some A and B cases, but as a whole probation cases were followed-up for a much longer period of time (especially group C) than the cases that were paroled, which would include all cases in group D.

In examining the date of new arrests we find the majority were arrested within one month after being released to the community and the vast majority within ten months. The three month period from seventeen to twenty months after the offender was released to the community saw only four arrests. A longer follow-up study may reveal some changes in the results but the changes would not seem to be drastic, especially considering the majority of offenders are discharged from supervision after twenty-four months and could not be followed-up after this under the present system. Of these four arrests only one resulted in a conviction which resulted in the offender violating parole. Of the arrests which resulted in the offender returning to prison, only 14.6% occurred from

between the ninth and twentieth month. Thus the majority of arrests which resulted in the offender failing probation or parole occurred within the first nine months, the largest number within the first month.

A review of most of the subcategories reveals that they are fairly broad in scope. When delineations are more specific they require data that is just not available. The results thus do not imply an accuracy that is not there. For example it is very difficult to obtain an accurate assessment of income due to a tendency to exaggerate, or in some cases, a tendency to minimize the annual income, depending upon the offender's objective. Thus by using broad bands, especially among the lower categories, a fairly good ranking of the income can be made, not implying an accuracy that the records are unable to produce. Checking pay stubs or the tax statements would be an adequate way of assessing the income, but most offenders have many jobs of short duration and generally do not concern themselves with tax forms as a middle class person might. Thus tax forms are often not saved. It may take a year or so of the officer saving the offender's pay check stubs to accurately code a year's income which may or may not be representative of the general income the offender has subsisted on for the last several years. Ideally, consulting tax offices for this information should suffice for research purposes, but this would present an additional problem in that generally tax offices are unwilling to cooperate

and legally may be unable to reveal any information, even for government correctional research.

The majority of the data on the offenders was collected by the probation or parole officer and in many cases could not be verified, and thus his reports must be relied upon. This researcher has spent a great deal of time endeavoring to insure consistency in the codesheets, as well as accuracy in their being filled out, but was limited to mostly secondary sources. It is difficult for this author to determine exactly what level of accuracy could be expected for a project of this type, as there are no comparisons of accuracy for similar projects with similar types of situations and contingencies.

A factor impeding filling out the codesheets is that, generally, the lives of these offenders are extremely unstable, and there are many contingencies which make it difficult to fill out the codesheet consistently. Employment, for example, is sporadic and much is "informal," without any record kept for tax purposes. There were several offenders who were collecting unemployment and working on and off informally, and other offenders working full time and yet collecting welfare either directly through their own name or indirectly by living off a girlfriend or others who are in the family.

The differentiation between the exclusion group and the four categories researched is clear only for the more serious offenses. There were numerous less serious offenses among the exclusion category and several serious offenses were not

part of the exclusionary category, indicating that the exclusionary guidelines were not strictly followed. Carrying a weapon, theoretically a strong indicator of exclusionary status, was over twice as high for group A as group E. As a whole more borderline cases received probation and there were few "hard core" prison cases in the project.

Other indications that the referral procedure was not strictly adhered to was the large percentage of blacks which ended up in groups D and E (both groups went to prison), compared to the prison experimental group, group C.

Unfortunately, there was no strict criteria available to delineate whether an offender was placed in the probation or prison pool. A determination of correctness of placement was made after the study was completed, primarily by examining the profile of the offenders in the various categories. The most important factor, the offense charged, was evaluated to determine whether the probation or prison groups are comparable. It is clear that groups A, B, C and D are very similar in contrast to group E in the incidence of very serious crimes (first degree murder, armed robbery). According to the offense as charged breakdown, group C was the least serious as only 7.1% of group C was charged with armed robbery compared to around 10% for all other categories except E, which was 14.3%. Group C was made up of a disproportionately high number of original B&E charges. Examination of the groups according to the offense adjudicated again found few clear differences

except that group E tended to have more serious adjudications (three cases of second degree murder, five cases of manslaughter, and six cases of armed robbery). Thus the groups, at least according to the original charge and the adjudicated charge, show no clear differences indicating that group placement was not primarily a result of the randomization rule.

The population of all four groups was similar to all the other offender populations, the majority male, low educational, economic and occupational and socio-economic level, having a fairly long record and coming predominately from the lower socio-economic status classes, with few striking differences between groups, except group E.

One of the project's main goals was to improve the socio-economic status of the offenders. In looking at the cities which have the highest number of offenders, Detroit and Pontiac, we find that Pontiac has a higher socio-economic status and thus had a higher rate of success compared to the average success rate in Detroit. Results clearly show that the successful group were older, had more children, made more money, had a higher socio-economic status, higher educational level, more stable family life, and were living with their conjugal family or parents.

One of the main areas the project attacked was job skills and the results clearly showed that both employment level, employment record and income were related to success. A problem especially with income was that most offenders that

were successful had a low income because many did not work full-time because of their involvement in job training programs or school, not because they did not want to work.

Emotional adjustment was clearly found to be related to success on probation and parole even though it is likely that the perceived outcome of the offender probably influenced the probation officer's judgement in spite of precautions to insure that this was an independent rating given apart from any violations or specific legal difficulties the offender was involved with. The indications are that this was somewhat independent of new offenses in that of the successful cases six were rated as having emotional regression, and fifteen as having some regression, a total of 9.8% of the total successful group.

There was not a tremendous amount of difference in the services rendered between any groups. The project people could spend hours in employment counseling, seeking to help the offender find a job and even setting up interviews, etc. with him, but, in contrast, the probation officer in the regular probation department may simply suggest several work alternatives; yet both are rated as "employment counseling rendered by the P.O."

The breakdown of supervision services according to the successful trichotomy shows several clear trends, but in this comparison it must be remembered that these were services that were "rendered," but often not with complete or even partial

success. To understand the significance of a particular contribution an examination of the reception of that contribution should be made. Again, a major problem here was that there were so few offenders in most service categories that it was difficult to see any trends.

The temptation was strong to use other highly innovative approaches and special purpose programs, but the temptation was resisted in order to focus attention upon the five areas delineated above. This should not be taken as an attitude discouraging America's typical love of gadgetry and the fact that programs intelligently conceived and administered can serve both research and experimental purposes, leading to progress toward new, innovative techniques.

When comparing community treatment projects to institutionalization, an important control group which has not been utilized in any past project, including the present study, is to randomly assign offenders to either the project, institutionalization, regular probation, or no probation (and possibly delayed sentence) to determine the effects of maturation or other factors due to time. Possibly increased sophistication in the world of crime results in the offender being able to avoid being caught. Much crime is a result of youth and immaturity, and decreases as the offender grows older and becomes involved in the world of work, family, or other activities. A difficulty with this design is that those released without a probation term could not be compelled to



report to the court, making a follow-up study difficult. Comparisons that could be made include new arrests, convictions, etc. if rap sheets were periodically obtained for all offenders and the non-probation control group were required to complete questionnaires on their activities at regular intervals.

A factor that should be considered is the effect of the "Hawthorne" effect on those individuals randomly selected in the Project. Few were informed of the total nature of the Project, and that it is a special project attempting to demonstrate the effectiveness of a new type of probation, but it would not be possible to hide this fact from most offenders, as they usually have been on probation before and know that these services and this treatment is not available to most offenders. In reviewing the case reports on individual probationers, it is possible that the Hawthorne effect was one factor in some change in their attitude toward probation. The availability of special services as well as the sincere offer for extensive help was undoubtedly appreciated by many of the probationers. The possible realization that they were "singled out" to be part of a lucky few, as part of the Project, also was undoubtedly an instrumental factor in improved responsiveness to treatment. If and when extensive probation services are available to a large number of offenders, it would seem that these services would be viewed by the probationers as expected, as "they all get them," and "I should, too." An example of a statement of this type of feeling was made by

one offender when his P.O. explained the program: "He seemed quite cooperative during the interview, and was quite happy in being selected to the Second Offender Program. After the initial program was conveyed to . . . [him] . . . , he seemed quite anxious to begin some type of treatment program to help himself."

This attitude may quite possibly change, as has been experienced in the past relative to juvenile delinquent gang projects in New York City and elsewhere. The exact determination of the Hawthorne effect could be researched in future projects by establishing a group of a sufficient number of offenders who are specifically told of their entry into the "special project" and a second group who are not informed of any "special" status. Both would be treated as far as possible alike including providing identical services, but the probationers in the second group are led to believe that these are offered as a normal condition of probation (which in their case, would be normal condition of probation). Any elements of being "special" would have to be dispelled for this group only, and care must be taken in order to prevent any ideas of being "special" developing among this second group. Later comparisons, controlling for all factors except knowledge of being in a special project, would reveal if this knowledge has any effect on the outcome.

An important factor in this study is that the ideological belief held by the P.O.s that the treatment is effective, and

the need to demonstrate this may alter the experimental results. Once this treatment is standardized, its effectiveness may lessen somewhat. In examining the results of a correctional program, there generally are a number of influential factors and thus it is difficult to clearly establish whether the Royal Oak CTP's effectiveness is superior to institutionalization in reducing the recidivism rate, even though it is generally accepted that these programs are less costly and probably less personally damaging. Full and effective evaluation would take a period of years, and only after numerous factors are delineated and reserached. For this reason the Mental Health Clearing House in the pamphlet entitled "Community Based Correctional Programs: Models and Practices" (p. 7) concluded:

Evaluative reports of all such projects should be scrutinized for interfering variables which might affect or determine relative success in terms of violation rates.

## CHAPTER IX

### Discussion of Specific Treatment

In this and other sections, it should be emphasized that although the Project's goal of keeping the offenders out of trouble was largely achieved, the expectation of many of the Project staff was not only to keep the offender out of trouble, but to help him become a fully adjusted, middle-class, producing, consuming citizen. In reference to many statements made here and in other sections, many remarks refer to this more idealistic goal. The goal of keeping the offender out of trouble at least as well as the prison system or the more serious probation has been achieved. The failures of many of the expectations should not detract from the overall success of the Project. Many comments are for the purpose of improvement and realistically assessing the problems in reaching some of the higher goals the Project staff worked towards.

This study and studies referred to in the discussion section have shown the feasibility of the differential treatment approach in a community setting. The present study has endeavored to identify only a few basic variables which contribute to the success of this approach. Community treatments, while less pioneering than a few years ago, are still highly innovative and generally viewed with a mixture of envy, jealousy, suspicion, and sometimes actual contempt by correctional officials. As a whole there is an enthusiastic attitude to learn more about this approach

and while application is much more difficult, the initial enthusiasm holds promise that needed research will continue to identify variables which can contribute to the success of a CTP program.

### Basic Project Procedures

An intake data sheet was filled out for each offender referred, recording the sentencing judge's name, the offender's docket number, the date of disposition, and other needed information. Each offender was usually assigned to a P.O. on the basis of where he lived. The county was divided up among the four P.O.s to minimize driving time. In order to equalize the number of probationers on each officer's caseload, this method was altered slightly. In all cases the final case assignment was made by the Project Director. Assignments were permanent, except where social work students were assigned to work with cases that the staff felt would enrich their experience, but the final responsibility of the case was still with the original P.O.

### The Probation Officer

Assignment to a caseworker is often traditionally based primarily on sex (same sex placement), but not because of valid research. There is some evidence that for many offenders a caseworker of the opposite sex can be more effective than one of the same sex. The few females that were assigned to

the Project had male P.O.s as there were no Project female P.O.s. An additional useful control, if there were enough cases, would have been to include a female P.O. and, utilizing some type of measurement of attitude change, compare the results of her cases with the males' cases. Several studies show that while the offender's perception of the masculinity or femininity exhibited by the officer is extremely important, whether it is exhibited by the same or opposite sex is usually immaterial, depending upon the offender. In many cases rapport is much better with an opposite sexed P.O. and the fear of having male offenders work with female P.O.s seems to be unfounded. Even the utilization of police women in this traditionally male job has been encouraging, the male showing less resistance to submit to a female than a male.

The fact that males often respond best to a woman who can give him maternal attention and females respond best to an authoritative male who plays a paternal role encourages assignment on psychological factors, matching offender and P.O. and not assigning because of convention or tradition as is now done.

Research showing that a particular staff member will be successful with a certain type of offender and not successful with other types was not directly used in the Project. The Project had only four officers, which was not enough to even begin to adequately match offender and P.O. Thus by lumping together all the subjects, this important treatment consideration

was not able to be used. As noted above the assignments to the officers were based largely on arbitrarily divided boundaries, each officer taking a given area which tended to be primarily urban or rural. Assignments were not totally random because the boundaries tended to include a predominant type of population according to socio-economic status, type of residence, etc. This natural sorting was utilized to some extent so each officer could specialize, one having many drug cases, another many sexual offenses, another with many "professional criminals," etc.

After referral, the presentence investigation report is sent to Royal Oak from the Courthouse so the P.O. is able to familiarize himself with the case. At sentencing, the offender is requested to telephone the Probation Department to make an appointment for the initial case interview. During the first interview the background of the offender's problems and the offender himself is obtained, including his attitudes towards society, his work experience, his home background, and his general involvement in criminal behavior. From this and subsequent interviews, possible problem areas are explored and a treatment plan is formulated. The specific treatment plan depends upon the individual P.O. and, as treatment differed, methods of treatment also differed. At the weekly staff meetings, the officers would try to locate common needs and then select individuals from each officer's caseload to form specialized groups where it is felt advantageous that several offenders work in

a treatment program together. At the initial interview the P.O. endeavors to build up a relationship of trust between the offender and himself to insure cooperation in the treatment programs. Ideally, the offender will be motivated to work towards rehabilitation because he recognizes in himself a genuine need to change and will not comply with a P.O. purely to succeed on probation.

As this was a demonstration project, concentration was put on the basic goals of the Project, utilizing largely the specific types of treatment the Project design suggested. It is difficult from both a research and a practical point of view (and possibly from a therapeutic point of view) to attempt to attack every one or even most of each offender's known problems. Determination of what is important or what can be researched must be made to enable the research to concentrate on one level at a time, eventually establishing a hierarchy of the relative importance of various factors, given a certain type of offender, and a set of environmental or practical limitations. Most techniques of therapy are more effective when one or two goals are focused on, shelving other goals for the time being or even permanently. The length of probation limits what can be accomplished both as to the number of goals and the degree of improvement in a few selected goals.

Five areas of treatment have been focused on for the Project as a whole, although not to the exclusion of other areas if their importance could be demonstrated. For both



research reasons and the practical limitations of time and money, not to mention the therapeutical limitations and the complications involved when focusing on several goals (including the offender's inability to handle the conflicting aspects of several goals), the concentration of resources was limited to no more than two or three areas. Treatment often was toward specific, understandable goals that the client can understand and perceive as being of immediate benefit. Especially practical were goals that are capable of being achieved in small, rewarding steps. There rarely is just one problem troubling the offender. For example, environmental and personality deficiencies affect intelligence, education and employment, with the result that all these areas are commonly deficient. Home, marital, sexual adjustment, psychological, and medical problems, to name a few of the more outstanding areas, could all be included. Most offenders have so many problems that the question of where to start often delays starting on any one problem. As it is often necessary to concentrate on two or three problems, most offenders are involved in several programs, hopefully working on the most salient problems.

Because some of the treatment techniques were still exploratory for corrections, there was some resistance on the part of the staff to implement them, even though the staff endeavored to "plunge into a new technique" with a reasonable amount of preparation. To enable the staff to be more proficient in the

basic treatment techniques, the weekly staff meetings used films, discussions, guest speakers, and seminars to help the staff grow professionally in the areas of group therapy, marriage counseling, group counseling, individual counseling, individual casework techniques, and behavior modification principles. The staff meetings also discussed the availability and practicability of utilizing various community services. The staff was also encouraged to continue taking graduate classes and involve themselves in various professional seminars, conferences, etc. to further develop expertise in the above areas. The Project allotted funds for each staff member to attend several out of state conferences and the county has a program where tuition reimbursement is made for successful completion of graduate classes in psychology or corrections. Several members of the staff took advantage of this, pursuing one or more graduate classes during the Project's existence.

The main function of the P.O. was that of a counselor. Generally the offenders have difficulties in dealing with their feelings, partially because much of their behavior is non-cognitive and is seen as non-rational by the P.O. The time spent with each client was extremely variable, depending on the needs he was perceived to have, the benefit he obtained from the time spent, and the relationship between the P.O. and the probationer. The first month or two the probationer and the P.O. usually spent a great deal of time formulating goals, designing therapeutic activities, endeavoring to develop

a workable program and accomplish what can be done through counseling, advising, and informational activities as well as through involvement in specific programs designed to solve employment or other major problems.

In working with the offender it is important to understand how he feels and the reason why he so often reacts in what seems to be an erratic and inconsistent way to outside stimuli. His feelings about what he has done to bring him into the court's jurisdiction range from extreme guilt to a high degree of pride. Often these extremes are seen in the same person. Inconsistencies in behavior are at first seen because of a lack of knowledge of the influencing variables and the offender himself. Lack of theory about human behavior and knowing what to expect from an offender, given his set of contingencies, impedes insight.

Research and experience has shown a set of consistent patterns of deviant behavior can be outlined. For example, it is typical for an offender to feel proud or even happy after an aggressive offense. This can partially be explained from the concept that release or elimination of anger is pleasant and therefore aggression itself is rewarding, especially if this aggression is directed at the source. Thus offenders, in relating the aggressive incident, could feel pleased when telling how they "caught the guy with a sucker punch" because of the very real pleasure in releasing some of their aggression. In sex offenses the researcher often finds the opposite attitude.

Usually involved is a great deal of shame and a strong reluctance to talk about the offense. In the majority of cases, the offender "doesn't remember too much about it," as, he states, he was either too tired, too drunk, too high on drugs, psychologically depressed, or "elated," to remember much. The events before and after the offense are remembered more clearly, but the offense itself is, in the majority of cases, extremely hazy. Psychologically, when considering the idiology of sex offenses, this is what would be expected, according to many researchers.

When an offender is relating his devious exploits, the P.O. generally consciously tries not to sit in judgement or condemn, but endeavors to understand the motivations and feelings behind the offender instead of looking only at the specific event. Nor is his approval given here, but passive listening and counseling directed primarily at the specific problems the offender exhibits dominates. Sometimes the offender goes through a three or four month period where he is testing out the officer, trying to determine whether or not the officer has any sincere interest in helping him as an individual. One officer's experience has been that many of his offenders "to test me out" will state: "I'm using marijuana!" in order to see the P.O.'s reaction to this statement. If the officer states, "You know that is against the law" or a similar comment, the offender knows that he is going to have difficulty in discussing his drug problems with the officer. If the P.O. acknowledges the usage and continues to show

a helpful interest in his probationers and their problems, they may open up and talk about their often somewhat severe drug problems. It is only after this period that the offender typically develops the needed trust if trust is going to be developed at all.

Generally it was difficult for the offenders to look upon the Project staff as occupying an entirely different role than that of traditional probation. Initially they were viewed simply as court officers, and part of "the law." But, after the initial period, a surprisingly large number of offenders were able to confide to a great extent (exact measurements were not made) in the P.O., telling him about his use of drugs, and other illegal activities he was involved in, as well as problems at home, with the family, on the job, and other problems with what seemed to be a high degree of honesty.

A reciprocal relationship between two people can only occur when there is honesty and openness on the part of both parties (You tell me your problems, needs, wants, and gripes, and I'll tell you mine.). But in a professional relationship the patient, student, or client tells his doctor, teacher, or lawyer a lot of himself, but the professional usually does not tell the client about himself, maintaining professional aloofness. In corrections some have seen this aloofness as dysfunctional, causing an appearance of coldness in social workers. A balance where the P.O. is guarded in giving information about himself, but still gives generously of his personal warmth was offered

as a compromise by the Project staff. Research on the results of various types of offenders becoming personally involved in the P.O.'s life would add to our knowledge of this important area.

The P.O.s endeavored to use their authority with decisiveness, but only when it was felt to be the only or the most effective method of achieving the goals of probation. Importantly too, even though the officers have certain authority, they endeavored to practice social considerations which they would expect others to practice towards them. Foremost, this requires him to be polite and courteous to the offender at all times, but when necessary, and only when necessary, must be firm.

By looking at an offender as a young man with a problem and not labelling him as a "criminal" has helped the P.O.s to focus on the treatment of helping the offender by focusing on his underlying problems and motivations. A health problem, especially some chronic ailment may cause emotional depression or a degree of incapacity on the job; or the offender may be severely burdened with debts because of poor management; or he and his wife may have marital problems; or he may have a job that he dislikes. The Project's philosophy was that by treating these factors the offender would be less likely to involve himself in crime again. While the elimination of these factors will by no means always eliminate criminal behavior, working on these problems is highly instrumental in solving some of the basic problems which influence much criminal behavior.

The entire staff endeavored to treat the offender with the utmost courtesy and consideration. The secretarial help was hired, after typing skill and county qualifications were met, on the basis of the quality of friendliness, outgoingness, and the acceptance it was felt they would display towards the probationers. Several outsiders commented that the office was run similar to a business, the staff offering the offenders coffee or reading material while they waited for their appointment. Often the staff would carry on small talk, or politely honor the offender's request for use of the lavatory or a phone, or give general information. The greeting of the officer and the offender often seemed like that of two friends. "Well, how's it going, Bill, it's good to see you. Come right in and have a seat. How's the wife and the little one? How's the new job working out?" Interestingly, this cordial behavior surprised many visitors. While it is difficult to analyze how instrumental this factor of friendliness was in this Project, it is certain that this behavior often would not impede progress. Before making home visits, the officer would usually ask when it would be convenient to drop by, and even then call beforehand. Once in the home, the officer tried to show respect for the offender and his family or parents, hoping that this respect would in return be shown to the P.O. Partially, this helps the offender see himself as a normal self-respected social person, but does not invite the offender to take advantage of the officer as courtesy and weakness are

different traits, and the delineation between the two should be decisively made by the officer and understood by the offender.

Possibly, though, the elimination of strict role-separation may have resulted in some loss in the effectiveness of each role. The officer could utilize any modifications of traditional probation that do not interfere with either the essential purpose of probation or the legal requirements of the court to help the offender. To help him mature, the officer let the probationer make as many decisions as possible, and only occasionally were firm authoritative controls needed. A balance of guidance and independence are instrumental towards maturity. This researcher's impression from observing the P.O.s at work suggests that this approach was, in most cases, utilized. Even when an offender gets in trouble, the excellent rapport aids in working with the offender in solving the crisis. That this is effective is shown in that the one call a person is allowed to make after his arrest is often, in the case of the Project, made to his P.O. Even violated probationers will occasionally write their P.O. from Jackson, still relying on their former P.O. for guidance, encouragement, and help.

By being treated with respect, offenders learn that they are worthy individuals. Insuring the entire staff cooperates towards projecting a uniform picture of worth to the offender was one duty of the Project director. Treatment should not lower the offender's dignity, but stress the rewards of positive behavior. By making the probation office a rewarding place to



be, the offender is encouraged to come back for not only required visits, but hopefully whenever a major problem comes up.

Accepting the offenders and their different forms of hair-style, and dress (although less different from non-criminals than a few years ago) requires acceptance of his social group. His hair-style and dress are highly influenced by his peers and he conforms primarily to facilitate his acceptance in his social group. Rejection will only force him farther into his own social group.

Positive treatment by the staff helps him understand that the middle class world will reward and accept him, offering more permanent and satisfying rewards than will his delinquent peers. Rewarding any positive step, even if very slight, towards the desired behavior, and rewarding this instead of criticizing an already over-criticized young man can be highly effective in facilitating improvement.

A disadvantage of the presentence investigation interview is that the majority of the material concentrates on the past, a past which the offender is all too well aware of and in many cases not proud of. Recently the Office of United States Courts, Division of Probation in Washington, D.C., has recommended that the officer concentrate primarily with the present, starting with the defendant as he finds him and including in the report no more from the past than what is believed necessary to help the court understand what the defendant is today and can become in the future.<sup>1</sup>

There were tremendous differences in the success rates of each officer. One officer had a majority of Project violations (80%), and yet his caseload had a 50% success rate in Vocational Rehabilitation, compared to 12% or less for each other officer. His success with college placement was quite high, and all who started are doing excellent compared to a low success rate for all the other officers.

By each officer using his strengths, and referring specific problems he could not handle to another professional, the handicaps of each officer were minimized, depending only on his awareness of his weaknesses. For example, one offender presented himself as being a withdrawn individual who resented not having a normal family. During probation he decided on two occasions to find a family in a hippy commune. The recent death of his mother had a deep psychological effect upon him. He had stated several times that "Things will not be right until I join her." He has, on at least three occasions, attempted suicide, but so far he has not succeeded. However, it seems that he is not really attempting to take his life, but only trying to get attention. Given this background the appropriate referral was made.

Bridging the socio-economic gap has been shown to be important in a study by Massimo that attempted to help stabilize "hard-core delinquent boys"<sup>2</sup> by involving them in successful work experiences. The first aspect of the study involved making contact and developing rapport with the boys. The first contact,

by design was from a pay telephone so the operator's intrusion on the phone after three minutes would theoretically help erase the image the boy might have of the caller sitting in his office. To foster the image of an "ordinary unpolished sort of person," the caller would mispronounce words and use argot that the boy was familiar with. After offering to help the boy find a job, the first meeting was to be in a place chosen according to the boy's preference, likely a drug store hangout. A control group showed a very satisfactory rate of success in working with delinquents reached by this technique, demonstrating the importance of the socio-economic cultural impediment in developing rapport. Importantly too, an intimate knowledge of the client's culture and unique problems was found to be important. This knowledge is gained only through experience and extensive reading about the unique problems confronting the lower socio-economic classes primarily worked with. An attempt was made on the part of the staff to be cognizant of the various value structures of the offenders, and the staff endeavored to help them within their own value structure if at all possible, not criticizing aspects which were not highly dysfunctional towards adjusting on probation and later in society as a whole. An openness and willingness to accept other values is possibly more important in the long run than experience in specific treatment techniques. Ideally, utilization of a measure to delineate the value orientations (or degree of change likely through experience) would have been helpful

in hiring the original P.O.s.

The P.O.s tried to at all times be completely honest and open because ". . .the average probationer or parolee has been lied to copiously much of his life and this has deeply affected his relationship with authoritative persons, for even they [the officers] have shown a talent for tampering with the truth."<sup>3</sup> Importantly too, it was stressed that the P.O.s must be sensitive to the feelings and needs of others, having a strong desire to build their spirits with good news. When the only news is bad and it has to be conveyed, the skilled worker knows that there is more therapy in bad news honestly presented than in good news that is not told honestly. Moralizing was usually avoided, as was criticizing and condemning their anti-social behavior. With extreme behavior the fact that "this behavior the community will not tolerate" was openly stated. The offender must realize that deviance done openly will eventually cause him to suffer unpleasantness, including jail, injury from police officers and others.

Use of profane language is relatively common and culturally accepted among the lower classes. It was endeavored not to let this be an impediment to the client's progress. His great deal of hostility against the total correctional system was realistically dealt with by helping him understand the P.O.'s limitations, endeavoring to show him that the P.O. is "on his side."

The point of balance between doing everything for the

client, helping him in areas where help can be important or appreciated and still encourage independence has to be determined in each case. In some cases the caseworker should go out and help the client find a job; in others he should help the client do this for himself, and in still others it is best that the P.O. merely be sure that the client is doing what he can to find a job. Some cases need practical, almost day to day help (especially drug addicts) whereas with other offenders minimal supervision may be too much. To recognize the point beyond which the offender is no longer able to help himself with problems and yet to recognize where the offender can be helped with problems takes much experience and depends upon the personality and the insight of the P.O. himself. Ideally, any help at the beginning should gradually be diminished and the probationer should be helped to rely more and more on his own resources so that at the end of probation he can be completely independent from the guidance and direction of the probation department.

It is difficult to teach an offender enough in one hour a week to keep him out of trouble for the other 167 hours each week when he is not under the Project's supervision. To try to do more than make a dent in his lifestyle, even in important areas, is often unrealistic.

The P.O.s were able to spend much more time with offenders than most departments, but not enough. The Project was at the disadvantage of not having a program where the offender

could live in a structured environment with supervision and services available on a twenty-four hour a day basis, partially due to the high cost it would add to the CTP program. Partial or complete residential programs, as the CTGI Program and the Weekend Ranch program in Minneapolis, where there was some living-in quarters, has the advantage of an extended opportunity for the officer to observe the offender in various settings, including a variety of social settings at various times in the day and especially at night where problems are more likely to surface. The P.O.'s presence to deal with these problems generally facilitates progress.

Under the CTP concept, as defined in this Project, the P.O. serves as a therapist, and as such, identification and role playing were highly utilized by the officer to aid the offender. Unfortunately, it is sometimes difficult for a positive relationship to be developed due to the role that the P.O. is required to play and the chasm in social class, age, education, occupational, and general value orientations between officer and offender. By at least beginning a long term positive relationship with an adult or parental figure, either male or female, who could transmit socially accepted values, the P.O. is hopefully helping the offender to be more receptive to counseling later on, should it be required. Resocializing is a very long and expensive time consuming process. The experience of this CTP has proved similar to California's conclusions; resocialization must begin much earlier and must

be far more intensive, preferably as soon as the offender first comes to the attention of the court. The feasibility of utilizing the P.O. as an adult model should be explored further.

The Project endeavored to help the offender develop a new self image as a "citizen." Identification as an "offender," or "criminal" in the Project was avoided; the term "client" was used instead. Possibly, even the Project's association with the court caused the offenders to see themselves as "criminals." To help change an offender's view of himself, other legal proceedings could replace some of the court's proceedings in an effort to avoid identification as a defendant in a court.

There is so much for many of these offenders to learn. As one P.O. stated, they ". . .don't know how to live. . . .It seems many of them don't care, worrying only about finding their daily rewards, obtaining the few rewards they can with a minimum amount of effort."<sup>4</sup> This motivational pattern largely results from learning to cope with their unique environment. With the offender's deficiencies to satisfy their few low level needs, they find it expedient to step beyond society's guidelines.

Lack of knowledge is responsible for some of the offender's problems. For example, one homosexual offender, it was found in counseling, was almost totally ignorant of the female anatomy and his role in a normal heterosexual relationship. Medical doctors and educational personnel were recruited to give this

man who is past the prime of life and exercises average degree of intellectual functioning in other areas, the "facts of life." It seems that in this case, as is common among sexual offenders, a very strict and unreasonable religious upbringing was responsible for some of his sexual problems. One P.O. stated, "I have a guy on my caseload that has almost every human problem you can think of." Many of these problems could be eliminated or reduced purely by learning.

A learning program the Project stressed in both group and individual counseling was called "basic survival skills" and included the information needed to look for a job, fill out income tax forms, understand and obey the law (and yet not be taken advantage of), avoid disease (especially venereal disease), find satisfying activities, and develop acceptable goals within society's framework, to name a few areas. An impediment to any program is that success involves change, and change is interpreted by many offenders as threatening, partially because change threatens their security and many do not want to involve themselves in a direction that they have learned from ~~their~~ culture to be undesirable. Entering any new and strange area of behavior (which is involved in any new human endeavor) is resisted by most of us to some extent. For the offender resistance is typically stronger because of a high degree of failure in the past, including even in areas which are perceived by many persons as not being very difficult such as informal athletic programs, clubs, or the Boy Scouts.



Their lack of skills, which was undoubtedly instrumental in their failure in previous programs, are still to a large measure present. It is unrealistic to expect many to overcome these to any major degree within a two or three year probation period. The offenders were encouraged by the project to accept the community and Project services available, stressing the advantages to the offender. The offender was told: "The Project has \$15,000 available, and the monies are to be spent on you, why don't you try to get your share of it? What do you want to do? Look at all the services we can provide."

When utilizing resources in the community, it is important not to attach a negative social value to the resource, especially when using psychotherapy or the services of a psychologist. (One offender thought a psychologist was just another name for a P.O.) The resources must be available when they are needed, possibly combining agencies so counseling and other treatment and intervention services are available on a twenty-four hour, seven day a week basis. Marriage conflicts, for example, do not usually occur conveniently during office hours, but late at night and often on the weekends, requiring intervention centers to have available the necessary resources at all hours. Besides bringing the client to the resources, bringing the resources to the client is important, although more difficult and more expensive. By making a wide variety of specialists available to the offender, the Project can utilize the offenders' own initiative, especially when legal advice, medical care,

and dental treatment are needed.

When dealing with humans, unfortunately resources are limited, and most agencies are simply not able to render all the help that their clients need and so must attempt to achieve the most good from the resources available. A great deal of time and expense can be given to one offender resulting in only minimal improvement, whereas if that same time and expense were given to two other offenders, improvement may be tremendous. Treatment services should be expended only after a determination is made of which offenders can benefit the most from treatment available. As with any product, a concern must be to achieve the most results with the minimum number of hours and services. Any treatment plan must address itself to the following questions:

1. What general set of conditions are most likely to enhance improving the chances of staying out of trouble?
2. What kind of offenders are likely to respond to which type of treatment?

The public's resentment of the high cost of probation services prompted some agencies to consider charging a fee for the services they render. While fees for other services, as family counseling, psychiatric services, and hospitalization are accepted as proper, rarely are fees charged for "services" imposed against a person's will, as probation usually is. An exception is in Witchitaw County, Texas where a system of fees was set up amounting to about \$10.00 per month. The evaluation of the program concluded that about 50% of the clients paid their fees reliably, and incidentally, these generally showed

the best attitude change. The 50% not paying the fees included many offenders whose fees were waived due to hardship, strong hostility to the idea, or other reasons. Those regularly paying the fee are, as a whole, better probationers, less likely to recidivate in any program, although a test of their attitude change indicates that the program was definitely helpful for this group. One advantage of this system is political. The public feels the offenders are at least paying part of their way. The offender receives the needed treatment and the state is not burdened with the full cost they would not pay anyway. With this system the P.O. tends to have a greater sense of responsibility (many see the concept of accountability as being very useful in corrections) in that they are getting paid by the offender for a specific service and feel more obligated to aid the offender in every possible way. Likewise, if the offender feels he is paying for a service, he may take more advantage of it.

A conflict the P.O.s experienced throughout the Project was between the role of court administrator and therapist. As a court administrator the P.O. must report to the court any client infractions of probation, including new offenses which could result in a violation. The P.O. must insure that the probationer obeys the Articles of Probation by "coersion, threats, simple persuasion," or any other means the P.O. is able to legally (and sometimes illegally) utilize. On the other hand, the role of therapist requires a non-threatening

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situation where the client can feel free to communicate his problems, including difficulties which may involve illegal activities or personal problems which may involve probation conditions, to the therapist. While technically the P.O. only reports the facts to the judge, and the judge violates the offender, the offender often perceives the violation as coming primarily from the person he works most with, the P.O. Attempts to convince the client otherwise are usually to no avail, as this idea is contrary to his reality. His main contact with the court is through the P.O., and the different roles played by the various court personnel are blurred into one threatening role. Thus it was felt advantageous to try to separate the role of P.O. or the "judge's representative" and the role of therapist. This is one reason so many outside contractual services were utilized, including marriage counseling and use of social workers, even though the Project staff could have assumed some of the responsibilities that were contracted out.

The development of a private agency to contractually accept supervision from the court was felt by several staff members to be a realistic solution to the role conflict problem. The private agency would be under contract by the court to provide probation services. The offender thus could work with the Probation Services Department toward court imposed goals.

It was felt desirable that the client perceive the "Probation Services Department" as having the authority of the court, and still understand its independent function and purpose.<sup>5</sup> Most of the services which were rendered in the Project are already

available in the community either at little or no cost or according to the client's ability to pay. Rarely do the offenders utilize these services on their own. Because of resistance, fear, and lack of knowledge, they are reluctant to accept even services paid for by the court. Affiliation with the court was felt to be a necessary factor in order for some offenders to obtain these needed services.

It is often perceived by offenders that probation is a "right," and when trying to institute programs, offenders feel that "you can't make me do that--it won't stand up in court." Effort was made to help the offender understand that probation is a privilege (or was a privilege when instituted), a disposition in lieu of prison. Yet, even the present probation system found it hard to receive court backing for programs. One offender related that he would report once a month, pay court costs and not violate any state laws, but that's where it would end. The staff knew that they would have a hard time backing up any threats to try to force him to involve himself in a treatment program. Thus, for all practical purposes, this offender did not utilize any of the benefits of the Project. Lawyers are quick to point out that the court can only enforce a specified set of legal requirements which fulfill only formal probation requirements. Several offenders, after contacting their lawyers, found that we could not legally require them to attend the marriage counseling sessions or involve them in vocational rehabilitation programs, and told

us flatly that they would not have anything to do with these programs, but would only fulfill their minimum probation obligations. The only way this could be changed is that if the court, not the P.O., was given the legal sanction to order an offender to involve himself in a treatment program. If this order could be legally backed up, the judges could enforce needed treatment with the threat of violation for offenders that did not live up to the given obligations.

### Volunteers

The Project's experience has been that the majority of offenders were brought up in home environments where there was lacking a genuine concern for the child as a person. Court personnel have observed that youngsters who get into trouble with the law have parents who do not spend much time with them. This seems to be more true with poor families than middle class families, partly because the poor must scrape so hard to make ends meet that much of their time must be utilized in the pursuit of money to keep going, to that they have little time left for their children. This is also somewhat true for the very wealthy, who are all too often so wrapped up in the pursuit of making money and other activities that little time or genuine attention is given to their children.

Judge George Edwards said that "the lack of an inspirational adult personality in the life of the youthful offender is not a cause of delinquency, it is the cause." Research has shown

that an important factor in rehabilitation is inserting fairly well adjusted individuals into the lives of "maladjusted" offenders. Producing this attitude change requires insight on the part of those whose behavior violates group norms. This requires learning attitudes that are more functional towards the goals of society. This learning importantly takes place by imitation of roles of significant others.

By injecting an "inspirational" personality and utilizing the principle of transfer, it was hoped that parent-child relationships can develop between the volunteers and the probationers to help make up for early deficiencies in the child's education and development. Dr. Knock, a Royal Oak psychiatrist, stated that "About 85% of the defendants who appear in. . .[the]. . . court will be character disorders." If the volunteer can serve as a satisfactory role model, one the offender will respect and listen to, an important step will have been taken towards overcoming the character disorder. The offenders felt important when they became aware that the volunteer had to take time from his busy schedule to listen to what the offender had to say. To serve as a satisfactory role model, an effort was made to develop the volunteer's listening skills, skills which are probably very helpful in most counseling situations. In reading a number of case histories using volunteers, it is evident that the concept of abreaction or cathexis was highly functional and greatly utilized. By presenting a more effective role model in the person of a concerned and "inspiring personality" the



volunteer is able to be instrumental in the change of attitudes by listening to the offender's problems as evidently few significant others in the past have. Attitudes are not changed by platitudes, human conduct is changed only by human contact.

Lower class parents are further handicapped in that they are less formally educated in understanding children and children's problems to the extent that middle and upper class parents are. But even in the middle class family there is a tendency for a home to be "a train station," where members of the family come and go as they please, only stopping to eat dinner, pick up the mail, or take care of their own business. Increased television watching is also felt to have contributed to the increased recent breakdown of communication in the family. Among the lower classes and to some extent among the middle classes, a common observation is for the family to spend hours in front of a television set with little more than perfunctory communication. High school counselors working for Project Misdemeanant have repeatedly conveyed that a majority of those counseled with serious problems have been raised in home situations where there is a total lack of significant communication between the child and parent. It is important for the child to convey feelings, emotions, desires, and needs to his parents. Among lower class families communication ordinarily is in the form of brief commands. A lower class family might tell a child to "Get" whereas a middle class parent is more descriptive, saying, for example, "Could you please leave Daddy alone now?"

and offering an explanation along with the command as: "He's very busy now and has to get that work done before tomorrow." Another negative influence in the home is the father's tendency to hide himself behind the newspaper or involve himself in his own activities, excluding his children. Alcoholism is another major factor in non-communication homes.

From working in the probation field this researcher feels that the majority of parents do not take the time to sincerely listen to what their children have to say. With blacks the problem is compounded in that, in the past, a greater number of black families were totally without fathers compared to white families. One Negro youngster said to a friend who he considered to be quite fortunate, "He was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He has a dad."

By the volunteer making the offender feel important in his own right, encouraging the offender's positive traits, it is possible to make up for some of the lack of importance the child presently feels due to a childhood of parental neglect. Dr. Ernest Shelly, of the Department of Corrections, said, "Our biggest job is to convince the probationer that he is not a different breed of cat." The volunteer endeavors to show him that he is like others in that he has needs for recognition, accomplishment, pride, and love, and all these needs are normal, natural and should be fulfilled.

The Project was not able to use any more than two dozen volunteers successfully, but it was felt volunteer services

should have been more highly utilized. This was especially true of services that medical doctors, dentists, lawyers, and other professionals could have provided. The Project often had to purchase these services with possibly different results than if they had been provided by a volunteer.

An examination of one case discussed by Morris<sup>6</sup> will be used to discuss various aspects of the use of volunteers in treatment. The case concerned a twenty-two year old girl who had been a prostitute since age fourteen, having been put out on the streets at that age by her mother. She had been arrested dozens of times for prostitution, drunkenness, disorderly conduct, and had been involved in numerous assaultive offenses. She was termed "hardened" having literally spent more time in jail than out for the past six years. "She wore tight sweaters, an extremely high hairdo and heavy eye makeup, but she was still good looking and when out of jail she was the best nightclub waitress in town." She had dropped out of school in the ninth grade because of a pregnancy, which she had aborted. She had married several years later and had a child, but was, at present, divorced and the child was in the custody of the father. Her present biggest problem was drinking, which was felt by the volunteer to be "necessary to keep going as she was really repulsed by her prostitution."

After the terms of probation were explained to the offender, she was introduced to her volunteer counselor. At the introduction the offender looked at the volunteer in utter amazement

and said, "Why are you doing this?" "Why do you take me?"

"We choose the person we want," the volunteer replied. "You're not at all what I expected. You're not much like the police matrons," said the probationer. The first few times the offender met with the volunteer at the weekly conferences she was, in the volunteer's words, "about half drunk." At first she was largely irresponsive to her counselor's influence, testing her counselor by telling various lies, failing to show for appointments, and rejecting specific directions given to ameliorate her situation. Later she became more responsive to her counselor's influence, particularly her complimentary remarks. Here the principle of ignoring the bad and reinforcing what few good behaviors or features are found was utilized. Later, according to her volunteer worker, her appearance improved. The offender was wearing less provocative clothing and reduced the amount of make-up she used. According to the volunteer worker she looked better and was more friendly and talkative, opening up about her background and present feelings. Drinking less caused her posture and coordination to improve, giving the counselor even more reasons and opportunity to compliment the counselee. She related after a friend was released from jail and the friend endeavored to lure her back into prostitution that

"I want nothing to do with her, she's trouble. I know I can beat her with my fists or a knife, but she might use a gun."

Later she said, "You know, this was the first Christmas that I've spent out of jail for almost ten years--almost as long as

I remember." The counselor related that she paused thoughtfully and then added, "You know, I'm going to stay out of jail from now on." These changes that she was making were not only reinforced by her counselor, but also by others in the community who knew her. She even received several compliments from policemen who knew her former ways well. She had been helped to relate with others better, particularly the police. This she found to be highly rewarding, causing a marked decrease in hostility, according to her volunteer. The process of changing behavior is a long and sometimes difficult task when relatively non-directive techniques are used in overcoming the influence of over twenty-two years of negative behavior patterns. It is especially difficult to change these patterns in one or two years.

After this progress, the volunteer received a phone call at 2:00 a.m. Her probationer was at the police station, charged with Assault With A Deadly Weapon. The volunteer hurriedly dressed and went to the police station where she found the offender agitated, but sober. Evidently she had been at her mother's home and her cousin, who had been drinking heavily, became rather aggressive. Claiming she was protecting herself and her mother, she stabbed her cousin seriously with an eight inch blade which broke off inside him. She said she had acted in self defense. The fact that the volunteer came so quickly to her aid in an emergency only served to strengthen the relationship, adding that important human element of genuine human concern

which facilitated identification and role imitation on the part of the offender.

A serious limitation which most studies of correctional treatment suffer from is that the follow-up period is rarely more than two years. In this particular case the offender kept out of serious trouble for at least two years, but it is not known whether or not she had drifted back to her old ways or whether or not the one year association with the volunteer worker and the utilization of the treatment services have permanently helped her to develop a functional behavior pattern, becoming an asset to society. Whether or not she had definitely changed and will reinforce the change by seeking out association which will be beneficial to her is not known. The set of attitudes and behavior in the environment she was part of could conceivably cause her to redevelop these negative response patterns. She is, according to court records, part of the same environment she was in before her court experience. As this environment developed this behavior in the first place, it seems possible that this environment will in the future have some effect towards dissipating the good effects of the probation experience.

A period of two, five or even ten years is often not enough, in the opinion of many P.O.s, to complete full rehabilitation, especially when dealing with older offenders. Most projects found the advantage of using volunteers was to develop a one-to-one relationship between the volunteer and the offender. The Project population was small enough, especially at the beginning of

the Project, that the officer could spend more time in the one-to-one relationship than a volunteer normally could. Possibly, though, volunteer participation could have provided a relationship that a P.O. could not easily provide, especially if volunteers could be matched in some way with offenders to facilitate developing an upbuilding and beneficial relationship either on a peer or father-son level.

Other services volunteers could have provided were testing, job counseling, and various educational services directly to the offenders. It was originally hoped that several teachers would volunteer to run the tutoring groups, and other teachers would volunteer to work on a one-to-one basis with selected offenders. When volunteers could not be found, an effort was made to look for teachers who were almost finished with their degrees. It was felt that with the current abundance of teachers (both Project secretaries had teaching degrees), it would not be difficult to find volunteers, as teaching offenders surely would be good experience. After running several ads at the placement centers of three large universities, the relatively small number of answers resulted not in procuring volunteers, but in hiring tutors who had good educational backgrounds.

The volunteers often felt that there were fewer rewards in working with adults compared with juveniles. It is difficult for the "father-son" relationship to develop as many of the offenders were of similar age or were at least adults. In many cases, unless the volunteer could go out to see the probationer

(who often lived some miles away), few meetings took place as it was very difficult for the offender to obtain transportation and often the volunteer had other obligations.

The CTP worked with the very successful Volunteers-In-Probation Program in using volunteers, even though there was a conflict in the focus of the use of volunteers. The Project tended to feel that volunteers should be utilized primarily to render specific services, whereas Volunteers-In-Probation stressed the one-to-one volunteer-offender relationship where the very human qualities are emphasized.

Another problem was that when a need was seen a volunteer to meet that need often could not be located. At the same time there were several volunteer services available where no need could be discerned. The Project hired a volunteer coordinator to obtain the specialized volunteer services needed and match these with offender needs. An effort was even made to design a volunteer program similar to the successful program in Minneapolis where an extensive recruitment and training program was developed and an efficient means of matching volunteer services with offenders was used, but the inability to locate an able volunteer coordinator handicapped this effort.

Later an unsuccessful effort was made to recruit volunteers from various colleges (especially the fraternities and sororities) to serve the important functions of finding jobs, specialized volunteers, schools, or other services. The idea to recruit an employment agency to give the Project, for example, one job



a month (the lost fee is tax deductible) was also unsuccessfully explored. The employment agencies were totally unwilling to cooperate (Give them jobs! They should be in jail.). Efforts were also made to organize a group of community-concerned volunteers (retirees, housewives, students, unemployed persons) to locate jobs by canvassing entire areas, either shop-to-shop and factory-to-factory, or even by calling perspective employers on the phone from the phone book. This idea was quite successful in Seattle, Washington and other areas, but lack of an effective volunteer coordinator hindered its development in Oakland County. This same problem hindered efforts to utilize the mass media, including radio, TV, newspapers, etc. in recruiting jobs.

The possibility of a newspaper donating space in the want ads section, stating the qualifications of the offenders, urging prospective employers to contact the prospective employee was also tried unsuccessfully (If we do it for you we will have to do it for the poor, sick, and all the rest of society's misfits.). An impediment to any job recruiting program is that in the community there are a number of persons looking for jobs, many of which are seen by the community as being more worthy.

The use of volunteers depends on the individual P.O.'s philosophy of treatment and possibly even his own life experience and environment. Consequently, the P.O.'s perception of what the offender needs to change his behavior varied. Some officers

were strongly for the use of volunteers. Others felt volunteers had little to contribute.

One volunteer was successfully used to help a probationer who owned his own business and was having some difficulty running it. It was hoped that by using a married volunteer to work with the male offender, the volunteer's wife could work with the offender's wife. This arrangement could serve several purposes. First, both the offender and his wife would have a same-sexed person to confide in and they both would have a successful male-female relationship in a husband-wife role to model from. Importantly, the wife of the volunteer could help the wife of the offender adjust to her unique marital situation. The volunteer, a certified public accountant, volunteered quite a bit of his time helping out the probationer. Unfortunately, due to other business commitments and the distance he had to travel to get to the probationer's house (and the presence of other more rewarding activities, which were financially remunerative) he was not fully committed to the volunteer relationship and possibly the concept of volunteers. The offender seemed to resent someone only slightly older than himself establishing this type of a relationship.

A case that worked out quite well was where a volunteer helped a probationer set up a small business. His role was primarily an information provider, gathering information about obtaining small loans, the best legal procedures to follow, various economic suggestions and other information involved in setting up a

business. Another successful case was where a volunteer was used primarily in a counseling capacity to help an offender who was at the borderline functioning level, having an IQ of around 60. This volunteer was quite successful in establishing a good relationship with the offender, helping him overcome several handicaps. The benefits of this relationship were evident once the offender was discharged from probation; the relationship continued, the program continuing to have some benefit even after the court discharged the offender.

Another volunteer was used to help an offender who received a traffic ticket. As there was some question whether or not the ticket was deserved, the volunteer was able to work out with the offender and the judge an adjudication acceptable to both parties. In this case the volunteer knew the judge and informed the judge of the program and circumstances of the ticket. It was felt that this help was partly responsible in helping the offender stay in college. In college he did exceptionally well. He is on the honor roll studying physics, chemistry, and calculus. Later he was even paid by the college to tutor other students.

Seminarians from a local theological seminary were successfully utilized. They were very dedicated in helping the persons they worked with, and did not pressure the offender to accept their religious views. Later a program was set up where several offenders could work with the seminarians, hoping they would develop a positive peer relationship. The offenders as well as

the seminarians were anxious for the relationship, feeling both could learn from each other, both being in their early twenties. The volunteer level would focus on peer relationships and development of special activities.

Several volunteers from the college helped offenders get involved in automotive and technical classes, providing them with guidance, general encouragement, helping them to attend classes and generally overcoming problems which are often rather minor but which often impede the offender from utilizing the program. Minor problems can be a large stumbling block for offenders who rarely go to college.

Professional volunteers were used successfully for a wide range of short term services. For example one offender was contemplating bankruptcy and wanted to know the various legal aspects of this procedure. Another example where professional volunteers were utilized was the very successful, but short-lived, legal clinic. The legal clinic was designed to help offenders understand their legal rights while on probation as well as to answer other legal questions the offenders may have. One offender wanted to know how to get his driver's license back and the clinic helped steer him in several possible directions. Unfortunately, the legal clinic never developed into a regular program as was hoped. Fortunately this did not present a major problem as there was a relatively small number of offenders who needed legal help, and many of their questions could be answered by the Probation Department or in the community (Legal Aid

Society, American Civil Liberties Union, etc.). One organization, a group of housewives who gave some of their time to the community which was coordinated by a local community organization, agreed to provide various services, including transportation and various kinds of help for the offenders' wives. After the services were requested several times and not delivered, an effort was made to find out why. It was felt that there was a fear on the part of the housewives to work with offenders and possibly even with the offenders' wives. The statement the coordinator made was, "Well, we'll have to see if we can't find somebody who'll not be afraid." Evidently they never did. Because no one was assigned to follow-up requests and solve conflicts or problems between the Project and outside groups, it was never resolved. Again the handicap of not having the necessary volunteer coordinator is stressed by this example.

A wife of one probationer broke her ankle while the probationer was in the Oakland County Jail. A woman was requested to help her do her homemaking chores, care for the family, and provide transportation to the grocery store, school, etc. A volunteer could not be found to do this, so the only alternative was to let the offender out of jail so he could take care of these necessary things for his family. While he may be better off out of jail, it can be seen how offenders could use this to manipulate the court.

The total population of the Project was rather small. This hindered the development of some programs because there

were only a few offenders who had any one specific need. Areas in which a dozen or more offenders needed help took priority. If the Project had eighteen hundred or two thousand offenders on probation, more needs could be serviced, given the same ratios of probationers and the amount of money per probationer allotted for special services to the Project.

### Credit Counseling

Several referrals were made to credit counseling, an agency that helps a client budget his money, usually by the agency taking his check, paying his bills, and allocating the client only enough cash for necessary expenses. The disadvantage of this service for most clients is that it may cost up to \$30.00 per month and its primary function is only to provide an alternative to the client's self-control. The cost was generally not an impediment for the Project's clients because the Project could have in most cases payed for the service. The Project's problem was that most offenders were not motivated enough to continue in the program or develop a sufficient commitment to it if they did continue. It was easier for them to take care of their money problems by simply avoiding paying their bills, spending the money they have on things that give them immediate rewards. It is easier if one gets too far behind just to declare bankruptcy and totally avoid paying the bills than to try to pay them off. In short, many of the alternatives the offenders saw as available were preferable to the alternative the Project encouraged. To declare bankruptcy eliminates the

problem in a few steps; why drag it out for a few years? True, when one declares bankruptcy some of his possessions could be repossessed, but few of the offenders in the Project have many possessions and thus have little to lose by declaring bankruptcy. Most have many debts, but little to show for it. Few offenders own a house or even an automobile. As the court had no way to force continuance in the Program, almost all of the offenders dropped out after a short time.

#### Behavior Modification

Among the many current educational theories that were profitably applied to the Project was the concept of behavior modification. For most offenders a set of main goals were worked out, and if needed, a set of sub-goals. A comparison between the correctional system and education is very useful in that corrections, as education, is dealing primarily with learning, learning new behavior patterns which include new forms of adjustments, a new trade or skill, and other behavior change needed to live as an acceptable member of society. There is a great deal that corrections can learn from the field of education, and in the past correctional programs have utilized many educational concepts. Interestingly, research has indicated that the most successful P.O.s were originally trained in the field of education.

Behavior modification was usually used by specifying the behavior expected and the reward that would be given for its

completion. Thus, reinforcement is contingent upon a set of behaviors specified beforehand. Usually a written contract was used, but in some cases, a verbal contract was more expedient. The contract specified the number of points for each specified behavior. When the specified number of points is reached, the offender is rewarded. His reward depends upon the amount of points he has accumulated and his specific goal. (See Appendix 28 for point values, and Appendix 29 for reward behaviors.) Some of the behaviors the offender must produce are those needed to satisfy traditional court requirements. Some of the rewards (early release, voiding court costs, etc.) were actually occasionally dispensed in the non-behavior modification probationers. The advantage of this system is that it is more formalized, the offender can see his progress towards a specifically delineated goal, and each step is rewarding (as letter grades toward a B.S. degree).

Behavior contracts were used most successfully in the G.E.D. tutoring groups. Unfortunately, behavior contracting was not used across the board in the Project, nor was a specific program embarked upon to research the possibilities of behavior contracting in this area. Exploratory programs were started and modified and remodified. Total reliance was not on behavior modification, as some of the officers would have desired. Some officers structured their groups, the reporting, and other aspects of their working with individual probationers primarily according to behavior modification schedules, but



other officers preferred to use other methods of control. Interestingly, many of these methods could be interpreted as a form of behavior modification.

Deciding on a specific and realistic goal by both the P.O. and the offender focuses treatment in a meaningful direction. Some very successful programs with offenders have been largely independent of authoritative courts, police departments, or penal institutions. The supposition that the authority is needed is not necessarily the case, although it undoubtedly can be important in some cases and should be used if it is functional. The employee-employer relationship which concentrates on getting a "job" done and which is usually non-threatening was utilized to facilitate completing the conditions of the behavioral contract. This relationship is perceived as functional by the offender and the P.O.'s behavior was goal directed and understood by the offender, resulting in more cooperation. The goals should be realistic and of major importance in the treatment program. Goals could include improving relationships with other people, finding and holding full-time employment, or completing a trade school class.

Feedback on the progress of the offender's goal can be reinforcing if properly utilized by the probation worker.<sup>7</sup> After improvement, reminiscing about the client's former conduct while focusing upon the client's improvement was an effective way of utilizing the progress itself as a reward. One probationer's goal was to stay out of jail as much as possible

during the ensuing year. After several months had elapsed, the officer compared his present record with his previous year's record, showing the offender the significant improvement he had made in order to build up the offender's confidence. The officer encouraged the offender to "keep up the good work" and continue working on his goals. He usually could do so with more determination, as progress that can easily be seen is highly rewarding.

The Project utilized many subtle techniques, as letting the offender remove and keep the tack that represents his home from an office wall map which charts the location of all probationers. Most probationers look forward to this symbolic act even though it was only a small part of the total behavior modification program which aided the probationer to complete probation successfully.

Using charts and graphs to dynamically picture the offender's progress was also found to be helpful in corrections as it has been in education. The chart graphed the accumulation of points and clearly showed progress toward a specific goal. Probably many educational concepts could be used in corrections to change behavior.

The rewards the Project used ranged from praise to more tangible rewards, as money. To determine possible reinforcers, a checklist was devised which would explore areas the offenders may be interested in. The reinforcers offenders preferred were unfortunately usually not available, or they could not

be provided by the Project due to their cost. In asking the offenders what it would take to keep them out of trouble, answers such as "a \$15,000 easy job," "my own four bedroom tri-level two car garage home," "a new Cadillac," etc were often verbalized. These are largely unrealistic but not unattainable; but for the staff to help the offender reach these goals he would have to develop some ability to delay his gratification, an ability which most offenders lacked. Using the P.O. or other individuals as reinforcers was feasible and somewhat successful. After a relationship that the probationer comes to depend upon to satisfy some of his needs is developed, the P.O. can use this relationship to manipulate the offender's behavior. For example, assignments were given, and if completed, the offender would meet with the officer for a prescribed amount of time and discuss things that were on his mind. If they were not completed, the meeting would be delayed for another week or until the assignment was complete. But it was found difficult to enforce this and there was some question of whether it should be enforced. If an offender came into the office with a problem, the officer usually "didn't have the heart to turn him down," and helped him anyway. This threat became useless because in time the offenders learned the officer did not carry it through. Fully developed behavior modification programs are limited to institutional settings (usually juveniles) where there is more control over reinforcers and punishers.

Resistance in utilizing the behavioristic approach is

the perception by some that the material and monetary rewards were nothing more than a "bribe" to avoid getting caught in criminal behavior. The distinction between bribery and rewards (or even earned wages) is not sharp. The Project strived to give rewards for only positive behavior. For negative behavior rewards were withheld. "Bribery" could be seen as a reward given if the offender does not get into trouble and "recognition" is a reward given for a certain period of time without criminal behavior, rewarding positive behavior as opposed to rewarding the stopping of negative behavior. It is difficult to duplicate the laboratory paradigm where positive behavior is rewarded either immediately or intermittently (or negative behavior is punished according to some schedule). Outside an institutionalized setting, behavior cannot be watched closely. On probation or parole it is difficult to even estimate the amount of criminal behavior. On probation often the only behavior that is punished is negative behavior the offender is caught at. Behavior he is not caught at generally is rewarding for him and this reward perpetuates the behavior. Another impediment in using behavior modification was that the Project did not have all the controls that are needed to fully implement a desirable program. Experimenting using the early discharge as a reward was not successful because of the previously discussed problem with delayed gratification, even if points were given which would accumulate toward so many months off their sentence. The few factors the officers had to manipulate, as court costs, jail

with probation, and the length of probation sentence itself, were often not approved by the administration to be manipulated for a behavior modification program. The Project staff felt that the contract should be drawn up by the court after the determination of therapeutic goals is made by the staff, instead of being informally drawn up by the P.O. and the offender, as presently done. All too often the offender did as little as possible to "survive" on probation, resisting even the best of the P.O.'s efforts. They wondered why the P.O. played this "game" and complied only because they found outward compliance necessary.

#### Use of Offenders

The Project used some offenders either shortly before or after their discharge as case aids to work with other offenders. Selected for case aids were successful probationers that the staff felt would be instrumental in helping other offenders by being an "example of success," hopefully influencing the other offenders to adopt some of the case aids' positive values. Case aids help the other offenders with problems connected with probation as well as general life adjustment problems, especially overcoming the many excuses probationers typically give to resist therapeutic goals. It was found that an important factor in identifying case aids was the offender's level of motivation while on probation. Using offenders as case aids avoids the implication that offenders are psychologically

abnormal.<sup>8</sup>

Although limited use of case aids was made in the Project, it was recognized that there are many advantages of training and utilizing former probationers in probation work. There are significant differences in the values, attitudes, and behavioral patterns between the predominantly white middle class P.O. and the typical offender population which is lower class and often a minority group status. The use of effective case aids reduces this gap considerably. The former offender's own experiences in crime helps develop a deep understanding of the unique problems faced by the offender he works with. The offender is able to identify with the case aid, realizing that the case aid is an example of effective rehabilitation who shared "my" problems and way of life.

A national survey among prison officials found that the influence of offenders on other offenders was felt to be "generally or almost always bad" 35.5% of the time, and "good as often as bad" 52% of the time.<sup>9</sup> Prison officials are aware that there are many cases of prisoners who have tried to counsel younger offenders to go straight. Association with many hard-core offenders undoubtedly has encouraged some offenders to become more law-abiding, if only to avoid experiences that they have seen happen to others in prison.

A study by Glasser<sup>10</sup> researched the type of advice received from other inmates. His results may be contaminated if many ex-prisoners lied to please the interviewer, but he found

of those interviewed 62% admitted receiving advice from inmates, and 60% said they had given such to other inmates. About 20% said they were, at least once, given advice about going straight on the outside from a fellow inmate. Others said they were given advice on such matters as learning a trade, and need to study and other positive things they should do both while in prison and when they are out. Later, 250 successful releases were interviewed and 122 said they felt the major factor causing them to change away from crime occurred during imprisonment. Of these, eleven credited other inmates as being the most important element in bringing about the beneficial change. This is a small number, less than 5% of the original group of 250, but could be an important factor for some offenders.

Use of the offender in the community has also had some encouraging results. A good example of a prisoner taking the initiative in helping others is a Massachusetts inmate serving a life sentence for murder in connection with an armed robbery. He started a program of individual one-to-one counseling of selected delinquent boys that were referred to him from the court. The sessions, which took place in a prison cell with the lifer acting as an interested friend, listened to the boy's difficulty while trying to make clear the folly and stupidity of behavior which would eventually lead to arrest, incarceration and an unhappy wasted life in a prison. The man, convicted of First Degree Murder, was in the eyes of many boys a man with an ambivalently high status, and his advice was

undoubtedly more effective than advice from someone who had not experienced what he has.<sup>11</sup>

Another program, called the Bars Program, exposed young offenders to inmates on a person to person basis, helping them become more aware of the consequences of their wrongdoings. They could readily observe how their pattern of living was leading them directly into prison. It was concluded that the experience deeply impressed most of the offenders, much more than by moralizing from a P.O.<sup>12</sup>

Programs where, after prisoners receive extensive training they can go on the outside and speak to school assemblies, church organizations and other groups about their own personal experiences with crime and the factors which are causative in producing criminals have been very successful. The motivations to hear inmate speakers range from a curiosity about the fictionally developed aura of mystery and excitement that surrounds a prison convict to a genuine concern and interest in the criminal problem. It is felt that this type of program was very helpful in creating attitudes favorable to the humanitarian and corrective goals in institutions rather than punitive methods. The inmate speakers benefitted greatly from their being able to be away from the confines of prison and the opportunity to meet non-offenders socially. This program is especially helpful for the inmate as he receives recognition for his work, reinforcing for him a lifestyle he encourages others to adopt and develop. Undoubtedly, many gain new per-



spectives on their own lives, broadening their thoughts and interests and goals from this experience.

The use of former offenders in community based programs like Alcoholics Anonymous and Synanon for drug addicts has been highly successful. The success of many non-correctional programs has caused many correctional administrators to look at other programs which possibly could be utilized in conjunction with community treatment programs for probationers. The recent wave of publicity given to drug abuse has spurred the development of community drug treatment programs, many of which employ ex-addicts in counseling. The ex-addict is less likely to be conned by the counselee. He has insight into the offender's behavior and problems due to his own experience and involvement with drugs. Former inmates have established many community projects in an effort to help former inmates adjust to community life and insure that they do not return to the prisons. Some of the better known are Youth Development Incorporated, FUTURE, the Seventh Step Program, the Self Development Group, Inc., The Fortune Society, The Community Treatment and Improvement Group (not a CTP project), and the Norfolk Fellowship. Most of these programs have been fairly successful, some claiming up to 90% success records for its "graduates." While the success of some programs is beyond question, others have failed, some after barely getting off the ground, others after only a short time in operation. In general they have shown that ex-offenders and potential offenders can relate to each other in a constructive

association to reduce criminal behavior. Several of these programs use the counter-conditioning principle (similar to that used in Synonon and A.A.) which utilizes friendship, trust, need satisfaction and the teaching of new responses to old problems. Most programs are difficult to evaluate, and as of yet no extensive research has been done by reliable concerns, but the very fact that an individual is involved in the program indicates a desire to avoid criminal pursuits.

In a discussion of the effects of former inmates counseling inmates, or juvenile offenders, the effect on the former inmates themselves must be considered. In attempting to deter others from crime, his statements which encourage an offender to go straight undoubtedly have a strong effect on his own perceptions. How firm the offender's conviction of the value of not being involved in crime when he begins as a counselor is difficult to ascertain, but the principles of behaviorism would suggest that his convictions become firm as his involvement in rehabilitative efforts of others increases. Further, he is now involved in meaningful activity on a professional basis with parole officers, college professors, and students.

An illustration of a different set of values held by some "hard-core" offenders was the Project case of a nineteen year old offender that killed a little girl while drunk driving. When asked about the offense he was rather self-righteous, even proud of his part, stating "I plowed right into her, knocked her seventy feet, man you should have seen her fly!"

He followed this with "Boy I sure got her good, really plowed into her, the speed limit was 25, but I must have been doing 50 or 60--really flying man!" Psychologically, while compensation is evident, its use in this way is highly unconventional.

After having been trained, it is assumed that former offenders would have the advantage of being more understanding, accepting the motives of offenders, their special anxieties, frustrations, and folkways while still trying to change the offender. In the case above, guilt was present, but expressed in a unique way. By the case aid presenting himself as an example of "one who made it" he could serve as an effective role model and maintain a higher level of rapport between the worker and the client. Yet there are several problems with this paradigm. Can the worker whose life style and experiences are those of basically a lower-class milieu identify and perpetuate middle class values which support the legal norms which the offenders are being required to conform to? Until an offender is completely rehabilitated (if this is possible), he may not be able to help others. The work habits the offenders develop are not always conducive to working in a probation setting; they have to change more than their criminal behavior.

With the acceptance and adoption of middle class lifestyles and values, the former offenders tend to lose their original advantage and their early experience and lifestyle tends to be relegated to the level of intellectual knowledge, with much of the feeling for offenders gone. Yet to the extent

that they follow the lower class life style in dress, speech and mannerisms, they will tend to maintain the gap between themselves and middle class professionals, possibly heightening the feeling of ambivalence and rivalry between these two groups. Utilization of former offenders requires them to play a highly delineated role and the boundaries must be clear for both parties, the case aid and the P.O. A comparison that this change brings is analogous to some self-made men who were once poor and now in their wealth they have lost the capacity for sympathy or empathy with the poor's contemporary problems.

### Group Therapy

An important large scale innovation in corrections is the involvement of the offender in the prevention of criminal behavior in the correctional system by his influencing other offenders in a group. The premise behind group therapy is that modification of both behavior and attitudes are more likely to occur in groups with which the offender can readily identify, groups made up of his peers or fellow offenders.

One of the main treatment techniques utilized in the Project was group therapy. Groups were an important element in the original design of the Project, thus their utilization was specifically researched.

The specialized groups that were established include report groups, marital counseling groups, behaviorally designed groups,

psychological groups, and the more traditional "rap groups." Thus the Project utilized the group for many purposes.

A main purpose was to reduce criminal behavior by improving the offenders' adjustment in the community, especially in connection with his marriage, family and world of work. The group can administer strong social pressure in verbal and non-verbal expressions of disgust, anger, pity, ostracism, etc., causing the offender to suppress certain behavior and hopefully altering the attitudes which produce it. Utilizing behaviorism, with the group as the source of rewards and punishments, the offender's system of behavior can be modified in a group setting. One of the main attractions for groups is the ability for the therapist to work with a number of offenders simultaneously, enabling him to have more time to take care of individual problems in the individual counseling sessions.

Group work was usually used as a supplement to individual therapy and is another technique highly useful to some and not useful or even damaging to others. The Minnesota Department of Corrections found that utilization of groups lowered recidivism while permitting more intensive and extensive parole supervision with a given amount of time and money, while permitting controlled associations among parolees designed for a positive effect. The Project used groups to supplement individual counseling and endeavored to utilize the specific benefits that group therapy is designed to provide.

In the 1950s group therapy was introduced in at least half

of the prisons in the United States and has continued to be in vogue up until the present time. In prison "groups" are composed of fellow inmates who usually share a similar status, background and present set of difficulties. While enthusiastically introduced, group work suffered from the hesitancy, negative reaction, and lack of acceptance that more innovative practices do. Fear of new roles, comfort in ones former role, and the ambivalence of correctional officials to work in groups, partially because of lack of ability, are all elements in this initial apprehension. While awareness of its limitations and unique problems have cautioned its growth, nevertheless this technique is seen by many correctional officials as very promising. By slowly introducing the group work method, selecting qualified individuals to participate, and maintaining normal contact with the rest of the caseload, group work is slowly becoming more firmly established in corrections.

Reports indicate that group therapy is a positive experience that helps the emotional and social maturity of the offender. Its obvious economy compared with individual psychotherapy, coupled with the fact that the group is often not under the leadership of a psychiatrist or psychologist, makes this technique an inexpensive way of helping many offenders. While groups vary in size, they generally have around seven to fifteen members. Depending upon the purpose, they are often rather homogeneous, although heterogeneous groups have been found to be instrumental. Frequency of meetings is generally regular, but varies from

once a month to several times a week, and generally the duration of each meeting is one hour or longer.

The Project was specifically oriented towards groups and thus did not experience many of the initial negative reactions, even though the staff was not highly trained in group practice. Although the Project design stressed that every offender should be in a group, the Project's experience stressed that groups were simply not for everybody, and should be utilized where it was perceived beneficial, but only after certain criteria were met. The Project worked with a wide range of offenders, many of whom require no form of specialized assistance or treatment. Those involved in an offense which involved a set of contingencies which are unlikely to present themselves again received either minor assistance or none at all. The assumption that some type of involvement in a correctional program is necessary was not the Project's experience. In fact, involvement may be, to a small percentage of offenders, detrimental and this must be considered before assigning offenders to a treatment program. Later normal life experiences, assuming the responsibilities of military service, work, marriage, family and maturity gained through experience, are undoubtedly important in overcoming many initial propensities towards criminal behavior in young offenders. The offender is a total person whose law violating is only one sample, albeit a socially unacceptable expression, of his personality and life style which also includes a potential for usefulness that can be developed. As discussed

above, the unique experiences and perceptions of the offender have caused a growing interest in the planned use of people who are, or have been, offenders in the correctional treatment. The CTP of Oakland County utilized offenders to aid in treatment primarily in groups. A brief discussion of some theoretical aspects of this innovation will be presented before the Project's utilization is outlined.

The beginning of group therapy can be traced back to Dr. Maxwell Jones, a British psychiatrist who, because of the demands to treat a large number of psychiatric casualties of World War II. Jones trained his entire staff to use therapy with several patients at one time. Later the theory developed to where the patient was to re-examine his conflicts within an accepting non-punitive group, utilizing the feedback from other group members for progress. Symptoms which arise from the conflict are regarded as healthy attempts at a resolution.

The secure nature of the therapeutic community allows the patient to explore healthier modes of adjustment. Each member can both take an active role in solving his own problems and be instrumental in helping others solve theirs. The face to face group confrontation enables the offender to try out new roles, utilizing the group's feedback in developing a role consistent with a set of functional norms. The offender first alters his behavior and later his attitudes which have led to the trouble and difficulty in the past. Involvement of former offenders in prevention and control as in groups is not



a recent innovation, but has been used with success for many years in corrections.

Another underlying theory of groups is that most habitual delinquency is a group effort sanctioned by the peer group. Many habitual delinquents are children of low income families who tend to not be able to satisfy many needs through more conventional means, forcing them to rely on a delinquent system which provides alternative means for achieving many of the social, economic, and emotional needs satisfied by middle class children in more acceptable ways. By utilizing the peer group as a source of support to change norms, solve problems, and impose sanctions, experiments as the Provo Project have shown that guided group interaction can be instrumental in permanently changing dysfunctional behavior patterns. In the Project each offender was given an active reformation role.

In corrections various methods have been devised to assemble individuals into groups including by age, sex, background, race, type of offense, and personality type, but little research has been done to determine the most effective combination. Ideally matching by some combination of contrasting and complementing personality characteristics could produce a well-balanced group which will benefit the majority of the participants.

When comparing therapeutic techniques, ideally the researcher should utilize a randomization or matching assignment, but the total caseload would have to be, at the minimum, several hundred cases (ideally, several thousand cases) in order to have enough

cases to draw from to insure randomization of the many myriads of group and therapeutic techniques desirable. The Project had to rely on a conglomerate total of group treatment compared with non-group treatment. The expectations are that in group work therapeutic benefits will be accomplished that cannot, or can only with difficulty, be accomplished in individual therapy.

The Project found that the importance of using offenders as therapeutic agents uses the advantage of the offender's capacity for rapport because of his ability to talk the other offender's language, understand the culture and the problems in changing ones lifestyle. Being able to cut through their defenses and meeting the offender with the advantage of little or no cultural distance enables offenders to be highly effective in helping other offenders in the group setting. Importantly too, as noted above, a person is "never more effectively converted to a belief than by the process of having to convert someone else." The importance of the ego building effect of being important to somebody else and helping somebody else was demonstrated in Alcoholics Anonymous and Synanon to be very important.

The social structure of a group results in a high degree of cohesiveness when the members themselves decide what work needs to be done and organize themselves to do it. Aside from being a departure from the usual tense and repressive character of typical P.O. domination, peer contact facilitates developing the qualities of initiativeness, self evaluation and perseverance, so necessary for success in the outside world. Ideally

a program could use groups to train offenders to succeed when they are removed from the program by learning a genuine sense of satisfaction from responsibility and a sense of pride from having a particular skill. This is highly important in succeeding in the straight world in order not to "succumb to the temptations of criminal activity." The frictions that exist in any peer group are utilized in the group treatment sessions to develop skills through working out disagreements by intelligent reasoning instead of resorting to physical acting out behavior as is common among offenders. Helping the offender to rationally deal with his problems requires a start in this direction. Success in the group setting will provide that start. Offenders were more often able to see the group as a technique that was specifically designed to help them. The counseling sessions with the probationer were not always viewed as such.

Some offenders responded in a group situation better than they did in individual counseling, even when the goals generally were the same. Especially for younger offenders from eighteen to twenty-three does the group have many advantages over other techniques. In the group there tends to be less "conning" and the group elicits a higher degree of honesty because the offenders realize it is more difficult to "con" their peers than the P.O. It is harder to manipulate a group of peers than it is to manipulate a single P.O. Several members of the group have often shared similar experiences and are more aware of the offenders' feelings and perceptions than a P.O. who is

from a different social class and is usually of a different intellect and value system.

A major handicap in the evaluation of the Project's use of groups is that a control group was not utilized. This was primarily because the main purpose of the Project was to demonstrate the effectiveness only of intensive services compared to prison and regular probation services, and thus each specific service was not researched. Determination of the effectiveness of specific techniques and the type of offender each technique works most appropriately with was left to other studies to delineate. There are, at present, several studies being pursued which are designed to test the effectiveness of the types of therapy the CTP utilized.

Several offenders have stated that they felt the group has helped them tremendously, while other offenders have felt the group's effect was nil. None of the group members had any negative reactions about their group, although some of the offenders were involved in groups outside the Project which they did have some very negative experiences with even though several of these groups were administered under "professionals."

Each offender in the group had a different perception of his role. Roles of leadership as well as other roles developed in the group setting in time, according to the needs and expectations of the group members. Some offenders were placed in the group primarily to help other offenders or because it was felt that their value system and abilities would benefit

the whole group. The offenders were more positive towards counseling, therapy, or treatment groups where "rap sessions" were utilized. They feel they get more out of this type of group and usually perceive that it was designed to help them much more than the groups that were either therapy oriented, highly directive, or designed for marriage counseling or reporting.

The perceptions of the group leaders, according to reports from group members, was that the group was instrumental in bringing about changes in the attitudes and value systems of many offenders. To what extent this change was internalized, or what degree of permanence will be demonstrated is not known.

An example of value system change through participation in a group was where an offender at a group meeting related an incident which previously happened to him.<sup>13</sup> The incident concerns another driver who, in the normal course of driving, passed the probationer who was traveling about forty-five miles an hour on fourteen mile road. After the other car pulled in front of him he had to slow down to about thirty-five miles per hour. The offender described his irritation by saying, "He pulled in front of me so I had to slow down--no one does that to me!" The offender then followed the driver of the other car, forced him off the road, pulled him out of his car, and severely beat him while his three children looked on. Being quite proud of his "teaching the other driver a lesson" he related it to the group, expecting to receive verbal approval of his actions. The group did not react as he expected. Several

members were visibly upset by what happened and, although they may not condemn the use of drugs as some would and could even admire a good B&E, they could not condone the brutality and the lack of insight and judgement displayed by the offender relating the story.

The offender did not expect this reaction, probably because of his background in the hills of southern Tennessee and the experiences learned from his peers. The experience of being rebuffed was contrary to his other experiences back home and undoubtedly helped him to view his behavior more realistically and objectively, understanding that his peers do disapprove of this type of behavior. The peer group's social pressure caused him to begin to change his value system to be more in harmony with middle class standards and more functional rules of the road. The group leader stated, "I don't know how much his behavior changed at the end of the group, but you could see definite attitude changes in many of his statements." The group's disapproval meant more than the P.O.'s disapproval. The offenders generally look upon the P.O.'s disapproval as part of his role, whereas this was not the group's role. Peer disapproval caused the offender to have second thoughts about some of his feelings and values.

Social disapproval could result only in offenders verbalizing less about some incidents, changing only verbal behavior and not their internal value systems. The extent of value system change is not known, but as publicly verbalizing ideas are

instrumental in the internalization of the values verbalized, there was undoubtedly some change. An important factor in any group's success is the fact that verbalizing values and goals is instrumental in influencing the offenders' internal values and goals, even when a desirable behavior is verbalized over and over without, at first, much belief in its value.

The observation was made that at times more could have been accomplished in individual counseling than in the group if one hour per week, which the offender spent in the group were spent with each offender. The time in many group sessions probably often helped only one or two persons with specific problems, the other members wasting their time listening to discussion about problems that did not involve them. To determine who would benefit most from a group setting, some diagnostic work should be done so relevant factors are known and offenders are placed in groups with similar goals. It is often, but not always, desirable that the group have a common set of problems but be in a variety of positions and stages in solving them. The offender himself should have an idea of what he is going to accomplish in the group and should have some way of measuring his progress. Monitoring could be used to insure that all offenders were benefitting from the group. It was observed in several groups that some offenders had little in common with other group members and had virtually nothing to contribute to the group.

Task groups, where the group is working towards a specific

goal, are of little use unless enough offenders are available so fairly homogeneous groups can be developed. If not, it is often advantageous to work with each offender individually. With the group the therapist could utilize group pressure to facilitate general common goals which most offenders share. There is more personal pressure to carry out a commitment made before a peer group compared to a commitment made before a P.O. alone.

The report group was a new concept the Project utilized. To our knowledge a report group has never been used before in an adult probation setting.<sup>14</sup> Because referral was random and not according to the offender's needs, a certain percent needed only minimal attention. Those eligible for the report group were minimal supervision cases that did not have, as far as could be determined, any serious pressing problems and were seen to possibly benefit from the time spent with the group. As an even minimal supervision probationer usually reports monthly anyway, this would give him an opportunity to involve himself in a beneficial activity without taking a lot of time from the P.O. It was decided to hold the report groups at the campus of Oakland Community College in Farmington because the campus was centrally located to where most of those selected for the report group lived. It was desirable to have the group in a comfortable and congenial setting like the college could provide. The college is generally anxious to help out the community and when O.C.C. learned that the group was a court



related activity, a comfortable room was provided without charge to the probation department. Selecting a meeting place equidistant to most of the offenders' homes was seen by several probationers as an effort on the part of the probation staff to accommodate the needs of individual probationers, making probation a helpful and useful opportunity instead of designing requirements almost solely to aggravate offenders.

The purpose of the report group was to:<sup>15</sup>

1. Provide monthly contacts in order to insure that the stability the probationers had was maintained. Often if it is assumed that a probationer is doing well, contact is lessened and reporting is allowed by phone or letter. This results in some loss of contact and the offender is possibly more likely to involve himself in negative activity without the knowledge of the officer than when he is more often in direct contact with his P.O. Several offenders stated that being able to report by other means than in-person seems to condone their present behavior, where persistent personal direction from the probation worker can insure that the probationer does not involve himself in any pursuits which may be detrimental to him. The report groups were able to locate several problems the offenders had which should be worked on.
2. Discuss mutual problems involving employment, spouses, family problems, etc., and to receive the benefits of a group in solving these problems.
3. Fulfill the legal requirement of reporting once a month. The report group session legally served as the probationer report day.
4. Help the probationers meet their obligations in reporting. Offenders with problems in obtaining transportation and those working days could be accommodated in that the meetings were held in the evening when transportation is usually less of a problem. Because most offenders work from 8:00 to 4:00 or 5:00 p.m., they have to take a day off work in order to report to the probation department, the probation department office hours being from 8:00 to 5:00. In the evening it is often easier to obtain transportation because neighbors, friends or

relatives are home from work and more willing to drive the offender to the report place. There would be less resistance from friends to do this in that reporting to a college campus is less threatening than reporting to a probation office. Also the offender would be more likely to ask to be driven to a college campus than to a probation office, as many of the offenders do not want their friends, relatives, or even their family to know that they are on probation.

The report group was set up to be a short term group of around ten one-hour meetings every three weeks, depending upon what the group decided to do (they voted on the particulars). Even though the offenders showed up around fifteen to thirty minutes late, which is fairly good timing for most of the offenders the Project worked with, the groups lasted from one to two hours, considerably longer than expected.

Each offender volunteered to be part of the report group, but once he did he was required to attend at least 80% of the meetings. If he missed more without a valid reason, he had to revert back to regular reporting, requiring him to report to the probation office in person once a month during working hours. Thus there was an incentive for the offenders to continue to remain part of the group, even though membership was voluntary. Another motivation was that if the offender did well on probation he was promised that the staff would attempt to give him an early discharge. For these reasons and because the group enjoyed the sessions, attendance was not a problem.

Of the eight offenders selected to be part of the group, two were lost immediately on pending charges, and later another offender moved to California, leaving five offenders as the

stable number of the group. Usually the group had a visitor, including girlfriends, fiances, friends, or relatives. This was allowed because it was felt it would not disrupt the purpose of the group. In most cases visitors were welcome in that they served as another resource person, one who often was not in as much difficulty with the law as the regular group members and thus could offer opinions, suggestions, and evaluations from a different frame of reference than the group.

The structure of the group was rather loose. The officer in charge had an agenda outlining what was to be talked about for each session but rarely used it. Because intensive individual therapy was not attempted, concentration could be placed on more mundane matters which were felt to be important in helping the offenders. The technique that was used was to let each offender say what was on his mind, giving time limits to assure each offender an opportunity. The group then asked questions and presented new ideas for discussion. By giving each offender "the floor," those who are more reserved and less inclined to talk would be encouraged to tell about their new activities, their job, problems with their parents, friends, school, the law, and any change in situations they discussed in previous group meetings.

One offender could not decide whether or not he should move out of his parents' home into an apartment of his own. His parents, especially his mother, objected strongly to his moving. Another offender lost his license and wanted to know

the legal steps necessary to re-obtain it.

The P.O. started the report group with the idea that behavioral assignments would be used to help the probationers reach their identified goals. The offender, it was decided, should achieve at least one goal. It was left up to him to determine what that goal was. The offenders usually selected minor, inconsequential goals, occasionally connected with the conditions of probation, as pay court costs, buy a car or take a trip down south.

Another offender wanted as his goal to pay his court costs. To this the staff replied, "Yea, if that's the way you want it, but I had hoped you would try to work at something much more substantial than that." Ideally, the staff wanted the offenders to develop a goal which would be of a long term benefit to the offender.

If selection of a goal to work on was delayed until two or three weeks beyond the date the offenders were requested to have formulated a specific goal, it was interpreted as a sign of resistance. This resistance was shown even after the goal was selected. The offender cited above listed three goals he said he wanted to work on. These were (1). obtain an apartment of his own; (2). pay his debts; (3). earn early release from probation. Given the choice to pick one, he picked the first, an apartment of his own. He was then asked to approach his father and discuss the problem with him. The group discussed the various ways he could approach his father, stressing the

advantages it would have for him and his parents for him to be on his own. After he approached his father (who was seen as more favorable), he was to call the P.O. in order for the P.O. and the father to get together, either at the probation office or at their home to discuss how the mother could be approached to facilitate this goal. Three weeks later, at the next group meeting, the offender had not contacted the P.O. yet. When confronted with this fact, he related that he changed his mind and decided he would wait until he was off probation before he made the move. Evidently, when confronted with this situation itself, he simply was unable to make any definite moves toward a goal he had previously verbalized he wanted to make. The selection of this goal and agreement to carry out the steps was possibly made to please the P.O. or from pressure to conform to the group, not with a serious intention of fulfilling the goal.

After the group was well along, a problem developed. The group leader was doing most of the verbalizing; it was rather difficult to involve the group offenders in group discussions to any great extent. After the offender was involved in the group it was felt that he would be stimulated to become involved in the group process. This was found not to be the case for several offenders. Several offenders who were almost always present made few comments and little interchange took place between them and the group. Judging by efforts to involve them in the group and their reactions to various statements

and questions put to them, they gave little attention to the group process. To rectify this, several attempts were made to change the group's focus in order to make it more interesting and beneficial to all the offenders involved.

Because most of the Project P.O.s were not previously P.O.s, they had to overcome their initial anxiety in dealing with often manipulative and sometimes hostile clients. Even if he were confident in a one-to-one relationship, there often was some apprehension when in front of a group. Another offender's presence sometimes caused an offender's hostility to surface more easily. The P.O. occasionally found it difficult to maintain the high level of confidence necessary. Hostility, though, although present, did not seem to seriously impede either the individual counseling progress or the group progress. Although many of the offenders were troubled and at times aggressive, few were highly threatening. The support that the offender received in the group is regarded as therapeutic in that it permits expression of anger, the first step in identifying the source of his frustration, a step necessary for treatment. Importantly, the cathartic effect of venting hostility is highly therapeutic, as is the support from ones peers and the guidance from the group leader in finding meaningful solutions to an identified problem. Observation of emotional outbursts could be a jarring experience for some offenders and requires a trained therapist to guide the interactions.

Review and evaluation of the group meetings was accomplished

by taping the entire session and later reviewing the tape in a staff meeting or in a conference with the Project Director. This review produced feedback for the group leader and enabled each individual worker to improve his ability to conduct groups. The Project endeavored to keep the group membership for all groups below ten, as a small group has the advantage of being more cohesive and gives more opportunity for participation by each group member. Group attendance averaged around seven, small enough to draw out each group member.

Actually, the key elements necessary for successful group work included the attributes of simplicity and honesty. The group enabled each participant to relate with human beings in a warm, friendly, accepting atmosphere where one can grow and receive feedback from his peers. By directly approaching the problems of arrest and probation, the group frankly approached the specific goal of successfully completing this probation which required avoiding further encounters with the law. Directing the group towards a utilitarian goal avoids bluntly pitting differing cultural concepts against each other. Agreeing on this goal, specific steps were taken and decided upon by the group to reach this goal. Offenders are more likely to listen receptively to their peers than to an authoritative person in reaching this goal, especially when the group was used to help each offender understand that "he has the capacity within himself to find the paths to improvement." An appropos illustration on how the source of information affects the

information's acceptance is the easily discounted source of information from a television commercial compared to a highly accepted source of information, a newscast. While it may take the group hours to find an answer which the group leader could formulate in a minute, the answers they find for themselves are felt to be more permanent, whereas the answer pronounced by the leader, if heard, is all too often reacted against by the offenders' defense mechanisms.

Ordinarily the problems verbalized were close enough to the surface that a minimum of surfacing energy was necessary. The group did not explore to the extent expected in traditional psychoanalytic therapy. Complaints as the nuisance of being checked on, reporting, the injustices of discrimination against those with records, and the unreasonableness of certain rules, to name a few areas, were encouraged to help the offenders assess and develop insight into their situation. The attacks began indirectly, and gradually focused closer to the specific problems that were salient to the probationer. The leader's role was to join in with the group as a human being in a practical search for answers to help the probationers with common goals. The group remained rather unstructured and encouraged a free flow of even bitterly rebellious talk, presenting the group with the immediate problem of how to get along with each other in order to achieve the group's goals. Therapy takes place even if only in the form of socialization of simple concepts and internalization of a slightly more utilitarian value structure.



## Drug Programs

There is a great deal of pessimism in the effectiveness of many drug programs and many researchers feel that the hopelessness expressed by some workers only compounds the problems, reducing the effectiveness of programs which otherwise would be more successful. Experience with addicts stresses that the most important factor in rehabilitation is the addict's attitude. The attitude among many addicts that "once an addict, always an addict," impedes progress towards rehabilitation.

The importance of helping the addict believe that he can lick the habit was stressed in a study released by the Defense Department based on the research of Dr. Lee Robbins of Washington University's Department of Sociology.<sup>16</sup> The study concluded that heroin addiction, far from being incurable, is a habit that many people can "outgrow." It is not unusual to see an addict give up drugs on his own. Dr. Robbins showed that many U.S. servicemen that became narcotic addicts in Vietnam stopped as soon as they left. Of those who continued to use drugs after they returned, most insist that they are not addicted. According to Dr. Robbins, some of the research data suggests that heroin can be used as a "plaything." The statement that some people use "just a little bit" seems appropriate for many individuals. Obviously, addiction to drugs depends upon the amount used, the method used to get the drug into the body (by injection, smoking, or sniffing, etc.), and especially the psychological factors of the offender, his

chemistry makeup, the type of drugs he uses, the length of addiction, and importantly, his cultural group's (or his peer group's) sanction or non-sanction of drug use. In evaluating drug programs the researcher should be cognizant of the fact that the hospital or project can initiate rehabilitation, but rehabilitation must be continued after the patient returns to the community or when he is no longer under the care of the program. The failure of many programs is also because of a large number leaving before completing treatment, indicating many programs' inability to retain (legally or otherwise) its patients. Saying that the program is a "failure" under these conditions would be tantamount to saying that a surgical operation was a failure if the patient left the hospital before the incision was closed up or if a cancer patient discontinued treatment before he was cured. Realizing that most addicts are poorly motivated for self help, the importance of motivation and methods of increasing it must be studied. Viewing the addiction as a chronic illness apart from the crimes an offender committed in conjunction with it would put addiction more in the hands of medical and psychiatric specialists and less in the hands of a punitive correctional system.

The Project did not use one single plan in working with the problem of drug abuse. Each offender was treated differently and the various elements of his drug problems were often attacked independently. Methods used included group therapy, methadone maintenance, individual counseling, and residential home placement

including SHAR and Rubicon House. Many offenders were referred to another agency which dealt primarily with drug users.

The Project often found that if the offender payed for part of his program he more often had a vested interest in improving, resulting in a higher level of success. The amount the offender paid depended on his financial resources, but varied from 25% to about 95%; the rest was paid for by the Project. The main direction taken when working with drug abusers was to find better outlets for their drives. By satisfying some of their needs in other ways than drugs, the Project hopefully could provide a more desirable alternative to drug usage. Especially with drug abusers, there was a need for rewarding activities to replace the use of drugs. The more successful activity which replaced drug use was college. Once in college, the offender usually did not revert back to drug abuse because evidently this new activity was more rewarding. Two offenders, both heroin users, had the advantage of an average intelligence and involved themselves in college and are presently doing quite well. The P.O.s felt there is little chance of their reverting back to hard drug usage. While drug usage did not totally stop, it was limited to marijuana, and usage is more responsible, limited largely to their apartments. The P.O. stated that "now they have too much to lose, part-time jobs, taking home a fairly good salary, full-time school, a promising future, and a variety of places where they can obtain rewards, largely in socially acceptable areas."

If an offender can be made to appreciate what he has going for him, the usefulness of the services, the large expense that is invested in him by not only the Project, but also by other agencies, including the Employment Security Commission, Department of Vocational Rehabilitation, and other programs, he will take advantage of available programs. A problem with many offenders though, is that a replacement activity could not be found. Over 70% of the caseload had problems directly related to drug abuse, and the Project was hard pressed to find substitutes.

The drug clinics the Project used focused primarily on preventing the use of drugs through methadone maintenance and weekly urinalysis. The use of urinalysis and other techniques have, for many offenders, eliminated the use of certain types of drugs, but offenders that the Project was not aware of as having a drug problem will go untreated. Comparisons of before and after Project usage must be made with caution, preferably only among offenders that were identified early in the Project as drug abusers or non-drug users. Ideally, use should have been measured before, during, and after treatment for all offenders. A rating of drug usage is difficult to make, as it is very difficult to identify the amount of pure drug being used. A specified quantity of heroin may be worth \$10.00 in one area, \$5.00 in another and \$15.00 in another. Heroine is often highly diluted and the specific amount of dilution is highly inconsistent. Thus, depending upon the source, which

can be highly varied, and due to the fact that there is no strict medical supervision over the diluting and distribution of illegal drugs, its use and its cost and amount of use can only be estimated. The offender himself often does not know the quality of the drug has changed, as the effect of most drugs depends on the taker's mood, past usage, and psychological state. Most offenders perceive that they will require an increasing amount of heroin to achieve the same effect. The chemical state of the offender's body can distort his judgement of the quality of heroin he received, causing controlled research on the offender's experience to be compounded even if his judgement were possible to obtain.

One factor involved either directly or indirectly in a large number of offenses is excessive use of the drug alcohol. The task force on drunkenness of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement, and the Administration of Justice, recommend that civil detoxification programs be established as an appropriate alternative or adjacent to the criminal process. The recommendations include creation of a medical facility which provides in-house medical services for minor ailments and diagnostic referral services for serious ailments. The primary goal of these centers is rehabilitation which requires elimination of the stigmatizing impact of criminal processing.

The first operative detoxification system in the United States operated in St. Louis under a one year demonstration grant from the U.S. Office of Law Enforcement Association.<sup>17</sup>

This program began in 1966 as a result of combined efforts of several local experts in the field of alcoholism treatment. Referrals were made from police arrests or a special civil rescue squad. All drunk arrestees were taken first to a hospital to determine immediate medical needs which were immediately treated. The short stay at the treatment center also involved a complete physical and attention to all identified medical needs. If a serious ailment is found, the patient is transferred to a local hospital or mental health center. Patients staying are usually showered and, if necessary, deloused and then assigned to a bed. After remaining in bed for one or two days and receiving vitamins, forced fluids, tranquilizers, and a high protein diet, the patient is involved in physical therapy, socio-dramas, group therapy, and didactic lectures. After this short program the client is referred to other agents if this is felt necessary.

Oakland County estimates that there are over 26,000 known alcoholics in the county and unfortunately there are no treatment facilities even near St. Louis. The few available are limited in both the number they can treat and the depth of treatment available. Only limited Halfway House programs exist and a serious need has to be demonstrated for one to be accepted. The recent wave of drug abuse and "experimentation" in the high school, junior high, and even elementary schools has spurned the development and establishment of several drug programs, but even though alcohol is still the number one

drug abused, no similar alcoholic programs exist.

Among the few recently established agencies in Oakland County available to deal with the problem of alcohol (and drug abuse) that the Project utilized is the Alcohol and Drug Abuse Center located at 120 South Washington Avenue, Royal Oak. This center was largely the product of concerned Oakland County judges, and its main clientele are offenders referred from the courts. The operating costs are financed through a schedule of nominal fees paid by the offender, usually in place of a court fine and/or a jail term.

Referrals from other agencies are accepted only if time and space are available and only on a voluntary basis. Court referred clients have the advantage that supervision and treatment can be endorsed through the court or probation order. The Center offers comprehensive treatment in conjunction with halfway resident programs where Halfway Home placement is deemed necessary. All court referrals were placed in some form of treatment, usually for the balance of their probation unless other contingencies operate to terminate treatment. The number of halfway residents accepted was limited and the length of treatment available is sometimes shorter than needed due to limited space in the home. Generally no more than three months can be allotted per referral.

Other services include diagnostic evaluation, individual and group psychotherapy, individual and group counseling, marriage counseling, A.A. group meetings, and medication under

the supervision of a staff psychiatrist. All new clients are oriented to the program by an alcohol-drug information class. For those living in the halfway home, residential programs were available and the center can utilize services of other agencies as vocational rehabilitation.

Community based drug and alcohol programs have also in many cases been relatively effective. Few of the Oakland County programs involved offenders that have been convicted of major crimes. Working with the CTP's cases was a new experience.

Probably the best known program for alcoholics is Alcoholics Anonymous, and for drug addicts, Synanon. Both of these were started in the community outside existing institutional facilities, and both were started by individuals who at one time were addicts. Both programs utilize social group pressure and encouragement from former addicts to facilitate behavioral change. The addict is able to identify with a former user more so than a non-former user because the addict feels that only a former addict "knows what it is like" and is able to empathize, developing better rapport than professional counselors who are usually of a higher social status and are involved in a different life style. James Allen, Executive Director of the Addicts Rehabilitation Center said,

I don't see how an agency which deals with addicts could function without ex-addicts in key positions. Especially in therapy. . .the ex-addict can better communicate with the addicts seeking help. The former addict has told himself the same lies, has made the



same mistakes, and his experience is invaluable to the addict.<sup>18</sup>

The Project used both A.A. and Synonon for many of the drug abusers on the Project's caseload.

### Marriage Counseling

Marriage counseling provided another direct service to clients through the use of consultants. The probation coordinators expressed the need for marriage counseling when they described the marital situation of a significant number of offenders as "disastrous."<sup>19</sup> A poor marital situation is often influential in criminal behavior and the cooperation of the spouse was seen as an important area in rehabilitation. The staff estimated that around 50% of the Project offenders that were married had adjusted poorly to marriage. Thus, marriage counseling was given a priority. Several of the Project cases have recently, or are at present, seeking a divorce. Another factor influencing wide use of marriage counseling was that both the funds and qualified marriage counselors were available. The original marriage counseling group consisted of eight persons, four offenders and their wives. The group method was utilized, forming what was termed a "marital counseling group."

The marital counseling groups' goals were to achieve progress through opening up the means of communication between the husband and wife, utilizing other group members to discuss common problems to help each couple develop insight from its

peer group. The group leaders (professional marriage counselors) served primarily to direct the group's discussions as a resource person, clarifying points, and directing the group to other sources of information.

The group was behavioristically oriented. A series of reinforcers were given to produce specific behaviors to improve the offenders' marital situations. A list of reinforcers was drawn up for each offender according to what he selected from a large list of possible reinforcers.

Among the rewards used were theater tickets, food and clothing certificates, cash awards and football, baseball, and other athletic event passes. In examining the reward that the offender valued, it was found that automobiles played a primary role. Obtaining parts for their cars had a reward value far beyond the actual cost. The reinforcers that were found desirable by the probationers were analyzed by a psychoanalytically trained therapist and found to be primarily on the oral level, indicating the stage of developmental adjustment that the offender with marital problems is generally on.

One reward that was successfully used to encourage the wives to attend the group sessions was beauty shop certificates. Also successful were recreational tickets for trips to Bob-Lo, some concerts, community fairs, and area amusement parks.

Even when desirable rewards were obtained, problems were encountered. Ten tickets to a Tiger baseball game were obtained, but there could only be used on a certain day, a day, it so

happened, that was "not convenient" for the probationers to attend. Some would have had to take off work or school and many were unwilling or the staff felt it would be detrimental for them if they did. Another problem in obtaining rewards is that many events which are reinforcing to middle class adults are not reinforcing to the typical offender, including operas, plays, art museums, cultural and university events, ironically including in some cases movie theatres and even football and baseball games.

The Project found, that to serve as an effective reinforcement, the item had to have reward value almost immediately upon presentation or as soon after the desired behavior is performed as possible.<sup>20</sup> In order to obtain the reward of a set of baseball tickets, for example, the offender was required to expend a great deal of effort. Planning ahead, getting ready, dressing up, obtaining a sitter, getting into the car, driving downtown, parking and finding the seats all come before the actual reinforcement is delivered. It was found that the probationers simply did not have the motivation to go through these intermediate steps in order to receive the reinforcement. This was often true even if attendance at a Tiger baseball game was perceived to be rather rewarding. The intermediate steps taken to receive the reward diminish the reward value of the tickets. Items as cash certificates or even food, clothing or merchandise certificates were found to be much more effective. Going to the food store to get food involves fewer steps in

obtaining the reward, but for baseball game tickets to serve as a reward involves a great deal of motivation hours before the deliverance of the actual reward. Unfortunately, immediate rewards were often not obtainable or obtainable only with difficulty because of a strong resistance in the community to giving this type of reward. As a result the use of the rewards system was not used to the extent desirable.

The staff was unable to use the Project money to purchase reinforcers because the funding agencies stipulated that Project monies could be used only to purchase "direct professional services" specifically for the clients. The staff felt that there was not enough flexibility permitted in using available funds. Ideally, the funds should have been able to be used in any way that the Project staff saw fit, especially in view of the fact that this is a demonstration project, the only requirement that all monies be accounted for. This design would have been more functional towards facilitation of the Project's goals. For the first year the grant allowed \$8,000 for the purchase of contractual services (but only for direct use by the clients) and \$15,000 for the second year of operation.

An effort was made to solicit donations from individuals so that probationers would view the reward as coming directly from the community. This is done successfully in projects at the juvenile level, but was largely unsuccessful for this Project, partly because this court was at the adult level. Sympathy and help is accepted when given to juveniles, but

"adults" are seen by the public to be responsible for their situation and thus less deserving of sympathy or help. Many community agencies, especially business, were unwilling to contribute either their time or services for "criminals."

It was also difficult for the Project to obtain the reinforcers which they could have utilized in the marital counseling groups because the staff did not have the time to follow-up on the available resources. A full-time staff member, unfortunately, was not assigned this task, but a part-time person was later hired. In the early phases of the Project, when caseloads were low, the probation staff itself was able to go out and obtain reinforcers from several community resources, but as caseloads increased, this became more difficult. Considering each officer is running one or more groups, is expected to render many time consuming services, including counseling, coordinating, and developing programs, has to fill out complete case reports on each offender each month, produce a breakdown of the hours spent with each offender and periodic reports on offenders having serious problems, research material for therapy sessions, and cooperate in the Project research activities, there was less and less time to continue gathering outside resources as the Project progressed.

The original design of the marriage groups was for all the members to concentrate on only one offender's problems during each session and another member's problems at the next session, etc. It was found difficult to implement this, partially

because the attendance was not good as evidently there was a great deal of resistance towards marital counseling. For each marital couple specific goals were defined which the group was to help the couple work on. In the group the offender learns that he is not alone in his problems when he finds out other married couples have similar problems. It was expected that varying degrees of success would be experienced by the group members in coping with their problems and a pooling of information from ones peers would help each couple develop some meaningful solutions.

The marriage counselors obtained were not highly experienced in working with this particular type of client, and several unexpected contingencies developed that they were unable to handle. As noted, the primary problem was attendance. The offenders simply were not motivated to attend the group sessions. The offenders either did not recognize that they had a marital problem or, if they did, they were not inclined to seek outside help in solving it. The offender's spouse was even less likely to admit having a problem, the resistance often due to personal inadequacies. The offender is required to appear for probation services whereas the offender's spouse, parents, relatives, or friends are less willing to get involved, feeling that the problem is with the offender himself. Unable to see what they have to do with the offender they feel: "He's the one who broke into the store, I'm just his wife, I don't see why I have to come, too." Unfortunately, a significant number of offenders'

parents, relatives, and family support the offender's justification and criticize the court, sometimes to the point of encouraging resistance on the part of the offenders towards the court.

Another possible problem was that the phrase "marital counseling" was used instead of less offensive terminology as "Family Group" or "Family Rap Sessions." "Marital counseling" implies problems which few offenders are willing to admit. Even if they do, few motivate themselves to overcome any problems they perceive themselves as having.

The offenders perceived that involvement in the marriage counseling group would bring pressure upon them to change their lifestyles in ways they did not want to. In more cases the offender has developed a lifestyle that is satisfactory to him and perceives the Project as attempting to change his lifestyle into what he perceives as undesirable. The resistance partially arises because of a normal resistance to change and partially because the offender sees the court's role as punitive and generally undesirable. The offender's spouse usually recognized that the court has no control over her, and lacking individual motivations, felt no pressure to attend the sessions.

Marriage counseling was not a legal stipulation of probation, and the experience of the Probation Department is that few courts will violate an offender for refusing to comply with an adjacent request. Marriage counseling was, in most cases, not even specified as an adjacent request on the articles of probation. The Project staff, perceiving this, realized that

it would have to use other means as contingency contracting to implement this innovation. The original design was for the counseling session to be voluntary, encouraging the selected offenders to come and spontaneously participate in the activities, but several ways could have been used to encourage attendance.

The offenders who were selected to be part of marital counseling were not introduced to the marital counselors until the first night of marital counseling. The probationer attended this first meeting with the counselors, but after this the counselors were on their own. Ironically, one offender who usually showed up for the marital counseling brought his girlfriend instead of his wife, impeding the purpose of the group and presenting what was felt to be an unfavorable influence on his peers. If the counselors would have gotten to know each offender and his wife, possibly at the respective offender's home or another convenient location, establishing a good relationship before the group started, possibly less resistance would have been encountered.

Encouraging interaction between the marital counselors and the probationers outside of the marital counseling group could have facilitated communication and the couple may have been more free to contact the counselors as problems developed. The marriage counselors should have encouraged the offenders to contact them and should have themselves made an effort to visit each home to establish a relationship of such quality so that in crisis situations the counselors would have been contacted in



lieu of, for example, one of the spouses going back home to mother, seeking a separation or the couple trying to solve their problems through physical means (as happened in several cases).

The marital group was run at the Probation Department because the counselors, both Wayne State University Clinical Psychologists (one a Ph.D., the other a M.S.) felt "safer" utilizing the Project as a meeting place. The counselors, not taking into consideration the type of client they were working with, felt that their responsibility was limited to showing up at the meetings, not realizing that ingenuity on their part is necessary to motivate the offender and to overcome the many obstacles to change that are typical of this type of client, especially in therapy. If the meetings were held at one of the offender's home or in a socially desirable place in the community, the connection with the "Probation Department" would have been less of a handicap. Holding the meetings at the offenders' homes could involve either establishing a permanent residence for a meeting place or having the meeting place rotate to several offenders' homes. The room in the probation department office that was used was rather "drab," with its dark floors, white walls, and white ceiling. The only furniture was a large conference table, several chairs, a desk and a credenza. Experience in all types of therapy has found a comfortable congenial "homey" room is more conducive to facilitation of most any therapeutic goals.

Utilization of a car pool may have eliminated some of the

transportation problems, as well as overcome some of the resistance. Calling the offenders before the meetings, or making home visits previous to the meeting day could also have facilitated attendance. The counselors themselves eventually became discouraged and any genuine original interest in the clients was lost, mitigating against efforts towards improved attendance.

The meetings were scheduled every other week, but in time and with experience, it was found that too much time had elapsed between sessions. Because the marital counselors were not affiliated with the Project there was a communication gap in the counselors' relating the groups' progress and the specific areas covered to each offender's P.O. The probationers were not able to contact the marital counselors except at their place of employment, and then only during working hours. Because the marriage counselors were hard to get ahold of, the offender contacted the P.O., who was usually not familiar with the progress made in the marital counseling group. Thus, he did not know the present marital state and recent progress and problems. To overcome this handicap, the P.O. had to try to familiarize himself with the total situation when a problem presented itself, hindering effective use of resources in dealing with the problem at hand.

In evaluating the marital counseling experience, the main benefit was found to be in providing the couples with a social outlet where they could develop their ability to communicate, no unimportant quality in a marriage. Several couples had

virtually no social activities involving both the husband and wife. The group afforded them an opportunity to come to get together and relate their problems, hopefully continuing to discuss them at home. Thus, for the first time, several couples attempted to face their problems and involve each other in their solution. As drugs are also a problem, the marital counseling group sometimes served as a drug therapy group, especially in bringing out feelings between the husband and wife relative to, in most cases, the husband's drug usage. Drug usage was later in some cases made a behavioral contingency as part of the behavioral therapy paradigm.

The primary suggestion for further improvement in using marriage counseling is more and higher quality contacts between the marriage counselors and the offenders. Ideally, the group as a whole could meet in a convenient place and time as often as necessary each week, and offenders could meet individually with the marital counselor for further help as needed.

#### Vocational Rehabilitation

An important aspect of rehabilitation is the involvement of the offender in meaningful work. Helping the offenders satisfy the important psychological drive of self-fulfillment is important in treatment. Work programs give the offender a chance to not only earn spending money, but also to learn to budget his money as well as learn good work habits, and all of these factors are important therapeutically. Offenders

that typically worked hard at menial jobs most of their lives and as a result were driven to impulse seeking activities found a high degree of satisfaction in learning, if that learning were functional towards some specific goal. According to Maslow's theory of needs, when an individual is helped to achieve satisfaction on a lower level need, he is able to reach out to satisfy higher level needs, one of which is exploring his environment and seeking stimulus therefrom. This activity is summarized in education vernacular by the term "learning."

Ideally, work should be therapeutic. There are many examples of programs which have involved offenders in therapeutic work with good results. By working with people instead of things, it has been found that increased maturity and empathy for people results, aiding in better adjustment to the community as a whole and individual situations with people. Female offenders assigned to work in a mental hospital with severely regressed senile women found the experience highly satisfying, the female offenders giving the patients the kind of attention they needed, often developing good relationships with them, becoming fond of the patients, and feeling challenged by their highly therapeutic work. Even involving the males in hard manual labor, which is often highly rewarding, can be instrumental if only in that the work leaves them with little energy and initiative to spend the night hours in activities other than sleeping.

Since many offenders have sexual identification problems,

often due to a lack of a satisfactory male parent, forestry work and certain types of construction have a distinctly masculine character that appeals to males. One P.O. astutely observed that the tin hats used by construction workers have more status appeal to an offender than appeal as a head protector.

Little systematic research has been done with the specific effects of employment on success in correctional programs. Unfortunately, usually only a fraction of the participants in work programs make effective use of their work experience, making any evaluations difficult. Most administrators are convinced that such programs are of value and there are high correlations between success on probation and the work record of an offender, although this may be a result of another factor as personality operating on both the success of probation and the world of work instead of ones work performance directly affecting probation success.

The Project found that probationers have better success in a job they found themselves than a job found by the P.O. This could relate to the fact that initiative in finding a job relates to the desire to work, and the offender feels more satisfaction in accepting a job he found on his own and is more inclined to seek work in areas which to him are more desirable.

The economic advantage of an offender working in society more than pays for even expensive training. Working enables the offender to support his family (reducing welfare), continue

his social security payments, make restitution, pay his fines and income tax. The importance of pay in any rehabilitative program is increasingly being recognized. Rewards for ones effort are important, even in an institutionization setting, the rewards helping maintain functional behavior. Along with pay comes the responsibility to refund the agency for treatment rendered, charging offenders for probation services, including job training, legal advice, and medical and psychiatric care. Being given a chance to make restitution by performing services for the community was offered if the Project was not able to pay the offender.

Learning the habits of earning and saving are important in successful living and normally are not a part of the offender's life style. Because a poor self-concept and alienation are identified as common characteristics of the offender population, receiving low wages often aggravates his bitterness towards society and downgrades his already low estimate of his own self-worth. Steps to improve the offender's feeling of self-respect and his respect for "the system" are increasingly felt to be functional towards successful rehabilitation and adjustment in the community.

An impediment to rehabilitation after any probation experience is acceptance in the straight community. Ex-offenders generally have difficulty in being hired for jobs in which they are qualified and are often not able to obtain business or occupational licenses; there are even restrictions for

government employment. Ex-offenders often cannot hold public office, obtain security clearances, obtain bonding, travel outside the United States or obtain business loans. While these limitations may have been designed to protect society, they imply that the former offender still owes a debt to society ("Is it ever paid?" one offender asked), is not rehabilitated, and is still "a criminal." The difficulty in assimilating into the community, even after the offender has completed extensive rehabilitative training and has a low likelihood of recidivism sometimes forces offenders back into crime. He is still faced with difficult problems which impede continued progress.

An impediment to employment includes any "criminal record," even participation in the CTP Project. If the offender is honest and puts his involvement with the Project on the employment application, he probably will not be hired. If he lies and does not put this fact down and his criminal record is found out he probably will be fired. While many non-skilled and even some skilled workers eventually did obtain work, and some have done quite well, at times even working up to managerial and white-collar positions. Three offenders did this well in the Project), the general attitude of many perspective employers is often detrimental to further improvement for many offenders. One offender, after doing quite well in a trade school program, applied at one position which seemed promising. During the interview with the employment director, it was noticed that the young man was a former prison inmate and was presently

on probation in the Project. The employment director laughed in the applicant's face and while tearing up the application stated, "We can't hire you, we don't hire criminals to work here." This incident upset this Project probationer, shattering what little motivation he had to work. "Why bother trying to go straight? I know my way around in my own world."

Because the Department of Vocational Rehabilitation's (DVR) services were extensively utilized by the Project, a brief description of this governmental agency will be presented.<sup>21</sup>

The essential purpose of the Department is to assist and encourage disabled or disadvantaged citizens to develop and improve their skills and abilities so that they may become employable. The Department makes available many services an individual may need to render him employable if the disability is felt to be a serious impediment to employability.

Each year approximately 10,800 individuals of an employable age become disabled as a result of disease, accident or reach the age of fifteen burdened with a limitation which renders obtaining satisfactory employment difficult. DVR was established by the State of Michigan in order to improve the employability of the estimated 8% of Michigan's population who are in some way mentally or physically disabled. Of this, approximately 659,000 disabled, 230,000 are employable and are of an employable age (fifteen to sixty-four years old).

The over \$20 million budget of DVR is made up of 80% federal funds and 20% state funds. Of this, 40% is spent



directly on case services, and over 50% of this 40% goes directly for training and materials, 17% for diagnostic services, 14% for physical restoration services, and 17% for maintenance services. During the 1969-1970 fiscal year 24,000 clients were provided with rehabilitation services resulting in over 8,000 individuals being placed into employment. Before rehabilitation the 8,000 offenders had a combined annual earning of slightly under \$24,000,000. This income increased nearly five times after training. The increased tax revenue and reduction of welfare cost and other services resulted in a substantial financial return for the state's investment in the client's future. DVR's statistics show that each disabled worker that returns to a job pays \$7.00 in federal taxes for each \$1.00 spent on his rehabilitation. A variety of services are available to rehabilitate a disabled person, including diagnostic counseling, physical restoration services, a variety of training programs and training supplies, and financial support for schooling, including tuition, room and board, transportation, food and monies provided during the rehabilitation period. Extensive medical services, including major medical and psychological services are available without cost to those severely disabled. The Department also aids in job placement, obtaining tools and equipment for work, and conducts follow-up studies to evaluate its own success and insure the continued employability of the client by providing continuing services to encounter any difficulties which may occur after the training period.

To be eligible for Vocational Rehabilitation Services, the following criteria must be met:

1. Existence of a physical and/or mental disability, or a "behavioral disorder." (Thus most probationers qualify.)
2. Existence of a substantial handicap to employment (or if present employment is threatened because of a handicap).
3. A reasonable expectation that vocational rehabilitation services will result in the individual being able to engage in a gainful occupation.<sup>22</sup>

These guidelines are sufficiently broad so as to include a wide variety of factors which may impede the obtaining of productive employment. The inclusion of the "behavioral disorder" criteria allows utilization of DVR services by correctional agencies. The Department's statistics show that, although the majority of clients are referred by educational facilities, hospitals, state employment services, or other governmental agencies, 6% were referred by correctional departments.

The Department extends services to "the disadvantaged" using two classifications, sociogenic-retardation and sociogenic-neurosis. A direct commitment to increasing the percentage of clients in the disadvantaged program was recently made and the Department has specifically encouraged the referral of "deviant social offenders." The purpose of one program has been directed to "individuals whose disabilities are the result of . . . behavioral disorders characterized by deviant social behavior or impairment of their normal relationship with family and community." Such impairment may result from

vocational, educational, cultural, social, environmental handicaps. Clients eligible for vocational rehabilitation services under this definition include public offenders, alcoholics drug addicts, the "socially and culturally deprived," provided the person is truly "handicapped" in finding the holding suitable employment. This recent broadening of the definition of handicapped has enabled DVR to accept a wider range of individuals from correctional institutions than they were previously able to.

One program used by correctional agencies, the school cooperative program, is directly connected with forty-three local and intermediate school districts and endeavors to work with handicapped youths in high school by providing services to enable them to stay in school until graduation. Services include development of an intensive working relationship to develop methods for solving the many problems of disabled-disadvantaged youths. The priorities at present include cases with recognized mental limitations, especially those who are what is termed "disadvantaged or deprived."

The mental health program of the DVR has increasingly taken on more clients: 15% in 1965 and in 1969 the number was up to 33% of DVR's total caseload. The purpose of this unit is to provide vocational rehabilitation services to the estimated 150,000 unable to work because of "retardation or emotional disturbance." Of the 2,000 that were provided services, over 500 clients were successfully rehabilitated. Special efforts were made to make these services available to minority groups.

An examination of the programs listed above shows that criminal offenders have a high priority for several reasons: (1) by definition a convicted offender is a "behavioral disorder characterized by deviant social behavior," and eligible for the services of DVR. A certain percentage of those involved in criminal offenses are "mentally handicapped," including the presence of retardation and emotional disturbance. Almost all offenders are "educationally handicapped," and between 30% and 60% are members of a minority group.

DVR has a specific program aimed at correctional rehabilitation to "provide vocational rehabilitation services to public offenders in institutions, on parole or on probation, which will remove or minimize the obstacles to their obtaining suitable employment and enhance their chances of obtaining a job," helping to remove the economic necessity for crime. One experimental program involving younger incarcerated offenders from the correctional institutions taught marketable vocational skills through vocational training and was found to be highly successful. Of those who reached parole status while in the program, over 80% have chosen to continue their training at the rehabilitation center, even though they are not required, after they receive parole, to remain in the program.

The 1971 goal of DVR was to double its efforts within the public offender population. The present officials state that, "because of our increased skills in this area, it is expected that the correctional rehabilitation sub-program will

prove to be more effective and result in over eight hundred clients served and two hundred public offenders returned to employment."<sup>23</sup>

Another area that DVR is involved in is working with alcohol and drug addicts. DVR's resources are used to remove or minimize the obstacles faced by alcoholics and drug addicts in finding suitable employment. A comprehensive effort to tie in directly with existing drug and alcohol treatment programs was recently begun.

DVR has helped a large number of the Project's clients and has even developed several programs to help its population. Unfortunately DVR's record is not as impressive with second felony offenders as with other offenders. Because DVR's services were available to both the Project and the control group, and during the Project DVR was making a special effort to reach the total criminal population, a compounding factor was introduced.

Many of the probationers are aware that one of the services generally offered by the probation department is some type of vocational rehabilitation. They often enter this training with the realization that the state is paying for tuition, books, room and board, food, etc. Often the offenders who do not finish this program enter with the goal of getting through probation, and not because they feel they have something to gain from the program. These offenders enter DVR partially because it is felt to be the correct response to make to a P.O.'s request. Once in the program, whatever initial enthusiasm

was present wains and the full reality of the implications of completing the program take effect. This and other pressures cause the student not to complete the program. Completing a training program actually may be threatening, in that now the offender no longer has the excuse for not working that he is not trained for a job. He fears that then he may be required to work.

Ideally, if the court could require that the offender complete a vocational rehabilitation program satisfactorily and have some pressure to insure that this is carried out, more individuals would complete the program, hopefully being less unemployable after completion. Under the present structure the court does not enforce completion of work training and therefore very few Project offenders complete the program. Actually, there are only three probation articles which the offender will specifically be violated for: (1) a new offense consisting of a major violation of a state or federal law; (2) not reporting as directed by the P.O.; and (3) not paying court costs as directed by the court. Generally the last two do not constitute violations unless flagrant, and non-payment of court costs usually results in the probation period being extended until the costs are paid. Most violations are for the first condition, violation of state or federal laws. These three conditions are established by the legislature and tradition and are the only conditions which a court will violate for without other violations also being present.

The observation that the probationer's main goal is often to avoid being sent to prison illustrates one of the prime functions of prison, that of a threat. Once this threat is administered it has less threat value. The offender has been there before and has experienced the prison setting. He often finds that "it's not so bad," reducing the threat value in relation to his degree of adjustment, the better the adjustment, the lower the threat value. Often DVR will spend \$1,000 to \$2,000 in a training program. If the program is not completed the monetary expense is largely wasted. Research should continue until some motivation is found to facilitate completion of the programs. About 85% of the Project's offenders utilized DVR's services, but the number that successfully completed a program could be counted on one hand.<sup>24</sup>

Looking at the reward system, why should the offender go out and work eight hours a day for \$3.00 an hour (or less) when he can stay home and B&E to support the things he needs in life? It is easier to collect unemployment compensation or go on welfare than to put forth the effort to work at a job. Much of the offender's behavior, as our own, can be explained in terms of rewards. The offender selects that which he can attain the greatest reward from, depending on his cultural background, past conditioning and experiences, and his individual perception. The officer is, during a twelve or twenty-four month probation period, fighting problems that have been present for sixteen to twenty-five years. How much can the P.O. realistic-

ally expect to achieve in the short time an offender is on probation? Realizing this, several programs were developed to reward the offender for his progress in a job training program. Although offenders could not be paid money directly for attending programs or for fulfilling specified obligations, the Project was able to arrange with one offender for DVR to pay him \$180.00 a month for expenses if he would stay in the training program. The money paid to the offenders is called a "maintenance allowance," and is usually necessary, if the offender is not living at home, in order to continue his education.

This offender stayed in the program and did quite well, realizing the \$180.00 a month was contingent upon his doing well. He thought it was "the greatest thing in the world to receive free money," as he called it. While this money was actually given to take care of car expenses, food, clothing, etc., it was still his to spend as he pleased, and he viewed it as being paid to him to stay in the program. He graduated with good grades, and had no problem being placed in the area of diesel mechanics. Even if he were directly paid this amount to stay in school, if he keeps a job after graduating, which it seems likely he will, through taxes he will more than pay back the state what they invested in him. The twenty-week program cost about \$3,600 in direct payments made to the offender, but the job he has now pays around \$12,000 a year. From taxes he will pay back to the government, he will pay around \$4,000 a year besides saving the state the expenses of



welfare, additional court costs, lawyer's fees, etc. which would be put forth if he were to continue his previous life style. This offender was living off welfare previous to the Project.

The Project agreed to pay for the training programs of several offenders, averaging around \$900, if the offender would match the money. This was done because it was felt that the offender would have a higher commitment to the program if he invested some of his own resources, aside from time, into the program. The feasibility of paying an offender a fairly good amount of money for going to school and making fairly good grades was not explored, and there would probably be many objections to this approach. It may, though, in the long run be highly successful towards rehabilitation since lack of work and education seems to be the main impediments to rehabilitation. True, many offenders are greatly deficient in academic skills, but there are many programs that would provide training so these deficiencies would not be as great an impediment as at present. This approach would be practical especially today when a great deal of emphasis is being put on trades and semi-skilled work where two years of college or a trade school program is sufficient. These programs involve only a limited academic attainment, primarily the ability to read and do some math. Where learning is dependent upon experiential factors and working with ones hands, most offenders do quite well. Required book learning may be an impediment, but could be overcome by the use of tutoring

to improve specific academic skills or tutors to work directly with the offender in the skill involved, instead of learning the skill by a textbook.

A case which illustrates the contingencies involved in interesting an offender in a training program was an offender who has been debating about involving himself in a training program for over a year. At this point it seems that the officer's encouragement is paying off, as he is seriously thinking about entering the program, but as of yet has not done so. Another offender, who is married and is working at a job he absolutely detests, will feign sickness to avoid going to work at the Pontiac Motors foundry, but yet he is still ambivalent about involving himself in training programs, even in an area which he feels he may like. Encouragement to leave the job which he detests and get work in an area which he likes, making at least an equal salary to start and much more in the future (with a better future) was only met with indecisiveness. In endeavoring to find out why the ambivalence, a series of emotional factors were identified. Almost a year later he has, on his own initiative, begun inquiring into programs where he works that will help him get involved in the skilled trades area.

#### Private Tutoring Groups

Tutoring is presently in vogue in advanced correctional projects, and the staff of the present demonstration project

was anxious to experiment with the concept to tutoring.

In order to succeed in employment, it is often necessary to raise the educational level of the offender. The educational goals the offenders developed were rather short term. It was unrealistic in most cases to have as a goal a college degree; few were motivated enough to complete even one year of school. The college programs a few offenders were involved in were mostly two year programs. The primary goal of the tutoring was to pass the General Educational Development Examination (GED), helping the offender to qualify for a better job. Tests indicate that the academic functioning of most of the probationers is quite low, possibly averaging around the fifth grade.<sup>25</sup> A total of ten offenders were selected for the tutoring program which was made up of two groups of five offenders each and two teachers which were hired from outside the Project. The offenders were selected on the basis of the perceived benefit they would gain from the tutoring. The selected group's academic abilities ranged from second to eighth grade. The groups met two days a week, one day for the regular lesson and another day for either a makeup lesson, remedial work, or a special lesson. Originally, the tutoring was to last for three months, but later the length was extended to six months because it was felt the tutoring goals could not realistically be reached in the short period of three months.

The offenders selected were almost totally unsuccessful in the educational system they were previously involved in.

Several reasons were explored as to why this was so and how similar failure experiences could be avoided in the Project's tutoring sessions. It was found that in the school the offenders did not get the personal attention they needed. Motivation was lacking due to a long experience with failure and a generally poor home environment or at least a home environment not conducive to academic pursuits. In time the academic aspects of school acquired a decidedly negative value because of most teachers' inability to handle the problems the offenders exhibited during their school years, not to mention the offenders' typical lack of ability and other traits that work against school success. Because their ability was not tested, it was not known how many offenders were in classes that they should not have been in. Usually offenders who did not do well in school were "socially promoted" or put in another class so the previous teacher "could get rid of him" or because the school policies discouraged an instructor failing a student. As a result only a few failed more than one grade. The school simply did not know what to do with these students, so it just kept them around, trying to keep them as quiet as possible until they could be expelled or quit of their own volition. Examination of the school records shows that they had many personal problems and often did not receive the needed help. In many cases the only help received was punitive discipline. Another factor is that many of these students, especially during their last years of school, were on drugs, making it more difficult to pursue

an academic vocation successfully. Generally the offender acts on impulse, exhibiting a lot of aggressive acting out behavior which the school coped with by either expelling the student or returning the behavior he was being punished for.

Since the vast majority of offenders are males, and all those selected for the tutoring groups were males, it was felt desirable to hire two young physically attractive females trained to work with problem students. If the offenders have had negative relationships with women in the past, which some did, possibly this would be an opportunity to develop a good social relationship with a female. As the majority of teachers in the educational system are women and often the offenders exhibit marked hostility towards women in this role, several precautions were taken to help facilitate the development of a good relationship between each tutor and the students.

One positive factor in the tutoring situation was the development of a one-to-one relationship with a person who is specifically trained to work with this type of student, exhibiting an understanding and thus usually patience and empathy. The average student is inclined to approach the teacher for help if he perceived he was not doing well in his course work, but the offenders involved with the Project would be unlikely to approach the teacher in a normal school setting, due to fear, an inability to evaluate himself as needing help, or not viewing the teacher as being willing to help him. Also there is a matter of embarrassment, in that the typical level

of ability of the offender is lower than average which results in his being less likely to ask a question in a normal school classroom, especially if he perceived that the other students understood the material being presented. Academically he is often shy, feeling backward, preferring to avoid the whole situation, especially if it is anxiety provoking. He often resorts to other means to reduce the dissonance, including acting out. Deviant behavior is often for the purpose of gaining attention, direction attention away from their lack of academic skills and towards other abilities that they perceive themselves as having. One-to-one tutor relationships avoid many of these problems. The P.O.s perceived that several students who were being tutored applied a great deal of effort, because they believed and trusted in the P.O. and were quite willing to accept the help offered. Even if they had any reluctance, they were willing to "give it a try" because "we thought it was best for them."

A problem at first was that the group did not have textbooks or any printed material. It took time to select the proper books to be used, have these approved and process the order. The delay from the time of ordering to the time the books were received was several weeks. During this time the lessons had to be improvised, which was difficult for the tutors to do in that their experience was not directly related to the unique types of academic problems that the offenders had. The first lessons were verbal, making it difficult to develop a concrete

goal and plan of action for the offenders. Until the books came, the tutors were able to utilize mimeographed sheets, workbooks, etc. from their place of full-time teaching, and later the staff secretary typed out tailored lessons for the offenders. The books the staff finally obtained were tutoring books designed to enable the reader to pass the G.E.D. exam.

Originally the group was closed, where a select group of offenders would begin and end together. This was not found to be very feasible as some offenders were lost because of new violations, job changes, or other factors which were felt by the staff to justify missing the tutoring. It was found necessary to later admit other individuals into the tutoring groups and still limit the size to five students per group. It was also difficult to keep track of where the offenders were academically. A system should have been developed to chart the offenders' weak areas, and monitor his progress in these areas.

During the first three months, the sessions were held one evening per week for two and one-half hours, but the staff felt that more time was needed. Because the students were not doing their homework regularly and their academic efforts were limited to the formal tutoring sessions, it was decided that the group would meet two days per week, Tuesdays and Thursdays, and each meeting was to be two hours in length (which usually lasted longer). Tuesdays were used for a lecture on some area of interest to the group and Thursdays were for group work, testing, etc. Later, the lectures were modified because

the tutors were reluctant to present formal lectures and it was felt more could be accomplished by working with individual offenders on this day also. Homework assignments were given on Tuesday to be completed by the following Thursday, and again on Thursday to be completed by the next Tuesday. A small weekly quiz was given to encourage the offenders to progress at an even rate, and not wait until the last minute to cram, discovering that one is too far behind and panic.

The three areas the tutors concentrated on were math, reading, and spelling because these areas were believed to be the fundamental weaknesses of the group. These areas were felt to be the most helpful in their everyday life and would help them successfully complete a GED examination, the tutoring's main goal.

In an effort to keep the attendance up it was decided to use a system of behavior modification. Theater tickets were given once a week to the first offender who walked in the door. The tickets were given out only once a week; if the tickets were not received on Tuesday, the offenders learned that they would be received on Thursday, but they were not told on which day they were to be given. This had the desired effect of increasing the attendance, but attendance still dropped off towards summer due to the school's competition with summer activities.

After three months it was decided to incorporate a behavior modification token system to increase motivation and insure



that the remaining offenders completed the tutoring program successfully. The staff felt that rewards must be given for day-to-day requirements for the system to work. The offenders planning is normally directed primarily towards day-to-day needs and desires, with few or no long-range plans. Originally the concentration of points awarded was only for attending. Later on, more demands and requirements were needed to gain the same number of points, including completion of homework and later a certain percentage correct on each test. The point system on the tests was also geared so that the student had to progressively get more answers right on each test in order to receive the same number of points as before. Thus, the concentration of points available changed, now requiring better and better work.

The offender accumulated points which could be traded for money, but only after so many points were accumulated (see Appendix 19 for sample point schedules). Fifty points (worth \$10) had to be accumulated before any points could be turned into cash. At the end of the Project, the maximum number of points that could be earned over the three month period was 400, making the highest number of points available worth \$80. If the offender passed the GED test, an additional block of fifty points was awarded. Ironically, the Project was not able to obtain the needed funds in order to fulfill their obligation to those who earned points. The contractual services money could not be used for this purpose, and it was mistakenly felt

that enough contributions could be obtained in order to make the payments. When it came time to pay, the group was informed that if they waited a few weeks, the money for their points would be paid off. This led to some discouragement on the part of several offenders (as well as discouragement on the part of the Project staff).

It is interesting to note that one of the P.O.s remarked that an offender who was doing well in a two year college program considered the point system an "insult" to his intelligence for us to pay him to do what he had the natural ability to do and wanted to do anyway. He was highly motivated and perceived the tutoring as an opportunity to improve his skills to help him succeed in college.

The group was accompanied by the tutors for the three day GED tests to insure that the offenders got to the correct place, had moral support when they got there. Unfortunately, the GED test was not carefully supervised, which resulted in a great deal of talking among the candidates. Even though most of the talk was not about the test, it hindered the offenders' progress, as their time was not utilized properly. They probably would have done much better if they could have concentrated totally on the test. The Project's experience with the GED tests is that they are very poorly run, and that there are many disturbing things happening, including cheating.

Originally it was felt that since the goal was to pass the GED examination, if the GED results were not favorable, the

tutoring would be discontinued. As it turned out, none of the offenders who took the test passed. When the results were later reviewed, though, there were several very encouraging factors which influenced the Project to continue the GED groups. An examination of the individual scores showed that several offenders came close to the required 45 points needed to pass the test. When all the sub-tests are failed, the individual has to wait six months before the test can be retaken. If the offender passes a sub-test, he is not required to retake that part again. While all offenders failed all the six tests on the exam, several offenders did come close to passing several tests. In comparing the pre and post Wide Range Achievement Test scores given to each person tutored, it was discovered that, in most cases, there was an increase of at least one grade level, and in several cases, two to three grade levels. The substantial overall improvement is more significant in that only two hours tutoring weekly was enough study to bring most of the offenders up one to three grade levels in almost all the areas tested. For this reason it was decided that the tutoring groups would continue, even though none of the offenders passed the GED examination. The progress made was sufficient, considering the low level each offender started at.

The value of the GED tutoring groups was also emphasized in the case of one offender who wanted to join the Armed Forces. The first score on the Army qualifying test was the unbelievable

low seventeenth percentile. It was decided to use the tutoring group to help him pass this test. Thus, the goal for him became not to pass the GED examination, but to acquire enough academic ability to insure his entrance into the service. Even here the inability to plan for future goals presented itself. The offender had about three months between the date he started and the time he was scheduled to retake the specific test which he had to pass in order to enter the area of service that he desired. At first he put forth little concentrated effort in reaching his goal. He came to several tutoring sessions high on drugs, avoided doing his homework, and often did not concentrate on the lessons when he did come. When he had less than one month left before the test, he started to settle down and attend regularly. Towards the last two weeks he was highly motivated, and the staff was willing to give him the time and attention necessary to bring his academic skills up to a level where he could do well on the test. Partially due to extensive tutoring and his high motivation, he was able to double his raw score, resulting in a score in the eightieth percentile. The goal was closer, motivation was higher and he was able to utilize the services which were offered to help him reach his goal.

The conclusions of the tutoring experiment were that although the students made a vast improvement, they could simply not realistically be expected to be brought up from an average fifth grade to the tenth or eleventh grade level in six months.

The tutoring experience helped the Project staff to develop a more realistic set of goals as well as a better gauge to judge progress. Offenders starting at the third or fourth grade level could not realistically make the needed improvement in the short period of time the Project had. The offenders the Project worked with were described as typical "dropouts," needing a great deal of help in many academic areas. Research comparing the progress made from individual tutoring and classroom work shows that, by far, individual tutoring methods are superior.<sup>26</sup> Several offenders were out of school for many years. In one case ten years had elapsed between the end of formal school and the beginning of the Project tutoring. A great many skills had to be relearned (or learned for the first time).

The rewards system should be developed so that socially acceptable rewards could be expended by the department. Other suggestions include using variable intermittent reinforcement schedules, rewarding purely on the basis of improvement, or rewarding individuals who are felt to benefit most from this type of reinforcement.

### College Programs

Probably the most successful program that the Project developed was the college programs. A close association with Oakland Community College in Bloomfield Hills, especially the Farmington Campus, enabled the college program to be utilized

more than expected. About a dozen probationers were enrolled in the program, and four offenders were very successful, the others dropping out for lack of interest and low grades. Most of these offenders failed as a result of very low academic skills and inability to delay gratification over a two year period. For various reasons several of these were not in the tutoring groups and so did not pick any of these skills up. Also involved was the lack of initiative and lack of basic study skills (not knowing how to study, prepare reports, profitably use and organize their time, have a value system for the rewards college offers, organize ones activities and general lack of self-control). It was felt that OCC's cognitive style learning programs would be a superior resource for the offenders. Utilizing this program, OCC claims a very high rate of success. Many of the Project's students were not mapped because the college's testing facility was limited and it was difficult to get eight offenders into programs over other more deserving students. By learning how the offenders learned best, and what materials would facilitate overcoming their academic deficiencies, it was felt the program would direct them into an area where success was assured to break the chain of failure the offenders typically experienced in the past.

Two offenders who were part of the tutoring group and in college viewed the tutoring as an extension and another means of enabling them to improve their skills to better their college record. Thus, the tutoring group could not take full

credit for the advancement that these offenders made, although undoubtedly the tutoring was instrumental in that it concentrated on specific skills which were pre and post-tested, and the college concentrated on different skills. The skills the Project concentrated on would only indirectly be picked up at the college.

A brief sketch of the background of an offender who was successful at the college program will enable the reader to obtain a clearer picture of the program. After the offender graduated from high school and started college he got deeply involved in the drug culture. Shortly after his use began, the drug involvement impeded his studying, eventually forcing him to drop out. After getting into trouble several times, he was put on probation in the Project. Again he tried college but through the Project where many of his expenses were taken care of by DVR and other programs. Many of his peers were either in prison, out of school, or married, therefore this negative influence was no longer present. The Project stressed the importance of the offender making his own decisions on how he was to spend his life. He made the decision to involve himself in pursuits in which both he and the Project felt would be instrumental in rehabilitation, and he endeavored to avoid the negative influences he was involved with during the past. As of this writing he is still doing well in school and has a promising future ahead of him.

One offender, after earning straight A's for several terms in some fairly difficult college courses, stated that he would

"not give college up for the world," and felt if it were not for the Project he would have been involved in the same pattern of criminal difficulties he was before. This offender had a high school education and had started college before the Project and had a better than average intelligence besides middle-class values. The Project helped him have a strong commitment to change and gave him some of the resources to implement that change. He now has a goal, which is that he wants a college degree in order to be a conservation agent, and has rewards, as grades, that are able to motivate him. Due to his excellent progress, he was discharged early since it was felt that the Project could now contribute a limited assistance towards his progress and he is well on his way to success.

Because most offenders lack goals, incentives, finances, and transportation, the Project has to help them in many areas first before much success can be experienced in an educational area. With the above case the Project had something to work with in the first place, nevertheless a number of offenders do have some skills and abilities. Unfortunately, many of the offenders are not ready to make many goal decisions until they are in their late twenties or early thirties, and sometimes even in their late thirties or early forties. An important factor in success of probation is the maturity level of the offender. If he can be convinced to settle down and accept responsibility, his chances of doing well on probation greatly improve. As expected, those offenders who were married, especially



those having children, had a higher success rate than single probationers or those married without children. Marriage and children evidently sometimes forces a man to settle down and accept responsibility, making him more likely to successfully pursue an educational program. Accepting responsibility also sometimes reduces involvement in criminal activities.

### The Operation and Structure of the Project

This evaluation is to convey to the reader an understanding of the indepth workings of the Project. It will also look at some of the problems encountered and make suggestions for the benefit of future projects to either eliminate or attempt to deal with these problems. An examination of the theoretical design will be made in comparison with the modified procedure the staff developed as the Project progressed.

In examining correctional research Projects, primarily two aspects should be considered: the theoretical and the real world of people. This section focuses on the "real world" in an effort to understand the feelings, motivations, desires, etc. of those individuals involved in the Project, noting the original design where necessary.

In every organization or project, there are certain expectancies which experience has shown that inevitably occur. Much literature today is written about various projects (and the experiments or research) which rarely reveals the "gut feelings" of the workers involved, and often attempts to hide the normal human contingencies that inevitably occur in any human social system. Failure to mention these faults precludes any systematic study to overcome them. A research project which does not mention the slide that cracked, the specimen that dropped on the floor, the error in measurement, the papers that were misplaced, or the unavailable data which was forged, may present a very favorable picture upon reading,

but may add little to man's store of knowledge and even impede knowledge possibly by presenting false conclusions and misleading statements. For these reasons this section has been a frank review, and intends to be openly critical in order for future projects to learn from the mistakes and inadequacies found in the present effort and so the results can be fairly judged.

In designing a Project as this, as stressed above, a total understanding of the specific court process involved must be obtained in order to produce a workable design within an existing correctional setting. Understanding not just how things should take place according to guide books, but how things actually take place is a prerequisite. Often the legal court procedure does not correspond with the actual procedures which have been found to be practical. To understand individual problems the court encounters requires some experience working with the actual court process or at least sources in which an accurate and honest review of the actual court workings can be obtained. There are several aspects of the Oakland County court process which are unique. The type of court, location, history, staff, etc. all influence the court's operation and should be taken into consideration in the design of any project directly (or indirectly) dealing with a court.

The Project's visible detachment (separate offices) from the control group has its advantages, i.e., an almost total separation between treatment populations and to insure that frequent intermingling between the Project staff and

the regular control group staff does occur to reduce contamination. But, provisions should have been made for a full time research person to be at the courthouse to insure the Project functions went according to the design. It should be stressed that the researcher selected should be totally committed to research, endeavoring to carry out the research according to the research design, not having a vested interest in the results of the Project, but only interest in producing accurate, reliable research; realizing that research is an attempt to find out what is in "the real world" so to speak, and any distorted research does little good as replication inevitably will discover the original research's shortcomings. Formost, the researcher must see that the principles of good research are followed.

It is probable that several P.O.s at the courthouse viewed the Project as a method of "proving" that what they were doing was "inferior." Many recognized that the hypothesis for improved treatment could have some validity, intensifying any ambivalent feelings. There was also possibly some feelings of inferiority relative to their position. To dispel some of these feelings, several luncheons and meetings were arranged at the Project's offices for both the courthouse and Project P.O.s. The conversation, unfortunately, often centered around the accomplishments of the Project and at times renewed some negative feelings. While efforts to be friendly and cordial at all times were certainly helpful and there was a sincere effort on the part of the Project to improve relations between

the two departments, both sides were somewhat aware of the negative feelings and the atmosphere was at times somewhat of a facade, covering up true feelings even though many feelings were aerated at these meetings and attempts were made to deal with them.

Another effort to counteract these feelings included an attempt on the part of the courthouse staff to implement some of the ideas used in the CTP for their own population. This was contrary to the research design, and probably contiminated the research to a small extent, but it is difficult to determine the exact influence it had. The Project staff did not discourage this because it did help dissipate some of the hostile feelings. The effect of the presence of the Project encouraging use of new techniques by the entire department was not unexpected. The improvements in the regular probation department consisted largely of individual innovations, as developing a reward system for certain probation behaviors, increased effort to obtain jobs, some vocational rehabilitation, drug counseling, involvement in methadone and mental health clinics, etc. There has also been much talk of starting groups, but this did not materialize.

A problem that has been a source of discussion and possibly was influential in impeding the progress of the Project was that there is about \$2,000 difference in pay between those P.O.s working for the CTP and those working for the regular probation department. Normally it takes three years of experience

to acquire the status and pay equal to a P.O. II classification, but the Project staff was given the P.O. II status and the benefits of two years experience upon commencement of their employment. This pay difference, combined with the perception that most of the "prestige and excitement" was with the CTP has caused some of the undesirable feelings between the two departments. While an opportunity was given to all courthouse personnel to apply for positions within the CTP, the impression was conveyed that at the end of the Project the officers in the Project would not have positions with the county. If they were hired back they would have to start as new employees, losing tenure, benefits, etc. These factors discouraged many officers at the courthouse from applying because they did not know specifically if they would have a job after the termination of the Project. Any initial ambivalence was replaced by resentment when it was rumored that all five P.O.s would be given permanent positions at the courthouse and would retain all additional privileges that they were granted when they became part of the Project. When this rumor was confirmed and formally announced, the court house P.O.s felt that an accurate picture of the situation was not originally presented and thus they did not have accurate information to make the decision to apply.

Full commitment to integrity of the research in demonstrating the goals of a project of this type is important. The above factors possibly influenced the outcome of the Project. A

requirement for projects that establish a new experimental division is that the advantages and disadvantages of remaining within the established set-up compared to leaving ones position there and obtaining another position within the experimental sector should be clearly delineated. It is also important to make the decisions relative to what is going to happen with the Project staff after the termination of the demonstration phase before hiring so that those applying would have a clear picture of their own future before they make their decision. Any pay increase (if it is felt necessary) should be fully justified (as requiring an M.S.W. to work under the auspices of the Project). A different classification, as Social Worker or Probation Officer Coordinator (as was originally decided upon by the Project) instead of P.O. may help justify the increased benefits. Before increased benefits are given to one section over another, full and acceptable justification must be given or the changes must take place within the accepted framework of promotions, classifications, etc. In the present Project, an increase in pay could only be justified if additional requirements relative to the number or the schedule of hours worked, their duties, etc. were at least formally imposed on the Project staff. There were some requirements which already existed for the Second Felony Offender Staff over and above the requirements for the courthouse staff. Formalization of these may have helped to avoid some of the negative feelings between the two staffs.

It was not known what level of morale and commitment was present in the total department as no measure was attempted so no comparisons could be made. To assure that effective leadership and a high degree of morale are present before a study is undertaken, a tool to measure morale should be confidentially administered to each staff member. By using standardized tests, the general orientation of the majority of the professional staff could be examined. This preview should include some means to insure that all staff directly involved were dedicated to the principles of research and were willing to cooperate fully. An anonymous questionnaire or individual conferences could identify the staff's feelings. It was quite possible in the present study that a few progressive judges were very anxious to have the Project in Oakland County and were highly influential in the decision-making process, the rest of the judges evidently acquiescing.

The judges' acceptance of the Project must also include a commitment to research ideals and necessary controls. The judges should understand the demands of research and the necessity to design research certain ways. Some of the judges, unfortunately, contrary to the Project's research design, used the Project as another treatment source for those who they felt could benefit from extensive probation services. All individuals who are technically second felony offenders should have been referred to the Project, both from the probation pool and the prison pool, but even from the probation



pool, not all were. There was a tendency for the more serious second felony offenders to be referred; less serious second felony offenders were sometimes not referred because it was perceived that they could gain only limited benefit from the additional treatment where someone else would gain more.

The research department should have the respect of the entire staff and the authority to influence decisions as they affect the Project to insure the consistency and integrity of the research design. Insuring this would help to avoid some of the problems which were encountered. One important problem centered around the referral process. These problems, as experienced, are summarized as follows:

1. The referral staff sometimes felt that if the offender had not committed "that serious of a crime" he should not be referred to the Project, even though he was technically a second felony offender. The feeling was that the Project was only for those "more difficult" or "more challenging" second felony offenders (according to their judgement). Thus, some second felony offenders were not referred who were involved in rather "mild," according to the judgement of the P.O., offenses or had a less serious background. The result was that the Project had a higher percentage of high risk second felony offenders.
2. Most offenders receiving jail terms were not referred because it was felt that their "treatment" was the jail term and they did not need additional treatment by the Project. What percentage of second felony persons received jail terms or a delayed sentence is not known, but a cursory examination indicated that less than 10% of the total possible cases were not referred for this reason. This again would eliminate some of the more serious offenders from the Project.
3. Through oversight or negligence, some offenders were not referred. Partially, this was because of numerous contingencies beyond the court's control such as

pending charges requiring a hold, decision to press other charges by another court is the case in question is dropped. etc.

To determine specifically what effect these exclusions had, all cases that were referred to the Oakland County Probation Department for presentence investigation were reviewed. An examination of every second felony case was made, dividing the cases up into the various categories of why or why not they were referred. Examination of these cases, while difficult to make in retrospect, indicates that these would be only a slightly favorable change in the results. For a further discussion see the General Discussion section.

One design that would avoid many of the problems encountered is to have a member of the research staff identify all recidivist offenders, according to our definition, during the very early stages of the presentence investigation work to insure that all are referred or accounted for. According to the numerical rule, an early eligibility determination could be made on all identified cases. If a rule is used, the acceptance could be checked at any later date to insure complete randomness, eliminating the referral problem by placing offenders in the correct category immediately after the judge's placement of all second felony offenders in either the probation pool, prison pool, or exclusion category. Determination of probation pool, prison pool or exclusion (group E) would be made first, and only then would the research staff relate if the offender is in the Project. Those adjudicated as prison would have to

be excluded or placed in the pool category before sentencing, then the judge would consult the researcher and proceed as normally done without reference to the Project, the researcher insuring that all from the pool actually go to prison or into the Project as per the random selection rule. If the subject receives probation he automatically would be in Group A or B, depending on his docket number.

All offenders, after they are identified, could have stamped or written on the PSI "second felony" or "non-second felony" so it could not be removed and always came to the judge's attention. The judge could be required to record a specific reason on a special form as to why the case is not eligible for the Project. What exclusions are used would depend on the research design, but all cases should be given a specific reason, insuring that each person is considered for the Project, as well as forcing the judge to consider the case specifically in terms of the agreed upon criteria. Some second felony offenders in this study were not even considered for the Project due only to a "feeling" that an offender is not eligible. No specific reason was given why some were placed in the "E" category, and this researcher could not find any valid reasons for many cases' placement.

Another persistent problem in determining second felony offenders according to our definition is, as discussed above, that rap sheets are generally incomplete, and few P.O.s obtain a complete criminal record. Primarily, the references

utilized were from the state and city where the offender lives. Actually, in order to obtain a complete rap sheet on every offender, a criminal record should be requested from virtually every large city in the United States, as well as all states, a costly and time consuming process. The only way this could be remedied is to develop an efficient system where all arrests and dispositions were relayed to a central record-keeping office in, say Washington, and some type of uniform identification was developed so that an accurate method of differentiation between individuals could be established.

#### Other Problems

Whether an offense is a misdemeanor or a felony occasionally changes because of new legislation. When judging whether or not the previous record contains a felony, the status at the original adjudication, if it were known, was used. A consistent way of determining whether or not an offense was originally a felony requires some type of coding system so that felonies could clearly be differentiated from non-felonies. Unfortunately, with the state's system it was difficult to differentiate.

A felony is a "criminal" offense compared to a misdemeanor, which is a "non-criminal" offense that could be committed by any "non-criminal" (as an accident, normal emotions, etc.). In many cases this definition is not accurate primarily because there is no clear dichotomy between a "professional criminal" and a citizen who occasionally commits a misdeed as the dichotomy

suggests. This felony/non-felony dichotomy is compounded in that most police departments list the crimes according to "Part I" and "Part II," a classification which is based on another dichotomy system which varied from department to department until the last few years when the State of Michigan uniformed the classifications of Part I and Part II crimes, but still not corresponding to the felony/non-felony dichotomy. Achievement of consistency and reliability requires a uniform system that can be efficiently and economically used.

A recent new impediment to research (and even efficient adjudication) is the requirement that an offender's juvenile record can no longer be included in the PSI or even anywhere in the record given to the court. Thus, the first new offense after one turns 18 is considered "a first offense." Often juvenile records are the most important data available for effective adjudication, especially for young adult offenders. In order to determine the pattern of criminal behavior younger offenders are involved in the juvenile record must be consulted. Eliminating this record is felt to be an impediment to both effective rehabilitation and effective adjudication. This and similar Supreme Court decisions have not been accepted too favorably by many correctional workers. While many innovative programs have been developed throughout the country in the past few years, there is a strong pessimistic feeling that corrections as a whole has taken several steps backward because of recent court decisions.

Elimination of a juvenile record is viewed by some as a

step towards a complete bureaucratic adjudication, where each offender gets a specified sentence (or treatment) for each offense, not considering any of the many human contingencies involved. Thus, instead of considering each case on its own merits and attempting to design treatment to rehabilitate the offender, corrections is becoming, according to this view, largely a bureaucratic series of steps which depend little on the offender or his unique person. Aside from being more impersonal, the procedure of eliminating the juvenile record encourages less exposure to the criminal correction system (or an alternative system) at the earlier ages when more can be done, resulting in criminal behavior becoming more ingrained before the system is allowed to work with offenders towards rehabilitation.

The Project design, unfortunately, did not account for all of the alternatives the court has at its disposal aside from the normal probation/prison sentencing determination. One of these alternatives is a method known as delayed sentence, where the judge defers the sentence for a specific period of time, generally either six or nine months, but rarely over one year, to see how he works out in the community. During this time the offender would, in effect, be on regular probation at the courthouse, assigned to a P.O., required to report once each month, and carry out other obligations as if he were on probation. If the offender works out well on the delayed sentence, he is generally given probation. If he does not work

out, at any point he can be sentenced to prison or given a jail term. This technique is used in cases where an offender is perceived to be more recalcitrant or where it is questionable whether or not an offender will work out on probation. This technique enables the court to have a prison sentence hanging over the offender's head as a threat to force him to adjust to the conditions of probation.

At first the Project did not record delayed sentence cases nor were they referred because technically there is no adjudication and thus they did not come under the jurisdiction of the Project guidelines. When the delayed sentence is over, usually most second felony offenders were referred. Later in the Project some were even referred at the time of being placed on a delayed sentence status. When this problem was discovered, the director attempted to require the referring of all second felony delayed sentence cases to the Project even though a final disposition was not made. The offender was to be carried in the Project until final disposition is made and "probation" is counted from this point for research purposes. While delayed sentences are only a small percentage of the total cases, it nevertheless is a significant element to consider because in the majority of cases this disposition was used for what are considered the more serious cases, cases more likely to recidivate, and thus possibly affecting failure rates more so than a typical second felony case.

Delayed sentencing often encountered other contingencies.

For example one offender

was accepted on 11/29/71 from the probation pool but was not assigned to the Project because he was given a delayed sentence and at that time all delayed sentences were supervised by the regular probation department and not the Project as was the case later with accepted delayed sentences. Not working out well on the delayed sentence (he refused to report, did not show up for the drug program), he was to be sentenced on 5/5/72, but he did not show up, so it was delayed to 5/29/72. Sentencing was finally on 7/10/72 because of a new holiday on the 5/29/72 date. He was referred again on this date to the Project, only this time from the prison pool, as it was decided that because he did poorly on the delayed sentence that he would be sentenced to prison if randomly selected to do so. At this time he was assigned the Project and his total case again was transferred from the courthouse to the Project. He should have been "A" category in the first referral and was an "A" in my records, but was not at first sent to the Project because of the delayed sentence. Thus, he technically was a failure on the highest order (code 9 new offense, prison term) but would not be recorded as such in the research.

Unfortunately, no effort was made to control for the effect of jail terms which are often given in conjunction with probation. Jail terms range from one day to six months, but generally are around one to three months. The research did not utilize this information as there were several problems that were encountered in controlling for jail. Often the jail term is suspended long before it is finished. Further, jail term is often given to a person who has already served time in jail before his adjudication to "use up" past jail time. For example, one offender was to serve forty-six days in the Oakland County jail with credit for the sixteen days he was in jail waiting for his trial date. The actual time served after sentencing



in this case would be thirty days, forty-six minus sixteen. Occasionally, the offender does not actually serve any time, even though jail time is part of his sentence. One case is unusual but illustrates the many factors involved. Prior to court sentencing, the offender with the court's permission underwent a physical examination for entering the U.S. Marines. However, he failed the mental test. Later, approval was given for re-testing and review of his case. On the second test he did better and qualified. On June 30, he was sworn into active duty with the Marine Corps. The court, in the meantime, reversed its decision to allow entry until further evaluation could be made. The court did not know that he was in the service and listed him as "absconded." This resulted in the offender being removed from the plane by the police as he was about to fly to San Diego, California for his basic training for the Marine Corps. When the plane arrived in San Diego without him, he was guilty of unauthorized leave status, a serious military offense. Because of this the FBI was brought into the case to locate and transport him to San Diego, California. Meanwhile, he was taken to the jail, but they had not received the court order to receive him yet, so he was instructed to return home. Upon returning home, he was apprehended by the FBI and taken to California as per his induction papers. He cannot legally be in the service and on probation at the same time, and in the FBI's opinion he was not the "property of the U.S. Marine Corps," but legally was the property of Oakland County as he

was placed on probation on June 29 and did not technically enter the service until June 30. A satisfactory adjustment in the service promoted the probation department to advise him to "remain very quiet and don't mention 'probation' to anyone." It was further stated to him that "our primary consideration is that you don't suffer in this deal, because it wasn't your fault." The decision of the probation department was to dismiss the thirty day jail sentence and "very quietly discharge him from probation." The surrounding complications in this case are an example, though unusual, of the different elements that can be involved in serving jail time, as well as those that surround the contingencies of probation. An evaluation of this individual would certainly include his spending time in the Armed Forces and the fact that he did not recidivate, even though during this time he was technically on probation.

A court order to release an individual from jail early should be in his record, but, unfortunately, not always is. One way to determine whether the individual was released from jail is to read the case reports written by the P.O.s. By reading these reports it can usually be determined the specific day the individual was actually released from jail. If no information is contained here, it is possible to find this information in the articles of probation which should specify if and when the jail term is to be served, plus credit time, if any. A jail term is often deferred to the end of probation

as a "wedge" that the probation department can use to enforce probation regulations. If the offender does well on probation, the jail term is dropped, if not, it is served. Unfortunately, the records here were not always complete or consistent, an impediment to efficient research. An attempt was made to ask each P.O. about those cases where there was a question on jail time. It was found, though, that in many cases the P.O. did not remember the status of the case. This is not surprising, considering that each P.O. probably works with over a hundred cases a year, and after a year or so of working in the probation department, individual cases are often not remembered. For this reason research on this factor was limited.

Cases referred to the Project that had pending charges in Oakland County or other courts created some problems. These cases were referred to the Project, and the Project attempted to develop a workable program with them. In the meantime, the other case would go to court and the chances were fairly good that this case, if the offender was adjudicated guilty, would be institutionalized. Many of the offenders in the Project normally would have gone to prison and another conviction almost insures a prison sentence. Even if the offender receives only jail time or another probation term, this upsets the treatment problem of the Project. In several cases this occurrence severely upset excellent progress the Project was making with an offender. There are other alternatives in dealing with this problem, but one that Project staff members suggested

is not to refer any offenders who have pending charges to the Project. Ideally, an agreement could be worked out with several courts which would insure all offenders in the Project with pending charges would be automatically put on a delayed sentence. When the delayed sentence expires, the outcome of the charge would be partly determined by the offender's progress in the CTP program. Another alternative is for Oakland County to place second felony offenders on a delayed probation until the second set of charges is adjudicated.

Cases that had pending charges were not included when the recidivist rate was examined. Offenses committed before entering the Project, according to the common way of determining the recidivist rates, are also excluded.

In the case of sex offenders, aggressive crimes, and, at times, drug offenders, a psychological report is included in the PSI. This psychological report is completed either by a Ph.D., psychologist, or a psychiatrist in private practice. As a whole, the contribution that these reports make was considered rather small by the staff. Largely, the content included a re-hashing of general data which is already contained in the PSI. Any value was limited to an evaluation such as "I don't think the offender was legally insane at the time of the murder" or "I don't think the trial activities will have a serious negative effect on the offender." A number of the officers have expressed their disappointment in the quality of information obtained from these reports, and this has

resulted in a serious disparagement of the entire psychological and psychiatric profession in the eyes of the staff. This researcher feels that psychology can make an important contribution to the adjudication and treatment of most offenders, but largely this information is not being utilized. Partly, this is because many professionals just do not know much about the type of individual the court typically deals with. Many psychologists simply do not put forth the effort to adequately evaluate the offenders before them, nor do they do the research to understand problems unique to offenders. Several psychologists on occasion expressed the feeling that they do not feel the officer is capable of understanding some of the indepth analyzations they could make. They possibly underestimate that an MSW in social work is close to the amount of training required for a Ph.D. in psychology, lacking only a dissertation and some statistics and psychology classes. A MSW involves more applied psychology needed to help offenders than a psychiatrist's training requires.

A problem encountered in the CTP which is common in many treatment programs is the high level of incompetency found in many professional workers contracted to work with the Project's cases. Several psychologists were certified before Ph.D. (or even Master's) degrees were required, and thus have a rather limited amount of formal education. It is difficult to determine the amount of informal education and reading that they have acquired. Work experience, especially in the area

of psychology, often is of limited value (but need not be). Even for a Ph.D. there are limitations in that there are literally hundreds of thousands of pages on various psychological problems and most Ph.D.s have barely touched the available information. All too often the attitude is "there is only so much that can be done," or "we tried our best, but just couldn't seem to help him," are commonly heard. These statements are often projections of ones own inadequacies and inability in solving the problem at hand, relying on cliches or blaming other individuals for one's ineffectiveness. The records are filled with thousands of cases where an offender was given up "as beyond hope," then something happened in the offender's life which drastically changed him. Often someone was able to reach the offender, whether it be a jail guard, custodian, nurse, friend, psychologist, or minister. One case reported by Keve<sup>27</sup> concerned a probationer who was so uncommunicative that when he came into the office he volunteered nothing more than mono-syllabic grunts for weeks until the officer, in some desperation, asked the offender if he would like to play ping-pong. The offender replied with a "yes" type of grunt so they went to a nearby facility to play ping-pong for the rest of that visit and all visits for the next three months. Eventually the officer noticed "the unmistakable signs of hostility being expressed in the fierce, hard-drives of the ball. Then one day the offender said, "Let's not play ping-pong today." This was the beginning of a relationship that finally permitted the man to talk openly

and search for the answers to his problems. In analyzing the psychological dynamics which occurred here, a rather interesting set of theories could be developed. At any rate, this "experiment" was successful in helping this offender solve some of his problems. The writer has worked successfully with many cases that were given up as hopeless by psychologists and others.

This researcher is often amazed at some statements made by some social workers, trained counselors, and psychologists. Many of these statements are allowed to pass and become part of the offender's record. One report said, "as our interview terminated, Mrs. X became more calm, and this officer became more bewildered as to how college graduates could logically behave in this manner. This agent knows few will believe the above, but this is what she said." I found nothing bewildering about the statements made by Mrs. X, and research in education shows that schooling has only a limited effect on some attitudes held by the population and especially on some cultural orientations because the family and the early environment is held to be more important. As it has been some time since this woman has been in school, the attitudes she learned could have been lost. The effect of school does not necessarily increase as the number of school years increases and four years of college alone would probably have only a little effect on many of the value orientations she related. What effect it had would decrease as her years out of school increased. Further, one is reducing

his own credibility by stating that "This agent knows few will believe the above." It would seem that we would have no reason to disagree with what has been stated by Mrs. X, and the statement by the agent literally places the thought in our minds of being incredulous for believing the statements the investigator here was referring to. If "few will believe the above" it may be well not to have said "the above."

Another report stated: "There was no responsibility to receive the allowance, or any responsibility upon receiving the allowance." This statement seems rather redundant and could be better and more briefly stated simply by saying that "the allowance was not contingent upon any household duties." Value statements are often related, as "on the wall was a picture of one of the groovy hippies." The investigator derided a cultural value he did not share instead of endeavoring to understand and deal with it. Indefinite statements are often made as "the father suffered another mental breakdown during this time, also." This researcher was unable to determine from the context when and for what reasons the father suffered "a mental breakdown," whatever that is. Value statements as, "While on probation, employment record improved," are often stated, and yet little information is given specifically as to how his record improved and on what basis evaluation was made. Another example: "I again perceived his involvement with religion as an attempt to influence the court rather than to do anything of substantial change in the nature of rehabilitation." How much involvement, what kind,



where, etc., is not stated. Specific incidents should be cited so as the basis of this observation can be ascertained.

The conflict between legal aspects and psychiatric aspects of a case is increasingly brought to the attention of correctional workers and was also seen in the Project. An excellent example of the problem was recorded in Time Magazine of January 29, 1972, page 20. The story concerned a hijacker who forced himself into the cockpit of the plane and started making wild demands over the radio telephone. Aside from wanting to talk to President Nixon and having Angela Davis released, he wanted a ransom of exactly \$306,800. The hijacker was finally captured eight hours later when two FBI agents disguised themselves as crew members and boarded the plane. The offender had a long record of bank robberies that he admitted he committed, but he had "never gotten a number for any of them." The reason? The crimes were done by his wicked alter-ego, Greg Ross. He claimed to be a Jekyll-Hyde personality, or to have two distinct personalities. He said to his interviewer, "If Greg Ross commits a crime, then Gary Trapnow is not responsible. It's the fallacy of your legal system." An examination of his background, as reported by Time, provides some psychological insights to the ramifications of the case. His father was an Annapolis graduate who eventually became a commander in the Navy. In spite of this, his home background was unstable, his father having five wives and a record of moving often. His criminal record began when he was fifteen and after a series of armed robberies he was finally

caught and convicted. He stated relative to this crime, "A lawyer came to me and said, 'Trap, you are going to prison for twenty years, or you can go to the state hospital.' So I went to the state hospital and I dug the whole action. I read more damned books on psychiatry and psychology than probably any psychology student will in any school in the world." After one year in a mental hospital, he began a series of crimes which he was never punished for. Time stated that "throughout the '60s he staged robberies whenever he needed money--at one point he and a partner flew to Canada and robbed a bank once a month for seven months (total take: \$130,000.00). Along the way he lived in bank robber style: a Mercedes Benz, a private plane, \$40.00 a day hotel rooms in Miami, a Las Vegas trip with a go-go dancer, etc. Whenever he was caught, he would bring out his insanity defense, get committed to a hospital, then escape (which is easy). Psychiatry as a science, he observed "is the only science in the world that deals with extreme intangibles. I probably know more about psychiatry than your average resident psychiatrist." The outcome of the hijacking cases? A discharged jury and a new trial for "Mark Swift" (a new one).

In looking at the concept "guilty," if the offender, according to the law, has committed a crime then he is guilty, disregarding the psychological factors which are involved. The experience of many officers and this research points to the idea that there are psychological factors heavily involved in all criminal offense

It simply is a matter of degree whether or not the psychological factors are serious enough to legally warrant the term insanity. This distinction has been extremely difficult to delineate and largely its meaning has been highly influential by other factors. Some of these are, as Abe Fortiss, Supreme Court justice, brought out:

. . .the attitudes that the judge and jurors bring into the courtroom; the nature of the offense charged; the demeanor of the defendant; the persuasiveness of psychiatrists and other witnesses; and the skill of counsel;. . .and many other factors, tangible and intangible, play a part.<sup>28</sup>

The original meaning of the rule called the McNaghten Rule states that if the accused, during the time of the offense, was "laboring under such a defective reason from disease of mind that (1) he did not know the nature and quality of the act he was doing, or (2) did not know that it was wrong," he is innocent by reason of insanity. This rule has been criticized by lawyers, especially psychologists and psychiatrists, stressing "nobody is hardly even mad enough to be within the definition of mad-man laid down in the rules."<sup>29</sup> In actuality only the grossly demented, senile or the severely delirious patient has no knowledge of right or wrong, and these persons seldom commit criminal crimes. It is increasingly being recognized that many factors which produce criminal behavior in an offender are largely a matter of chance. An individual is thrown into a poor environment, poverty, learning non-functional value systems, has a lack of intelligence, lack of skills, etc. By

changing the focus of the criminal justice system to rehabilitation, these factors become less important. Once an offender has been declared guilty of a crime (i.e., he did it), the "punishment then does not need to fit the crime," but "the rehabilitation needs to fit the problem that the offender has" which pre-disposes him to his antisocial behavior. Thus, the guilty or innocence dichotomy would no longer be as necessary as it at present is.

Once guilt is determined, the focus of the criminal justice system should be in two priority areas. The first is compensation to the victim or the victim's family. Largely, this aspect is totally neglected in the criminal justice system today. If an offender is at fault he should be required to, as far as possible, redo the wrong that has been done to the victim. Obviously, the victim himself is usually not at fault and through a series of technicalities the victim often receives no compensation or little compensation for the injury he suffered. While the purpose of compensation is not to directly punish the offender, it would seem that the redress should be from the offender and not the victim.

Many examples could be cited to show that most of the court process is focused upon adjudicating the offender as guilty or innocent, and little or no concern is addressed to whether the victim is reimbursed. This researcher has seen hundreds of cases where the victim willingly suffered a great deal in the criminal justice system in order to convict the offender

and then patiently waited for months or years for some type of financial reimbursement for either loss of his property or loss of physical health, and never receiving any compensation. One case involved a Circuit Court judge whose daughter, while visiting friends, stayed in an Oakland County hotel which was broken into and most of the girl's belongings were stolen. Later, after the offenders were caught, the girl took time out of college and flew down to help adjudicate the offenders. In the meantime, the judge wrote several letters trying to obtain papers, books, and other belongings which were in the possession of the police department and were necessary for the girl in her school studies. After much delay, several letters and phone calls, the Circuit Court judge, only by using his clout, was able to obtain some of the goods for his daughter. The occupant in the room next door, which was also vandalized at the same time and the occupant also at her own expense appeared at the trial to help convict the offenders, also tried to obtain her goods back. Several coats, shoes, purses, identification and other belongings have to be replaced immediately, but this victim was not in the financial position to replace them. The loss she incurred has not, to date, been reimbursed, and she has suffered greatly, having to drop out of college. Her father was not a judge.

CHAPTER X  
Conclusions

Because the results of this CTP program were statistically significant, it is safe to conclude only that "many offenders not normally released to the community for supervision can be as safely, and at least as effectively, handled in an intense intervention program."<sup>1</sup> This is similar to the conclusions of California's CTP: intensive counseling by professionally trained workers can reduce recidivism or at least keep recidivism at the same rate as the imprisonment rate. Little increased danger was also found in this Project when offenders were not institutionalized.

As a result of the Oakland County CTP, increased use of community treatment is seriously being considered by several states. Several community treatment programs are presently being drawn up by the State of Michigan, partially as a result of the governor's recent recommendations to increase the use of community treatment in the State of Michigan, and the success of the present study. The programs call for the development of a statewide probation system and the utilization of the CTP concept in all probation departments in Michigan.

The success of the present CTP has encouraged the trend in several states toward development of live-in community residential centers, where the offenders obtain many of the advantages of institutionalization directly in the community

with the advantage of remaining in the community. This approach is desirable not only because it saves expensive penal facilities but also seems to have the advantages of both prison and CTP. Fear will still prevent full adoption of a pure CTP, but a residential treatment center could actually have several advantages, primarily more structure in order to overcome a major problem seen in the present study.

In evaluating the CTP the feasibility of applying this approach in other settings and other populations must be examined. In the review of the literature the research with the CTP approach for juveniles was summarized and the present study researched the CTP approach for adults. Thus CTP's application to the two major offender divisions, juveniles and adults, has been studied, but both groups excluded the "very serious" offenders, i.e., murder, rape, armed robbery, etc.

Intensive intervention by the probation agent into several areas of the youth's life, including his basic environment, schooling, and employment, was utilized as "treatment" in the current Project. One of the hypothesized reasons for the CTP's effectiveness was the extensive intervention compared to most probation or parole programs. Realizing that treatment depends on intervention, prison treatment could experience a higher success rate if the control over the offender's environment were effected towards treatment. Because intervention, while the offender is in the very controlled institutional setting could be more complete, success could surpass CTP

rates. The importance of the intensive intervention alone was highlighted in the following quote from the 1969 report on California's CTP:

All available evidence suggests that, in itself, the avoidance of institutionalization contributes little if anything to the experimental-control differences in parole success. In other words the differential of intensive/extensive treatment aspects, as implemented . . . appear to be of fundamental importance.<sup>2</sup>

It was the general concensus of the CTP staff and the research study that even further intervention in the offender's life, in terms of both the degree of intervention and the length (up to five, ten, thirty or more years) is necessary in order for the offender to make permanent changes away from a life style which predisposes him to antisocial behavior.

When working with second felony offenders, one must realize that it has taken around twenty full years to produce an offender with a value system conducive to crime. Regular probation assumes that in most cases spending a maximum of one hour a month (and usually much less) with an offender results in "supervision" which will alter his system of behavior. This is ludicrous in that thousands of hours of peer influence have gone into producing the offender we see before the courts, and at least an equivalent thousand of hours may have to be invested in the offender in order to change his behavior and thus develop a value structure conducive to society's demands. In actuality the amount of time spent with each probationer is less than one hour per month. One must realise that the



average P.O. completes about ten presentence investigations a month, and these investigations are often a high priority. It is necessary that the investigation be completed by a certain date, and must contain specified information and meet the probation department's expected level of quality. When the lawyer, judge, offender, and other staff have convened in court, this report must be ready or a great deal of wasted time will be incurred. The pressure is necessary and the obligation understandable, but to adequately supervise over one hundred clients per month with the time left over after investigatory work for the PSI is completed is extremely difficult.

Approximately 60% of the offenders report either by mail or phone, and approximately 30% do not report in any form every month. Thus, two or three months can go by before the offender has any contact at all with the department. This contact is often limited to a few questions as "Were you arrested this month? Where are you employed? How much money have you made this month?" (see Appendix 21). Thus, in examining the pure number of hours typically given to each offender in regular probation, it is very difficult for the P.O. to establish a meaningful relationship in order to influence the probationer to a significant degree. While hours alone are of little benefit without meaningful contact and rapport, requiring certain abilities on the part of the counselor to help the counselee, hours are necessary before the other factors can take place.

To require that five, ten, or thirty or more years for an adult offender to become a non-destructive, productive member of society and live in a free community may sound prohibitively expensive and outside the realm of possibility, but actually this is not necessarily so. There are at present many treatment designs which are considered feasible by correctional authorities which provide extensive treatment for from ten to thirty years at little or no cost to the state. After a training program these projects help the offender to become productive in a work area he does well at and enjoys. He is to pay for his room and board and his family's care within semi-community (or community) settings, where the family can live with the offender so he can achieve somewhat of a normal life while involved in the institutionalization program under strict guidance, depending on the requirements for community safety.

To determine the effects of extensive intervention, cultural, economic, and other demographic factors will have to be controlled for. Because a wide variety of cultural and economic groups live in Oakland County, there is little evidence in this study to indicate that severe problems would be encountered in generalizing the concept to most areas in the United States. Undoubtedly, many modifications will have to be made, requiring experience and further research to determine the direction. Research will help us understand the limits and advantages of the CTP concept for each given set of conditions. Ongoing

research would enable the program to adapt to advances in other fields and create a large body of literature, enabling a more precise theory to be developed.

The experience has often been related by the county P.O.s that as a young man just out of college they enter their work enthusiastically with ideas that they are going to "change the system" and give the help to the probationers that they feel others have failed to. This enthusiasm quickly fades and the attitude soon changes to "I'm here to do a job and will work from 9 to 5, put the records away, and go home," and not worry about the offenders' problems much beyond this. After working hundreds of hours with clients, it is very discouraging to discover that they have committed another offense or that much of your work seems to have done little, if any, good. Even with the opportunities that the Project affords, there are many times when discouragement and feelings of helplessness are present. It is difficult to change people that do not want to change, to try to convince them of the advantages of your value system when they like their old one and do not want to change, and trying to understand how they could accept what seems to many such a self-defeating limitless and purposeless way of life. Seemingly failing to make any progress when they are involved in several types of "good" treatment programs can be, as several P.O.s have related, extremely discouraging. This researcher has known many cases where the correctional system invested a great deal of time, energy and money on an

offender and have the offender go back to his old ways, even violated for major crimes. Especially discouraging is when an offender was seemingly very successful and something happened which caused him to slip back into his old ways, which often results in a prison sentence.

It must be realized that the offenders we are working with are human beings that have needs, emotions, and feelings like all human beings. It is increasingly being recognized that in order to change these human beings, one first must understand them. Understanding means to be cognizant of those environmental and hereditary factors which cause the offender to behave the way he does. Corrections, probably more than any other field, depends upon psychology and sociology, and increasingly upon education. Medicine, biology, ecology, and economics are influential in corrections, but in ways that have not as of yet been widely recognized.

The entire correctional system can be viewed as a system of adult education. Education, not in mathematics or science (although this can be a very functional part of the education), but education in life, in being able to adjust and adapt to a system which, rightly or wrongly, the majority of society has sanctioned and will support. Education for life is learning how to fit oneself within society, learning how to place oneself where one has a drive to be; learning how to understand and reduce ones limitations; learning how to seek happiness without depriving others of their happiness; learning how to learn.

Learning a value system also means learning when and how to act with direction. If a brutal and cunning murder would have taken place in a "war" instead of at home, and the victims were an "enemy," instead of a fellow citizen, the murderer, instead of being locked up for life would receive a Purple Heart. Many deeds which war awards and acclaims, if performed at home on the citizenry instead of on the battlefield, would shock society and result in no light sentence, and in some countries, even the execution of the offender. When and under what circumstances the act is committed is all important. To be aggressive as a citizen is condemned, yet aggression for a "righteous" cause, or as a soldier, is often rewarded. It is a matter of when it is done and not always what is done.

Unfortunately, no research work was done on the relation of the personality of the offenders and the various types of treatment in the Project. An excellent guide on utilizing the Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification in assigning offenders to P.O.s was published by Marguerite Q. Warren of the California Youth Authority in 1966. Future research could use a series of psychological tests to measure change in each of various probationer-P.O. combinations using the California CTP matching techniques as a guide and a control group for comparison purposes. An extremely important consideration in developing effective programs is a setting which allows flexibility for the experimentation and research which is needed until certain principles are fairly well established.

There was some lack of flexibility in the current study (as in most other studies) as there were limitations in being able to work with the offender's family and in interacting where the offender normally "hangs out," to name two examples. To be able to observe the offender unobstructively in his daily activities would be highly instrumental in understanding his behavior to develop theoretical approaches in laying a foundation for techniques of behavioral change.

Another research study could define the effects of the offender's contact with each department of the criminal justice system. By releasing a random group of offenders to the community at various stages and then compare recidivist rates and other differences after a specific period of time has elapsed after their release, the effects of each step in a criminal justice system could be evaluated. If randomization is able to control for most offender variables, a relative assessment can be made of the effect of each element in the criminal justice system as well as the cumulative effect on the offender.

Future research in criminology has a wide area to explore. One example is the wide open area of research in chromosomal aberrations. A relationship has been noted in chromosome aberrations and the propensity for violence which is just beginning to be explored. Recently the Behavioral Science Foundation developed an efficient method for determining chromosomal abnormalities and found that over one half of those

individuals with irregular fingerprints had chromosomal abnormalities. Thus, fingerprints are at least a rough indicator for the existence of the aberration. Use of drugs as Malazone to antagonize persons to the use of opiates, similar to antabuse, is a promising new development in combating drug abuse.

An area which has been neglected in the behavioral sciences, historical research, is just beginning to be considered. At the University of California at Los Angeles, assassinations and terrorism were researched back to ancient Greece (including Asia and Africa and other remote nations) in an attempt to delineate patterns and concepts useful in developing assassination and terrorism theories.

Explorations into wide areas that utilize many innovative techniques are necessary in order to bring in relevant information towards a fuller understanding of criminal behavior. Researchers should never be afraid to look in diverse, out of the way areas for answers. There is a wide variety of factors influencing behavior, requiring regular examination of diverse fields such as biology, chemistry, psychology, physics, medicine, sociology, and anthropology, to name a few.

The 1969 assessment of the California CTP classified the juveniles it dealt with as (1) "personally troubled," (2) "developmentally lacking," or (3) "seriously deviant and acting out youths." In viewing delinquency in this framework, the Project's role was to assist in the total social and psychological development of individual offenders under its care. Recognizing that

Most correctional agencies are seldom organized to deal with many types of normal social-psychological problems, the CTP of California directed its research and attention towards evaluating not only the effectiveness of community treatment, but also the effectiveness of the various types of social-psychological support that was used. As clients are not alike in personality and physical characteristics or problems, and other factors that cause them to commit crimes, they are not alike in the type of crimes they commit. Thus a wide variety and scope of resources must be available in order to take care of the wide variety of needs, problems and handicaps which offenders appear to have. The typical P.O. in Oakland County, and most other jurisdictions, continues to treat the client as though there is one basic type of offender, utilizing jail, court costs, and reporting as the main "therapeutic" resource, with little experimentation or innovation to find other treatment modalities which may prove to be instrumental. The CTP introduced one technique; there are many more yet to be looked at.

A single specific modification, such as group work seldom, if ever, by itself produces a consistently more effective treatment. While some factors may be more important than others, and some highly important (as reducing caseloads in order to give the officer more time to work on other areas), generally programs are enthusiastically adopted if they are in vogue (as behavior modification or character building activities), but are often just as quickly dropped. At one time it was felt



working out in a gym a couple of hours a day would be the solution to the criminal problem. Granted, working out in a gym for two hours may be the answer for some offenders, but the experience of most researchers shows that for most offenders it is not.

Once it can be demonstrated that a type of treatment is effective in rehabilitating offenders, and thus important in reducing recidivism, this has to be convincingly presented to those involved in corrections planning in order for the increased expense and the supportive services that are usually needed to be appropriated. It is one thing to effectively demonstrate the success of an innovation, but quite another to convince a sizeable portion of the population or even just the policy controllers of the efficiency of the new treatment or methods. There are many current correctional practices which have been convincingly shown to be non-functional (or harmful) in rehabilitation, but yet are consistently being practiced. There is a great resistance to change, and a tendency to maintain the status quo. New ideas (and especially those that imply change) are perceived as threatening, especially by the administrative structure which does not work directly with clients, but makes most of the decisions that severely affect corrections practices.

Before theory can be developed and translated into workable programs, it is necessary for theory to be organized in the form of a descriptive model with the supportive theory, to

direct administrative policy towards utilization of the findings in a consistent way towards the department's goals. This would require a reorganization and undoubtedly an increase of present resources in order to effectively implement the developing body of theory on rehabilitation.

A serious problem many correctional programs suffers from is that, according to Dr. Fletcher of the Saginaw Project,

Unfortunately all failures at rehabilitation almost always receive more publicity than do successes, but failures on probation are even more frequently publicized than failures through imprisonment. Unless it takes the form of large scale riots or prison escapes, a prisoner's lack of responsive treatment is seldom brought to the public's attention. On the other hand when a person has violated his probation and has been sentenced to prison, a substantial number of people in the community will know about it and it will generally be reported in the local papers. This publicity creates the feeling that offenders put on probation rather than in prison are potentially greater risks to the community. It also leads to the assumption that only first offenders can be safely placed on probation rather than offenders who have a record of previous offenses.<sup>3</sup>

A good example of this in the CTP Project was a Project case who reportedly was involved in a murder in another state. This case received front page coverage in the Daily Tribune and numerous other papers and has been the subject of some discussion and controversy in the program as have several cases that have had problems. Yet, numerous other cases, who are doing exceptionally well in the program, some completely changing their lifestyles, have not received one line of publicity in any paper in the city (or the entire country).

Another important need is the development of a closer

relationship between the various correction departments of the state and several other agencies in order to more fully cooperate for full utilization of each other's services. Increased specialization within agencies and less duplication of services necessary to facilitate development of economically feasible specialist services increasingly requires this. A system of uniform recordkeeping would also facilitate a fuller understanding of the individual and could avoid much of the duplication of testing, assessment, gathering information, etc.

Elimination of this duplication of services in testing alone could save a great deal of time and money. Most offenders have completed a series of tests in their school situation. When they are referred to the corrections department, the expense is often incurred of retesting them. Because many offenders in the present system often move across different levels of the criminal justice system, i.e. from juvenile probation to juvenile parole to adult probation or later adult parole and across different jurisdictions, cities or departments, the routine set of questions typically asked by most agencies could be standardized. By transferring the client's file of information to each agency, the new agency could take off where the previous agency left off, and delve into the specific area it is assigned to cover, adding to the overall record.

Continuity of the files would ensure complete records and accurate information, greatly eliminating a large amount of duplication.

Additions to this file by each agency to keep it up to date would insure that all future work done would have the benefit of knowing the past treatment program, his developmental history, complete criminal record, and his general case history. Records which are now available freely within one agency are sometimes extremely difficult to transfer to another. A group of cooperating agencies could facilitate transferring these records with no more infringement upon each individual's privacy than at present. While records are not consistently difficult to obtain under the present system, there are several delays which often make it impractical to rely on obtaining these records. It generally takes several weeks to obtain the school records, and if these are not available before the court trial they are not used at all. If the officer, after experience, finds that needed records are usually not available in time for the deadline of the PSI he does not request these records. Often, depending upon the school (and sometimes the individual asked), even general school records are impossible or extremely difficult to obtain, even if it is extremely important to do so. There was some evidence that one offender had superior academic abilities, but the school refused to cooperate, even though it was expected that this information would positively influence the court's sentencing. After other records were located the previous information was verified, but too late.

Cooperation from other agencies must be improved. Even cooperation from the telephone company and the post office

department is poor. It is almost impossible, at times, to obtain important information in helping the probation department do its job, even if the information is extremely important to the offender and could be markedly beneficial for him. One specific case emphasizes this. The probation department received information that the girlfriend of a probationer was going to be shortly murdered. The offender had a new unlisted phone number so the department called the phone company which refused to give the phone number to the officer even though it was verified that the probation department was calling. Nor would they call the person and have her call us. The girl, by the way, was murdered, and the probationer left town since he found out he was "next." The records list him as "absconded." For other agencies, as the FBI or police departments, the information, we are told, is readily given out. While the job of the probation department is not that of a police department under the present system, legally the probation department must assume a series of legal duties which are actually investigatory and policing functions. Yet the probation department in Oakland County does not have the authority or access to information as the police department does.

Ideally, the parole, probation and police agencies should have close contact and mutual understanding of each other's goals, problems, and handicaps. Relations are often tinted with a mixture of apprehension, skepticism, and sometimes even hostility by everyone from the custodial staff to the head

administrators. After working with many probation cases, one finds that the police officers' attitudes are sometimes an impediment to rehabilitation. Often the police have the attitude that "our job is to catch 'em and all the probation department does is let 'em go." The "throw 'em in jail, lock the door and throw the key away" attitude is prevalent among many police officers. It is this researcher's experience that the police departments lack needed understanding of the offenders they deal with, and know even less of human psychology.

They are influenced to some degree by the morals, values and standards of the offenders they work with, and thus at times, develop tactics similar to the offenders. There are very few meetings designed to coordinate the work of the various law enforcement agencies.

Increased communication between departments in corrections designed to aeriare hostile feelings towards the other departments and training programs for each department are needed. Although there are some programs at the graduate levels in corrections available to probation and parole officers, there are very few programs, especially in the science of human behavior, designed for policemen.

To understand the frustration some of the offenders feel as a result of their experience with various community agencies, several Project cases will be discussed briefly. The first case concerns a twenty-four old Negro man who, with his brother, owns a bump shop working ten to twelve hours, six days a week

and making around \$8,000 to \$9,000 per year. His house was burglarized and through "street talk" he was able to locate his goods in a house in another neighborhood. After going to the police department he was refused assistance in obtaining his chattel back, but was told "Why don't you go break into the house and take your things back?" (not rare advice). So he went to the home and "stole" most of his things back. In endeavoring to locate the rest of his goods, he questioned a girl who lived in the house as to the whereabouts of her boyfriend (the individual the community sources told him took his possessions). In his questioning he "ruffed her up a bit," which resulted in the girl filing a police report. He was arrested for Felonious Assault, found guilty and put on probation for one year with \$200.00 court costs for Aggravated Assault. Shortly after being put on probation his business establishment was burglarized with the result that he lost almost all his bumping and painting equipment (amounting to at least \$2,000). He was now unable to make a living and with debts and poor credit could not replace the equipment. Fortunately, again he found out who burglarized his establishment and went to the police, but again could not get them to respond. After speaking to two different detectives, one stated, "If I knew who robbed me I know what I would do about it." The other officer advised that he "Break and Enter the home where his equipment was thought to be, no one could file a complaint against. . .(him). . .if that person had robbed him to begin with." In an effort to

help the probationer, the P.O. contacted the Pontiac police. They stated they could do nothing about it, and again suggested he try to recover the goods himself, the very thing he was on probation for! Understandably, a man who has not been in trouble for many years, has a good record in the community, works long hours and adequately supports his family becomes resentful at the system. To date he has become very bitter and has not paid his court costs and stated that the police would have to "kill me" before they would make him serve a sixty-day jail sentence, which is to be served as part of his probation after his year of probation is up. In working closely with cases similar to this, several P.O.s have remarked that many offenders display a remarkable sense of self-control, internalizing or in other ways controlling their many frustrations to a remarkable degree. One case, related by Morris, is where a judge's decision brought criticism and resentment by a few police officers. Because of their job experiences, Morris explains,<sup>4</sup> some police officers are fundamentally skeptical of the ability of "tough" offenders to adjust to a useful life. Morris' experience has been that, while the police as a group talk tough about young offenders, the individual policeman will frequently have some understanding or sympathetic attitude toward the juvenile (but not as much toward adults) he has arrested. On one occasion a boy who was on probation struck the policeman who arrested him. When brought into the court the judge decided to administer a jail sentence, but the arresting officer asked that the boy be



given a longer term of probation instead of jail, and the judge reluctantly agreed. Later Judge Leenhouts recalls "Another police officer indignantly asked me why I didn't jail the boy. He said, and rightly so, that when a boy on probation hits a policeman with his fist he should be sent to jail. When I explained the circumstances he just shook his head in disgust. But it turned out that the arresting officer's judgement of the boy was correct. The boy gave evidence of being deeply impressed by the arresting officer's attitude, and we never had any further trouble with him." Going to jail might have created more problems. This attitude among policemen is not uncommon. Judge Leenhouts of Royal Oak said, "My experience has been that the majority of police officers are tougher talking about the cases of other officers than in handling their own cases. There are, of course, some police who feel that everybody they arrest should be severely punished. But most are fair minded, and on some occasions when they have criticized our decisions we have later had to agree that we made a mistake." The general consensus of the probation departments of many communities would not be inclined to give the police department this much credit. After a P.O. has seen an offender whom he has patiently worked with to build up respect of the police brutally beaten in a jail, he finds it hard to relate on the level he professionally should. It is difficult to be effective when much of the work the officer has achieved is destroyed by poor treatment from the police.

One offender, who was doing quite well on probation, went to pick up his wife who worked the night shift as a nurse for a large community hospital. While standing in front of the hospital waiting for his wife, he was noticed by an officer who knew he had been in trouble several times before. The officer persistently questioned him as to his purpose for being in front of a hospital at this late hour, and the probationer repeated that he was simply picking up his wife. This story was not accepted and the probationer was brought to the station for questioning. The next day the probationer's story was verified when his wife was contacted, and he was released from jail. While it is difficult to determine the exact extent of police harassment and brutality, it is a genuine problem and a serious impediment to successful probation. An example of where an earlier incident affected current progress was a young offender who was arrested on suspicion as he was in the area of a Breaking and Entering. During questioning he was kicked in his privates by the investigating officer at the police station and was forced to lick the blood which resulted from his injury off the wall. Later, in court he was exonerated of the charges and released, but this experience stuck with him and now the P.O.s find it very difficult to work with him.

Another incident concerns a young man who neither smokes or drinks and claims to have never used any drugs except marijuana briefly in the past. A friend, who lives in the house with him went on vacation, so the friend's girlfriend stayed in the

house to help take care of it. She had someone bring over a box of marijuana and put it in the garage, and although asked to remove it, she did not. The offender related that when he came home at about 11:30 a.m. he saw a white Dodge Charger in the driveway. When inside the house, the girl introduced him to several friends who were there to pick up the box of marijuana. She asked the offender to take it from the garage and bring it in to her friends. He did so and then went into his room to listen to his stereo. A few seconds later her "friends" returned with guns, proclaiming, "This is a bust." The police on the outside then charged into the house, overturning and destroying bags of food in the cupboards, damaging much furniture and clothing while looking for drugs. Finding none they proceeded to take the offender to jail after banging his head against the wall while holding onto his hair, calling him a "F\_\_\_ing long-haired queer." The house was left open and unguarded until the offender returned home from jail on bond. He claimed his stereo was stolen along with eight hundred dollars in cash. The windows of the house were broken, his food stolen right off the shelves, and the house in shambles. That day the landlord evicted him, he lost his damage deposit and a month's rent. He strongly feels that he was unjustly arrested, and that, even though under the law he could have been arrested and charged with possession of illegal drugs, since he had not received any money for the marijuana or set up any deal, only carried the marijuana from the garage to the house, he

~~feels~~ he was wrongly indicted. The incident, as it happened, caused a great deal of worry and heartache for the offender and his parents far beyond what the "crime" should have. This person's resentful feelings would probably be shared by the majority of middle class persons if the experience would happen to them.

Another example of this is where, according to the Detroit Free Press of April 30, 1973, the Time magazine of May 14, 1973. several peace officers terrorized two families. The Free Press related that a home owner, while asleep in his apartment, heard a crash by the front door and stumbled from bed. He felt a gun barrel against his forehead and a man said, "One more step, you \_\_\_\_\_, and you're dead." Before the long haired, unshaven, poorly dressed armed men who burst into their home left, he was threatened, bound, and insulted, and their apartment was left in shambles. The agents were highly insulting and intimidating, threatening murder several times. One of the fifteen raiders in the room with the victims (there were uncounted numbers downstairs) stated, "Oh, I think we made a mistake." They had torn the house apart and found nothing. The front room was littered with books, overturned furniture, a smashed television set, broken cameras, and a smashed antiqued plaster dragon. The men never did identify themselves, and owners stated they were as rude leaving as they were coming, even though they realized they made a mistake. The housewife has since been unable to sleep and is now on medication, probably suffering permanent psychological damage, according to some reports.

Another incident, as recorded in the April 30, 1973 Free Press, related a family eating dinner when the barking of their dog alerted them into the living room. There they noticed a man in every window, each pointing a pistol inside, and three men standing at the front door with shotguns. Five men entered, all dressed as "hippies" and searched the house without showing a warrant, only quickly flashing a gold colored badge. This group was kinder. When the wife regained consciousness, one said to her, "Take it easy, lady, we're really Federal Officers."

In incidents of untactful treatment by police officers the victim is helpless, as, what can he do? Call the police? What can he do if he has a record? Little, but develop more feelings of resentment. The suggestion that a hierarchy of police be developed where county officers have more authority than local officers and presumably more experience, training, and reputation, and state police have more authority than either county or city police, may be a step in solving some of these problems.

Successful utilization of the CTP concept requires that the departments working closely with the CTP have some training and understanding of the motivations or reasons for the offender's behavior. Treatment depends upon all agencies cooperating together towards specified goals. This goal is often made difficult in that these offenders, depending on the agency, often display aggressive acting out and impulsive behavior.

As offender-client relations vary from agency to agency, the expression "coddling criminals" has been developed to refer to treatment by other agencies. This feeling is felt to be extremely harmful. Progress resulting from understanding and insight developed by the Project staff was occasionally seriously sabotaged by other community workers, including the police and even the courts, causing, in some cases, profound setbacks. This officer has worked with cases where the conduct of the staff and judges was such that the offender's insight into his self concept and other people's behavior was virtually shattered by an individual whose training has largely been in a legal or other non-behavioral science area.

Because it is difficult for most individuals to understand criminal behavior, especially that seen as "senseless" or threatening, the belief that the offender should be punished and suffer for his crime is prevalent. A doctoral student from the College of Education remarked after this researcher related some aspects of the present study that, once caught, the offenders should be made to suffer for a long period of time to "pay" for their crimes. He was decidedly against any "rights" being given to prisoners or convicted offenders. Unfortunately, this attitude is common among those not working directly with the offenders in a rehabilitative capacity. It is not realized that by making correctional treatment very unpleasant there is a rehabilitative value only to a limited number of offenders. Often a negative experience produces a high degree of aggression against not

only the correctional system, probation, parole, and police officers, but also the government, persons in authority, such as teachers, and middle and upper class society as a whole.

Punishment can be useful, but as research in child psychology has shown, usually only in combination with the human qualities of love, respect, etc. where the punisher is concerned with helping the one being punished and punishment is administered with justice and concern. The observations and research in penal institutions indicates that many offenders do need punishment. It can be very effective, but only in conjunction with other treatment. Without these treatment aspects, punishment is next to worthless if not harmful, even with offenders who may "need" it.

It is difficult to determine what the public's current "mood" is on various correctional procedures. Occasionally, Harris or Gallup polls can give the researcher an idea. Newsweek of April 30, 1973 published a review of several surveys, including a couple of its own, which indicated that, as one individual said, "The only thing that stops criminals is more police on the streets." Because the community strongly influences correctional practices, the community itself, ideally, should have some training toward understanding the offender's behavior. This training could be accomplished from indepth courses for those that come in contact with offenders, including parents, friends, employers, etc. The teaching of criminology concepts in psychology and related classes in the high schools and colleges (and even

elementary schools) could help to give the general population some insight into criminal behavior.

Generally most programs find that there is not a direct relationship between recognized needs and organizational readiness to change. Agencies and corrections as a whole tend to be highly resistant to innovations. The field of corrections moves forward in an uneven manner; a time delay of years takes place before tried and proven innovations are uniformly applied. The problems inherent in establishing a novel correctional approach usually produce contingencies that cause frustration and insecurity, and occasionally disillusionment in the staff. Many agencies depend upon the wave of emotional support from the public. Inevitably, apparently simple solutions turn out not to be an answer at all, but simply another technique which has many exceptions to its success and many failures among its successes. Resistance is especially present in the less educated, but important divisions of corrections, including the guards, policemen, and others usually are not aware of the full implications of newer correctional techniques. A review of most similar projects in the field of corrections shows that these projects also encountered numerous problems in acceptance. Corrections is a highly emotional field, involving emotionally charged opinions. Many attitudes are based not on solid research, but on ideas, feelings, tradition, etc.

Important too is overcoming the traditional feeling in corrections that social work and psychology is "book-learning"



which is not practical or workable with offenders. The tendency for corrections to resist innovation because its implementation requires qualifications most correctional workers do not have works to impede correction's progress in becoming a behavioral science.

In corrections, as in other fields, a new development is often followed by a "fantasia phase" where high hopes, undifferentiated usage and often over-usage of new concepts or new types of treatment is evident. Then typically follows a "disillusionment phase" where the original goals and aspirations are not fully born out, resulting in discouragement in the new approach by many research workers. The third phase is called the "reality phase" where the implications of the new development are recognized as are its limitations. The innovation is then recognized either as a step in the direction of the general goals of a behavioral science it is related to, or an another element instrumental in achieving limited goals within a discipline. Recognizing this factor in the development of group-home projects, Palmer remarked,

In the final report of the California Youth Authorities group-home project, an effort was made to delineate some of the issues and limitations which may have to be faced when the current wave and enthusiasm begins to subside.<sup>6</sup>

The present CTP staff is anxious to make available their services for consultation in the CTP approach to other correctional agencies, both at the probation and other levels. The Project has its disciples who will presumably endeavor to carry the

ideas and experiences they have learned from the Project into other areas of corrections upon the expiration of the Project. A limitation is that only a few professional correctional workers are trained or experienced in handling a low caseload assignment along the lines of treatment oriented casework. The present CTP is the only existing source of comprehensive training in the differential treatment CTP approach for adults. An effective training system for both future and present correctional workers would have to be established to meet the large volume and the diversity of backgrounds the present staff of correctional workers typically has.

It would be quite difficult to produce sufficient quality personnel for full implementation of the CTP concept for some time. The tremendous re-orientation and change in philosophy that would be necessary for many correctional workers, many of whom have scores of experience working with the old system, is a tremendous impediment to overcome. Even training the newer, younger workers in this concept takes time. The time delay in writing, producing, and publishing textbooks and their utilization in the college campuses as well as changes in lectures and orientations of professors in correctional training programs is often several years or more.

Successful utilization of the CTP concept involves not only the teaching of complex material, but also determination of those personal qualifications which are instrumental in developing successful CTP probation workers. At present,

research on identifying the specific factors is of foremost importance, and programs helping present workers to develop these qualities would logically follow. It is well known that some probation workers simply have the ability to work with offenders and others do not. California's CTP research has shown that a fessible alternative to this is identifying and matching appropriate characteristics. Possibly any worker can be matched, even though some personality types are more effective for a wide range of offenders. A similar conclusion can be made of the present CTP Project as was made in 1969 of California's CTP:

. . .it would be quite difficult to create. . .more than another two or conceivably four good quality centers such as CTDT. . . . There is only one way in which we would imagine a substantial change taking place in this regard--namely if a center of this nature were to expand the proponderance of its energies in an effort to specifically create a cadre of full-time professional trainers.<sup>7</sup>

This statement not only refers to the CTP Project, but also to several innovations which California's CTP Project felt to be important in its success rate.

Another serious impediment is that the availability of information on the CTP concept is very limited, almost totally confined to mimeographed papers and passing mention in some journals and books, including Paul W. Keve's Imaginative Programming in Probation and Parole and very few scattered articles in the professional journals. Teaching materials are almost totally nonexistent, although many of the concepts the CTP utilizes are discussed in current correctional textbooks.

A further perceived difficulty is that many types of treatment are only necessary for a small number of offenders as, for example, specific types of goal oriented groups. Here enough offenders must be available to identify with this problem and be able to participate in order for the specialized group to be feasible, affordable and probably worthwhile. For a large county as Oakland County, this is not too difficult, but most counties in Michigan would have to combine services or cooperate in treatment in order to obtain enough offenders to make the specialized types of treatment economically feasible. The cost of hiring a group leader, renting the space, and organizing a group is quite high, but the cost per offender decreases as additional offenders are incorporated within the group or more groups are formed.

An apparent problem with providing the needed services to offenders is that time, money, and energy is provided to many offenders and yet thousands of individuals in similar or almost identical circumstances are receiving no help or aid in any way because they were not convicted of a crime. Projects as the CTP are looked at as rewarding criminals, giving them medical help when thousands of non-criminals go without, giving them college tuition when thousands of deserving would-be students go without, and so on. Arguments of this type are often used to criticize rehabilitative programs which emphasize helping the client to function socially, psychologically, and economically. According to our western value structure, this

is indeed an injustice, but should be viewed not as an argument to reduce the services to offenders, but as an argument to increase services to all of those in need.

When the public hears that the billions being spent is not enough, the thousands of dollars spent on various services for offenders, including college tuition, medical and psychiatric care, social services, even welfare support and ADC are not enough, they rightly so ask whether or not these offenders deserve it. They wonder whether or not one who just does his job and is honest does not also deserve some of these services. This is indeed a real argument, in that most of us who elect to go to college, for example, borrow the money, work our way through, or, if we are fortunate, our parents pay for our education. Does an offender deserve these more than a law-abiding citizen? Is not this rewarding law breakers? It may be viewed that way, but it is usually not viewed as a reward by the offender, and is often seen as punishment, that is, until his value system has changed. To say that one who has worked hard and not violated the law deserves more help may be true, according to the Judeo-Christian value system, but the argument should be that this "right" should be extended to the law-abiding person.

Whether the high cost is justified depends on ones goals. If the goal is to eliminate the tremendous amount of human suffering, waste and misery caused by crime, as well as the tremendous cost, we can say that, no, what is being done now

is not enough. More is needed, much more is needed. More education is needed, not only for the offender, but for all future parents to prevent would-be offenders. The expense of these services is an investment, an investment which will be paid back many times over by the offenders not becoming involved in the criminal justice system, by his increased earnings and increased total contribution to society. Further, there would be few objections to requiring the offender to pay back a certain allotted sum of money when he is able to. The state, in order to appease the sense of justice that expensive programs of this type violate in the eye of the public, could require reimbursement later. In addition to modification of unacceptable behavior, the development of socially acceptable behavior must be encouraged to fill the void, providing alternate behavior as a replacement for unacceptable behavior.

Interestingly, some have felt that in a CTP offenders should not be provided with too many benefits as this may encourage offenders to want to stay in the Project, possibly committing crimes to do so (or even committing crimes to get into the Project, as may have happened in some of New York's projects). As of yet, this is not a problem for CTPs, and does not appear to be a problem in the near future.

A program designed to develop socially acceptable behavior by increasing post secondary education for offenders with funds largely provided by the Office of Economic Opportunity,

called Newgate, has been very successful. While there are many similar programs throughout the country, most of these are rather limited in scope, offering only a few courses. There are some universities and colleges offering two and four year degree programs. In central Michigan, Mount Calm Community College, affiliated with the Michigan Reformatory and Michigan Training Unit, offers from six to fourteen courses per year for inmates at the Michigan Reformatory and Michigan Training Unit. Several of these programs have been quite successful although there are still many obstacles to overcome, including lack of cooperation by some officials and the reluctance of many offenders to take advantage of programs offered. The popular press has publicized several cases where an offender has done quite well in a 2 year college program while in prison, some even graduating with honors and going on for a B.S. degree. Offenders admitted to the college programs tend to be older, more sophisticated and better educated than offenders as a whole. Other programs, as the Manpower Program, have endeavored to offer educational programs through the courts and institutions, but in contrast to Newgate programs, the separate and isolated efforts of Manpower have not been highly effective in breaking the pattern of recidivism. Newgate research recommended that existing post secondary education programs should be expanded.<sup>5</sup>

The role of the junior college in the prison community is increasing. A survey of programs throughout the United States, as published in the Junior College Journal of March 1971

(pages 92-98), shows that 98% of all the programs are publicly supported and 63% are conducted inside the prison. Unfortunately, only 47% of the colleges involved give academic credit for all coursework, and 62% of all programs did not even offer an associate degree.<sup>8</sup> By requiring that the standards the students meet is equivalent to that of regular two and four year colleges, and providing the necessary tutoring and experiences so the offender can meet admission standards, it would be possible to offer certified credit in associate degree programs and for the credit to have high value.

At present the requirements to give birth to a child, even within the confines of marriage, are lower than most menial jobs. Pay your \$3.00, answer a few questions, and have a blood test is a low requirement to enter into such a serious obligation and responsibility, not only of marriage, but of the responsibility of raising a family to be well-adjusted, law-abiding citizens. In all professions which influence on the psyche of an individual, as teaching, counseling, psychology, social work, probation work, etc. at least four years of college are required (and in most cases, six, eight, or even more). Yet for the individuals who have the most profound influence on the child's life, the parents, there are no educational or even moral requirements. While the requirement that a Master of Science in, for example, home economics or child psychology must be met before a woman can have children may not be acceptable to many, it seems a realistic solution to part of the problem, even though, to



most, but surprisingly not to as many as some may feel, a rather far off requirement.

This is only one area that has to be looked at; there are hundreds of others. We know that peer influence is tremendous, and the concept that "bad associations spoil useful habits" has shown to be an important factor in crime, yet usually nothing is done to remove the offender from the criminal environment he lives in. As previously discussed, if anything he is put in a worse environment by institutionalization. Instead of imprisoning one in a place with other criminals, it was humorously suggested by one worker that hardened criminals should be imprisoned in a monastery. Either the environment has to be changed or the offender must be taken out of the environment and put into an environment conducive to developing non-criminal patterns of behavior. Placement homes and halfway houses such as Synanon, Alcoholics Anonymous, etc. have proved highly successful because of this principle. In corrections how many "good families" would be willing to take in "a murderer" to live with them? Very few, but this may be one important method of treatment in the future, as shown by the home group studies.

Theoretically, anyone in a criminal subculture could be reoriented by a culture specifically designed to change criminal values. One program developed a "synthetic" culture that attempted to do three things: (1) communicate to the offenders that "if you want to get off of probation the only way is to

lick your problems;" (2) you also "want to help your pals get out of this place and the only way to do that is help them lick their problems;" (3) "The only way to lick your problems is to talk about them freely and to help each other, if you help them get out they will help you get out." By encouraging extensive self-examination in conjunction with a group led by a therapist, a culture developed which accepted the goals which facilitated the therapeutic purposes of the program. The influence of ones peers is generally greater than the control imposed by administrative rules; and a peer goal to internalize non-criminal values facilitates attitude change more so than external punitive pressure. In building the culture to be transmitted, another project first established a culture and then used the most successful adopters as culture carriers to transplant the "indoctrination" to other groups. An articulate leader who has had successful experience in a group carries functional cultural values which help the offenders to lick their problems from one group to another. Importantly, the new culture comes directly from a group member. By having new boys enter and old boys leave, one or two at a time, each boy was immersed in an established culture which is highly influential in changing each member's value system.<sup>9</sup>

Once the culture system is established, a few boys at a time are assimilated. When they have accepted the new culture, new boys are again introduced to absorb the new cultural traditions. The culture must help the offenders

learn new attitudes towards work, police officers, delinquency, drinking, recreation, sex, etc. Once the boys absorb the new culture it is expected that they will examine new ones ruthlessly, stripping them psychologically naked. Aware of the new ones excuses, rationalizations, and defeating ideas, the group is able to attack these when they are perceived to exist in the new recruit. Interestingly, while interaction is stressed and time for private reverie is limited, it is nevertheless important that the offender have time to "think" after being introduced to the new cultural values of the group in order to incorporate them at a high level. One center had a small patch of land where the offender could spend a day digging for the sole purpose of using time and energy in an activity which allows time for extensive introspection and re-evaluation of ones old ideas and the new ideas being given by the group. The new culture's acting not at all according to the way he expected causes him to further re-examine his own behavior. Aggression is usually reacted to with aggression, but when ones peers react with a calm attitude toward misbehavior, reasoning on the motives behind the behavior, the offender is taken aback and ideally begins to re-evaluate himself in light of these new and unexpected reactions to his behavior.

At the group meetings there are several methods of eliciting interchange of ideas. One method is simply to have the offender "tell his story, recounting chronology and the history of his own delinquent career." During this time the other group

members are able to interrupt freely, probing endlessly with details and exposing rationalization and tricks they have once themselves used to delude themselves into accepting their non-functional behavior. It is not easy to relate ones misconduct with honesty. The offenders are ashamed of many of the events in their past lives, but after the experience in the group of listening to others and identifying, to some extent, with them if guided properly by a trained counselor the offender is able to expose himself, an experience that can be highly therapeutic. It is important to give status to ones positive accomplishments. Most offenders, especially drug addicts, are highly responsive to recognition from their peers; this recognition is used to influence their behavior. The program can also give the offenders incentives for a better job with higher rewards and involvement in other programs, and even the privilege of serving as a counselor or in some helping relationship with other individuals in the program.

An increasing emphasis on modifying the underlying causes, rather than simply handling symptoms, has directed research towards the psychological processes which underline individual development, from childhood to adulthood, believing that knowledge of the factors and conditions which were influential in development of the offenders attitudes and values which predisposed him to crime. From this reference point the particular circumstances and problems of each individual client must be evaluated and then trends and statistical summaries can be

developed in order to build correctional theory and eventually, ideally, laws of behavior. While most social scientists can dispute the validity of some of the theories which are currently being espoused, it is recognized that there is a body of knowledge in the behavioral sciences which is increasingly receiving the status of laws, even though some of these same principles were at one time hotly debated by social scientists.

The vast majority of offenders dealt with in this program had one or more court contacts as a juvenile. If proper extensive intervention had been utilized there would be less need to be concerned with offenders at the adult level. Utilizing the principles of preventative medicine, the earlier one moves in on the offender's problems effectively, the more likely one is to head off later, possibly more severe, complications.

The community financially is forced to give less support to juveniles because they are less threatening. Only adult corrections, and primarily the prisons, have been able to force the community to supply even a portion of the necessary resources for treatment. Improving diagnosis at the earlier levels would enable identification of possible long term difficulties, as would referral to the appropriate agencies so that the problem could be attacked at an early level. More work at earlier levels, even if only mildly effective, would create less need for programs at the adult level.

For most adults, crime and delinquency is extremely complex, but "it is becoming increasingly apparent what it takes to run

a program to effectively rehabilitate offenders."<sup>10</sup> But the problem of crime prevention is still far too complex to submit to a monolithic explanation. While there is a strong nexus between causative factors, attempts should be made at both identification and delineating the relative effectiveness of each individual factor before an understanding of interrelatedness can be achieved. A problem in many of the terms used in criminal research is that they deal only with a portion of the whole to the exclusion of other segments of knowledge.

Even before the offender is categorized as a juvenile delinquent, identification could be attempted by trained individuals within the school setting of students who are, according to their personality adjustment, predisposed to a criminal behavior without labelling. Offenders involved in correctional programs have often been termed "the school's failures" and usually the majority of the offenders had a rather marginal adjustment both academically, socially, and behaviorally while in the school setting. The Newton-Baker Project clearly demonstrated that a majority of these youngsters can be identified early in their school career, in elementary or junior high school, chiefly on the basis of overt-behavior. Psychological testing could single out most "pre-delinquents" for assignment to treatment programs even before they became offenders.<sup>11</sup> This researcher, from data gathered in elementary and secondary schools and in the correctional setting, has developed a list of characteristics which can identify individuals

who are predisposed to criminal activity. If the schools had the resources to deal with the problem, including the resources for extensive manipulation of environmental factors, use of psychological counseling, group therapy, vocational training and other programs could mitigate towards insuring the offender does not develop the patterns of behavior predisposing him to delinquency and later criminal behavior. Especially useful are the developmental levels established by California's CTP. A program would help the pre-offenders develop to higher levels of this developmental paradigm in much the same way as in California's CTP. Pointing to the need for this program, Palmer stated:

The familiar and/or social deck has, for the most part, been rather firmly stacked against the majority of these youths from a very early point in time. Realistically, what appears to be required is the introduction of a definite outside force-- one which, quite possibly for the first time, would supply a consistent and constructive long term plan of assistance, control and guidance. . .

The homes. . . appear to be highly damaging, typically before the youths in question are even 10 to 12 years of age. The extent of ongoing negative influence coming from the direction of the parent-figure(s) far out weighs any positive influence, present or perspective.<sup>12</sup>

He further states, "The chances of doing productive work within these particular family settings are unusually slim."<sup>13</sup>

Identifying early the need for intervention, even utilizing out of the home placement if it is necessary, would be highly influential in beginning early intervention towards stemming the negative influences which predispose the individual to

criminal behavior.

Identifying what is termed "incipient delinquent, delinquency prone, or pre-delinquent" would be, in the opinion of many corrections officials, the most feasible area of attack in reducing both delinquency and adult crime.<sup>14</sup> While not every individual within this group eventually becomes an adjudicated delinquent, identification of problems at this early age could be important in helping the individual adjust in all areas of life, even though he may never involve himself in delinquency if he were not involved in the program. By helping an individual become more capable in the practical life areas and increasing his overall adjustment to society, a beneficial contribution would be made by the schools towards a generally recognized educational goal, the pursuit of happiness.

Identification of pre-delinquents could be made either by specially trained school counselors, school psychologists, or special juvenile officers within a corrections department or other public or private agency. Increasingly, teachers are pursuing post-bachelors work and courses could be required which would help teachers identify students who have problems in areas that could be helped by the type of program previously outlined. Seldom does anyone take a detailed look at any more than a very small number of students in the school, and even rarer is a survey of an individual's overall development. The school should work to develop each student's capabilities and interests and integrate his difficulties and problems as



much as possible. Increased use of school psychologists and counselors that have a specialized degree in human behavior are probably partly responsible for some of the few inroads being made in ameliorating these basic difficulties in predisposing individuals to crime which are so apparent even at very young ages. Comprehensive or well-planned intervention seldom becomes available either to the young and/or to their families until the youth's behavior either cannot be tolerated or he elicits the sympathy, understanding, and, importantly, the concern of school workers. Tragically, even after the same youngsters have received probation or parole services, comprehensive intervention or even general programs of aid are rarely forthcoming. The review of literature section of this research study has reviewed the extent of programs in corrections which are even moderately effective that this researcher, through extensive research, has become aware of. Clearly we are going to have to look at other areas, one of which is pre-delinquency. Farmer, from his experience in California's CTP, states:

. . .correctional caseload research suggests that--relatively speaking--the broadest positive impact can be anticipated when ones target of intervention is the pre-delinquent or early delinquent group in general, as opposed to that of probationers or still more serious delinquents.<sup>15</sup>

The former group would be defined as consisting of individuals that have accumulated a small number of delinquency-tinged contacts, informally or formally in the legal system, and those pre-offenders who have not been adjudicated.

As the concepts of preventative medicine indicate, most individuals in the pre-offender group are more amenable to therapy than those in the offender group. Preventative medicine may cost a great deal at first, but in the long run "a considerable financial payoff would be associated with successful efforts at the level of pre or early delinquency."<sup>16</sup> By intervening in the early development stages, the long term influence of a negative environment experienced by these individuals could be severely curtailed and criminal orientations "nipped in the bud."

Availability of funds for this project in the schools could be partially provided by allotting to the schools a certain portion of the funds currently provided for probation and parole, and law enforcement funds are available for projects that the schools could develop. To determine the expected decrease in delinquency is necessary to appraise a realistic framework of expectations for funding reapportionment. This program could be administered directly by the state's correctional system or by a specific agency connected with the schools. Palmer stated, ". . .planned intervention should be able to head off further delinquent involvement in perhaps 25-35% of all such cases of incipient delinquency."<sup>17</sup> He further suggests that because of the long duration and high cost of delinquency careers, it would be meaningful to identify the more seriously problemed among all delinquency-prone individuals and to focus a number of correctional resources more heavily in this identified

area. To estimate reduction projections and trends, the total picture would have to be examined. It is difficult to estimate reduction when it is not known what the rate would have existed without the program. Importantly, exposure to planned intervention at very early levels would possibly make a majority of the youngsters easier to work with even if they did end up on probation or parole.

While the development of intelligent, mature, emotionally adjusted pre-delinquents may produce more successful criminals and involvement in more organized criminal activity, this area will have to be researched to determine the full extent of early intervention.

The majority of offenders in Oakland County's CTP have done extremely poorly in school. Educators are increasingly recognizing that perpetuation of failure does a great deal of harm, and social promotion is of little benefit. Mastery learning stresses mastery at certain levels before satisfactory completion of a course is awarded. By establishing consistent criteria and utilizing the wide variety of educational techniques with the individual cognitive style and learning theory, the vicious circle of failure experienced by most offenders in the educational setting could be avoided. This could eliminate many of the problems inherent in grading. Grades could still be used to differentiate various levels of performance, but only within a minimum acceptable level. Students performing below this level would be taken out of the regular program and

given special instruction. Preferably all offenders would be tested to determine their individual cognitive style, academic abilities and intelligence so that learning could proceed along more individualized patterns, utilizing a combination of learning techniques for optimum progress. Increased flexibility and increased emphasis on "practical" classes and the vocational trades, even in junior high or the elementary grades, is desirable. Students who have difficulty with the more conventional school subjects, such as mathematics and history and other courses which depend highly on verbal skills, should be placed in a program more suited to their needs and unique abilities. The individual that is limited in "academic" abilities should be placed in an area where he could succeed or be given the help to succeed in more traditional academic areas. The comment is often made by the probation workers that the offenders in the Project have, almost without exception, experienced a perpetual pattern of school failure and it is necessary to reverse this pattern to help the offender achieve success in other areas of life. This meant primarily avoiding those many areas which he had received persistent failure in the past.

The conclusions of this study, similar to the conclusions of the Misdemeanant Study of Royal Oak are: "As a nation we simply do not and apparently will not spend adequate sums on rehabilitation probation programs." Unlike military defense or the exploration of space, we simply do not place a high value on helping adult offenders. What is being spent and the

effort that is being expended is like handing the homeowner a spoon to haul away a large pile of dirt sitting in front of his house. While in time, if no new dirt is added, he will be able to carry the dirt away, but in the real world of crime the additions are more rapid than are the subtractions.

Another illustration adequately demonstrates the real apathy to crime on the part of the public. One of the most expensive, in terms of dollar loss, and one of the most common criminal offenses committed is Breaking and Entering of an occupied home. This is where an offender breaks a back window and enters a home he assumes the residents are not, at present, inside of, and takes what he can carry away to sell to support a drug habit or for material gain. The cost of this in terms of damage, court process, conviction of offenders and prosecution runs into billions of dollars, according to recent FBI estimates. Offenders tell us that to break into a home is extremely easy and the chances of getting caught are nil if a dark home is selected where no noise is present and no car is around to indicate the occupants are at home. In approximately thirty to ninety seconds the offender can either break a window, open a door using a coat hanger or force open a door with a screwdriver and quietly enter the home, ransacking it in another ten to fifteen minutes carrying away an average of several hundred dollars in replacement value of goods. Last year approximately 496,000 homes were broken into in Michigan alone by this means, with an estimate of \$4 billion worth of goods missing.

How easy is it to commit a B&E? One offender swears that he has committed over 1,000 B&Es without getting caught, and was at last apprehended only because he was high on drugs and did not know what he was doing. He B&E'd the house, left, and came back later when the police happened to be there searching the house and was caught re-entering. He stated that each time he drives by a house that is empty the temptation is there to B&E because he knows that it is so easy and the rewards are typically high. Running to the back of a house, breaking the window and going in and ransacking only takes a few minutes, and even if the offender is seen and the police are called, he has plenty of time to get away. With experience, one can locate the valuables in a few seconds and leave. Several offenders have stated that it is actually pretty difficult to get caught and only when they have been doing it for so long and begin to get extremely careless do their odds at getting caught go up. Some offenders also try to make their caper more of a challenge by doing foolish things. It is not uncommon to read of reports of offenders who, while in the process of breaking and entering an occupied home, sat down to have themselves a snack or even take a bath or lay down and take a nap. Recently one offender was caught because he fell asleep on the owner's couch while watching their color TV set! Another offender fell asleep in a closet because he was very tired. The moment he wanted to relax in stretched into several hours and he was apprehended when the owner came home. One offender

stated that after he had committed over six hundred B&Es he became rather bored while doing B&Es, so he often shaved or spruced up, or took a nap inside the home if he felt tired. If the public were really concerned, they would insist their home was designed so it was difficult to break into. By manufacturing windows out of cast aluminum or an alloy which could not easily be broken, in the design of the colonial style with lattice frames and thick glass or plastic windows, a home could not be broken into except by dynamite or a good cutting torch. The door-jams could be constructed out of metal and fastened securely to the house so they would be very difficult to break open without the use of a cutting torch or dynamite. This researcher has known many cases where an entire door-jam was removed by one offender and the valuables of the home were loaded into a pickup truck. Those in the construction industry tell us that the entire door-jam structure is supported by only a few nails and can easily be forced away by one or two individuals throwing their entire weight against the door. By using these suggestions, experimental houses have been designed and built which are almost impossible to break into without extreme measures. The average cost may be more, but in the long run the savings could be tremendous.

There are many other ways that the householder can resist criminal offenses. One which has been successfully used is to have the householder label his valuable items with his driver's license or other identifying numbers. This discourages

theft because marked goods are more difficult to sell. Other methods include leaving a light on, hooking a light to a timer which turns the light on or off at a given time or will even randomly turn a light on and off at varying periods of time. One former offender suggested turning on a radio, but not quite on a station so the perspective B&E'er is not able to discern whether the noise is a radio or people talking. The use of large dogs is also very effective, as are fences, having a neighbor watch the house, and removing tell-tale signs of prolonged absence by stopping the milk, having the lawns cared for, and having someone pick up the mail.

The problem of crime could be solved if we were really concerned with solving it. Using the above "pile of dirt" analogy, that dirt could be removed if the individual indeed wanted the dirt to be removed. By transferring this wanting into action he could resort to one of several methods, including hiring someone to truck it away or recruit volunteers to help him carry it away with large shovels, or he could even shovel it into garbage cans to be taken away by the city. This illustration may seem rather ludicrous, but is apropos in that many individuals who work with corrections strongly feel that the effort is simply not being made and the problem of crime is not much more difficult than moving an unwanted pile of dirt. Correctional departments often feel "If they don't care why should we?"

But as the Royal Oak Misdemeanant Project stressed, crime



presents a problem that cannot be solved just by tax dollars building better jails, developing programs, etc. Judge Leenhouts stressed that "We must, instead, reach into our spiritual resources and give of ourselves freely, warmly, and without thought of monetary gain." By understanding the many factors which contribute to criminal behavior, each individual is able to do what he can in his immediate family and with those with whom he comes in contact. Especially is this understanding important for teachers, social workers, court administrators, policemen, and others who are in an influential working relationship with young people.

Compounding the public's view of crime is a class of "offenders." According to arrest statistics, excluding traffic offenses, the largest problem in terms of pure number of arrests confronting the criminal justice system is offenders involved in public drunkenness, vagrancy, and other victimless crimes. Increasingly, it is being felt that these problems should be taken care of outside the criminal justice system. Most of these arrests involve "skid row derelict men" who are routinely arrested and rearrested in a process often described as "the revolving door arrests."<sup>18</sup> Generally, these offenders are not violent, although they can be extremely dangerous behind the wheel of an automobile. Studies of offenders involved in this pattern have shown that the criminal justice system has largely a negative effect on these men. Although it is difficult to determine the exact effects of an arrest, judging

by the high recidivism rate, it obviously accomplishes little. It imposes a heavy cost and burden upon the entire criminal justice system. By treating this large number of offenders (up to 40% of the total arrests) in agencies designed to deal with this problem with methods more directly concerned with rehabilitation, Nimmer argues that more funds and efforts can be directed at the more serious offenders. A good example of this was the recent drop in the percentage of homicides cleared by arrest in Detroit was attributed to the general increase in crime, preventing the necessary homicide investigatory work

One reason for some of the negative feeling that results from experience with the criminal justice system by the "victimless offender" (and other offenders) is the perfunctory punitive judicial process. Nimmer explained that for arrests such as Public Drunkenness, Vagrancy, etc., "cases are handled in an assembly line fashion with little more than one minute devoted to each."<sup>19</sup> Further, Morris states that in the case of most juvenile offenders,

. . .you pay a fine (or your parents pay it) and you walk out--all in about two minutes. What has society told you? Pay off and get out! What effect does this have on the offender? He is most likely to conclude, the experts say, that not only was his offense unimportant, but that he as an individual is not important; that nobody cares much about what he did or who he is.<sup>20</sup>

The rationale for arresting these offenders is that they "disturb the sensibilities of other residents of the city,"

and the arrests protect the offenders both from themselves and the elements. Apart from the arrest aspects, it is agreed that many need medical attention and help in order to cure the "sickness of alcoholism." Yet, typically no medical services are available in the jail which the arrestees are placed in, nor are there any after adjudication.<sup>21</sup>

The recommendation Nimmer makes is to eliminate the practice of arresting victimless offenders after the implementation of programs and adequate civil detoxification procedures to handle the cases are developed.

Most of us do not commit the crimes that bring a prison sentence partially because of learning which influences and our perception of the rewards and punishments from "criminal" behavior. Thus few of us rob banks because of the perceived risk.

Yet, given another situation where the reward is higher and the perceived chance of "getting caught" is lower, a slightly greater number may violate the norms. Philosophers have for centuries toyed with the statement that any man will be dishonest, given high enough rewards and low enough chances of getting caught. Few individuals would commit armed robbery to obtain \$101 if there were four policemen and a movie camera at the location of the prospective crime, but a slightly larger number would be willing to risk it if there were only two policemen, and an even larger number would take the risk if there were no policeman. Continuing this analogy, an even

larger number would take the risk if there were no policemen and \$3,000 to be gained, and an even larger number of \$10,000 were to be gained, etc. Yet, the majority of citizens would not commit this crime if the stakes were many thousands of dollars but might be tempted to pick up and keep a \$100 bill they found on a table in a business establishment. Many of those who would turn this money in would keep it if it were found on the street, and even those very honest people who would turn the money in if found in the street would keep it if it were found in a large open field, away from a residence or possible source of the money being lost. Thus, a continuum of honesty can be seen, and the laws generally define where the majority of individuals are willing to go beyond to obtain the rewards.

Society as a whole must look at the total set of conditions which produce, either directly or indirectly, criminal behavior. The increased pressures of population growth and the increasing number of individuals achieving middle class status, coupled with the definite limits of the earth's resources, hopefully means we are less concerned with obtaining, using, and consuming things and more concerned with developing satisfying social relationships, involving ourselves in diverse types of interpersonal involvement, and especially learning.

In the last analysis, crime exists because it is encouraged to exist. There are customers for the fruits of crime. Criminals are serving the public just like any occupation does. There

is a demand for education and we provide it by building schools and producing textbooks. There is a demand for stolen goods, and criminals supply that demand. Recognizing this, Al Capone is reported to have said, "I just give the public what they want." Many otherwise honest persons would jump at the chance to buy a radio, color TV, ring, or watch at a low price even with the full realization that it is stolen. There is even a greater demand for some goods if they are sold with the "hint" that they are stolen. In Europe one is occasionally confronted with a "shadey looking character" who flashes a shiney watch, stating that he works for a shipping company and just happened to get a hold of a few watches which he will sell for the \$5.00 or \$10.00 that he says he desperately needs. The implication is that the watch is stolen and worth several hundred dollars, but in actuality is not worth the \$5.00 or \$10.00 he is asking for it. Once the watch is sold there is no way to return it. Only the hard experience of purchasing a watch, only to find out that it works poorly or not at all and has little value, does one learn that he has been shiestered into believing that this was an expensive stolen watch. To blame crime on a group of individuals called "criminals," and to say they are evil beasts, separate and a different type of persons than the non-criminal public, takes the blame from where it belongs and allows the majority to focus the blame on a few people who are unfortunate enough to be labelled as "criminals." An outsider's experience with the court

process blurs this dichotomy even more. Daily work with judges, policemen and others allows one to see them commit crimes that are worse both in terms of seriousness and the total dollar value, than the majority of the offenders that they deal with.

The responsibility for crimes is being shifted from an innate internal "badness" to man as a product of an environment where learning plays an important role in developing criminal behavior. The environment where thefts are accepted, approved of, or even encouraged is part of the learning environment. Where the bookie, the pimp, and the drug pusher are all successful businessmen in the eyes of the community, it is to be expected that the average offender learns his behavior patterns in much the same way that the future scientist, teacher, factory worker or doctor learns his behavior goals. Crime exists because we let it exist, both in our attitudes, our financial supporting of it, our refusal to protect our goods more carefully, and our letting the conditions which produce crime exist.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

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- XXI. Mail Report Form
- XXII. Court Cost Collection Forms
- XXIII. Review of the Literature Written Since the Oakland County Community Treatment Project

Appendix I  
Codesheet



COMMUNITY TREATMENT PROJECT

- 1. Docket No.....
- 2. Offense As Adjudicated.....    
Specify \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Offense As Charged.....    
Specify \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Sex and Race.....
- 5. Age, in years at offense.....
- 6. Number of children.....
- 7. Area of Residence at offense.....    
Specify \_\_\_\_\_
- 8. Date of Offense \_\_\_\_\_    
Month Day Year
- 9. Recommendation.....
- 10. Parents home state \_\_\_\_\_
- 11. Sentence \_\_\_\_\_
- 12. Time of Offense.....
- 13. Day of Offense (see #8).....
- 14. Motive of Circumstances.....    
Other \_\_\_\_\_
- 15. Rel. of Victim and Offender.....
- 16. Place of Offense.....
- 17. Activity during Offense.....
- 18. Weapon used \_\_\_\_\_
- 19. Other Offender Factors \_\_\_\_\_
- 20. Psychological Evaluation .....
- 21. Previous record rating.....
- 22. Birth Order.....
- 23. Predominantly Reared by.....
- 24. Predominant Home Climate.....
- 25. Socio-economic Ranking.....
- 26. Living arrangement at offense.....
- 27. Marital Status at Offense.....
- 28. Circumstances of Marriage.....
- 29. Marriage Rating.....
- 30. Intelligence Level.....

- 31. School Years Completed.....
- 32. Academic Performance.....
- 33. General Employment Level.....
- 34. Employment Rating.....
- 35. Yearly Earning.....
- 36. Health Rating.....
- 37. Leisure Activities.....

FOLLOW UP INFORMATION

- 38. Type of Case.....
- 39. Supervision rules violation(s).....    
Other \_\_\_\_\_
- 40. Further legal difficulties-charges.....    
Other \_\_\_\_\_
- 41. Court appearance(s).....
- 42. Length of new institutional sent.    
Specify \_\_\_\_\_
- 43. Length of new active probation...
- 44. Date of first new arrest.....
- 45. Months spent in custody.....
- 46. Supervision services.....  Extent   
Other \_\_\_\_\_  Extent
- 47. Change in Marital Situation.....
- 48. Employment Record.....
- 49. Change in Income.....
- 50. Change in Education.....
- 51. Drug use difficulties.....
- 52. Alcohol use difficulties.....
- 53. Emotional Adjustment.....
- 54. Predominant living arrangement.....
- 55. Participation in treatment outcome
- 56. Other Improvement.....
- 57. Other.....

**Appendix II**  
**Guide for Codesheet**

CODESHEET GUIDE

2 & 3).	<u>Felony</u>	<u>Misdemeanor</u>	8).	<u>1-7</u>	<u>8-15</u>	<u>16-23</u>	<u>24-31</u>
1st Degree Murder	51	02	January	00	01	02	03
2nd Degree Murder	52	04	February	04	05	06	07
Manslaughter	53	05	March	08	09	10	11
Armed Robbery	54	06	April	12	13	14	15
Larceny From A Person	57	09	May	16	17	18	19
Unarmed Robbery	56	08	June	20	21	22	23
Attempted Armed Robbery	58	10	July	24	25	26	27
Att. Larc. From A Person	59	11	August	28	29	30	31
Att. Unarmed Robbery	60	12	September	32	33	34	35
Assault	62	14	October	36	37	38	39
Rape	64	16	November	40	41	42	43
Sex Offense	68	18	December	44	45	46	47
B & E	70	20					
Att. Poss. Stolen Prop.	71	21	9).				
Att. B & E	72	22	None .....				0
Receiving Stolen Prop.	73	23	Fine, Restitution .....				1
CCW	74	24	Probation .....				2
Att. CCW	76	26	Probation & Jail .....				3
Larc. From A Bldg.	78	28	Jail .....				4
Att. Larc. From A Bldg.	80	30	Prison .....				5
Poss. of Drug	82	32	Delayed .....				6
Att. Poss. of Drug	84	34					
Sale of Drug	86	36	10). (Box 13)				
Att. Sale of Drug	88	38	Unknown .....	0	Out of Mich..		3
UDAA	90	40	In County ....	1	Out of USA...		4
Att. UDAA	91	41	Out, But in Mich.....				2
Larc. by Check	92	42					
Att. Larc. By Check	94	44	10). (Box 14)				
Obstructing Justice	99	48	Alabama ..6	Kentucky..7	N. Dakota..3		
Other Person	96	45	Alaska....1	Louisiana..4	Ohio.....5		
Other Property	98	47	Arizona...2	Maine.....8	Oklahoma...4		
			Arkansas..4	Maryland..9	Oregon.....1		
			Calif.....1	Mass.....3	Penn.....9		
			Colorado..2	Michigan..5	Rhode Isl..3		
			Conn.....8	Minn.....3	S. Carolina.6		
			Delaware..9	Miss.....6	S. Dakota..3		
			Dist.of C.9	Missouri..3	Tenn.....7		
			Florida...6	Montana...2	Texas.....4		
			Georgia...6	Nebraska..3	Unknown...0		
			Hawaii....1	Nevada....1	Utah.....2		
			Idaho.....2	New Hamp..8	Vermont...9		
			Illinois..5	New Jers..9	Virginia...7		
			Indiana...5	New Mex...2	Washing...1		
			Iowa.....3	New York..9	W. Virg....7		
			Kansas....3	N. Carol..7	Wisconsin..5		
					Wyoming....2		

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
4) Caucasian.....	1	2
Negro .....	3	4
Other .....	5	6

7. Detroit .....	0
Pontiac .....	1
Royal Oak .....	2
Ferndale .....	3
Hazel Park .....	4
Troy, Birmingham, Pleasant Ridge, Oak Park, Southfield.....	5
Berkeley, Madison Hts., Royal Oak Twp., Clawson .....	6
Novi, Clarkston, Walled Lake, Northville, Holly .....	7
Livonia, Keego Harbor, S. Lyon, Rochester, Waterford Twp, Davisburg, Highland, OC Child Center.....	8
Other.....	9

11. Probation

3m.....01	36m.....06
6m.....02	48m.....07
12m.....03	60m.....08
18m.....04	other.....09
24m.....05	

Prison  
 Add  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the minimum subtracted from the maximum to the minimum.  
 Life = 90      Natural Life = 99

12.

	<u>A.M.</u>	<u>P.M.</u>
00 = Unknown		
12:01 - 1:00	01	20
1:01 - 2:00	02	21
2:01 - 3:00	03	22
3:01 - 4:00	04	23
4:01 - 5:00	05	24
5:01 - 6:00	06	25
6:01 - 7:00	07	26
7:01 - 8:00	08	27
8:01 - 9:00	09	28
9:01 -10:00	10	29
10:01 -11:00	11	30
11:01 -12:00	12	31

Morning      Evening

13.

Monday.....	1
Tuesday.....	2
Wednesday.....	3
Thursday.....	4
Friday.....	5
Saturday.....	6
Sunday.....	7
Other.....	0

14.

Accident.....	0
Negligence.....	1
Cultural-Recreational.....	2
Sub-Cultural-Recreational....	3
Sex Rival (Hetersexual).....	4
Altercation.....	5
Robbery (to support drugs)...	6
Robbery, Larceny, etc.....	7
Sex offense, rape, etc.....	8
Psychotic.....	9

15.

Unknown.....	0
Immediate family.....	1
Relative.....	2
Close friend.....	3
Business relationship.....	4

15.

Acquaintance.....	5
Innocent bystander, accident....	6
Stranger, not accident.....	7
Enemy.....	8
Self (as drug related).....	9

16.

<u>Home:</u>	
Living room.....	0
Bedroom.....	1
Kitchen, dining room.....	2
Yard, garage.....	3
<u>Non-home:</u>	
Store, Gas station, bank.....	4
Road, highway.....	5
Bar, Restaurant.....	6
Field, woods, park.....	7
Inside auto.....	8
Parking lot.....	9

17.

Unknown.....	0
Weekends or holiday leisure.....	1
After work, school leisure (non weekend).....	2
Drug related.....	3
Robbery, larceny related.....	4
Work related.....	5
School related.....	6
Family activities.....	7
Drinking or Bar related.....	8
Attempted settle problems.....	9

18.

None.....	0
Handgun.....	1
Drugs.....	2
Other gun.....	3
Chemical, fire, etc.....	4
Knife, switchblade, dagger.....	5
Knife, kitchen.....	6
Hands.....	7
Pipe, bottle, etc.....	8
Automobile.....	9

19.

None.....	0
Alcohol related.....	1
Drug related.....	2
Under influence of medication...	3
Temporary mental disorder.....	4
Permanent mental disorder.....	5
Strong peer influence.....	6
Strong emotional pressure.....	7
Emotional pressue & drugs, alco.	8
Elementsof self protection.....	9

20. Increases of General seriousness,  
code highest

No psychological problems.....	0
Minor psychological problems.....	1
Immature personality.....	2
Sexual deviation.....	3
Suicide drives.....	4
Antisocial, dyssocial personality....	5
Psychopathic Personality.....	6
Neurotic - Boarderline Psychotic.....	7
Psychotic (schizoid, paranoid, etc)...	8
Brain damage.....	9

21. (Box 28)

Primarily minor, drinking, etc.....	1
Primarily property, B&E, etc.....	2
Property and drugs.....	3
Primarily drugs.....	4
Sexual offenses.....	5
Aggressive, person offenses.....	6
Other.....	7
Property, aggressive, drugs, etc.....	8
Previous murder, homicide.....	9

21. (Box 29) Add total, use point system  
below.

B.T.S.....	1	Juv. Detention...	1/4
Juv. Prob..	1	Jail, under 7 m..	1/4
Ad. Prob...	1	Jail, each Month.	1/4
		Prison.....	3

22.

Only child.....	0
First of small (to three).....	1
Second (to three).....	2
Last of small (to three).....	3
1st, 2nd of med. (to six).....	4
3rd, 4th of med. (to six).....	5
last, second to last (to six).....	6
1st, wnd of large (7 and up).....	7
Middle of large (7 and up).....	8
Last or 2nd to last of large (7 & up)	9

23.

Unknown.....	0
Both parents.....	1
Mother only.....	2
Father only.....	3
Mother and stepfather.....	4
Father and stepmother.....	5
Relatives (grandmother, etc).....	6
Institution.....	7
Foster Home.....	8
Unstable.....	9

24.

Unknown.....	0
Beneficial.....	1
Marginal.....	2
Unsatisfactory.....	3
Unstable.....	4
Very lax.....	5
Very strict.....	6
Abused, sexual only.....	7
Terrible, physically abused, etc....	8

25.

Unknown.....	0
Low - lower.....	1
Lower.....	2
Upper - Lower.....	3
Lower - middle.....	4
Middle.....	5
Upper - middle.....	6
Lower - upper.....	7
Upper.....	8
Upper-upper.....	9

26.

Alone.....	0
With parental family.....	1
With conjugal family.....	2
Common law.....	3
Homosexual alliance.....	4
Grandparents.....	5
Relatives.....	6
Friends.....	7
Both parents and conjugal family....	3
Automobile, street, park, etc.....	9

27.

Married.....	0
Widow(er).....	1
Single.....	2
Divorced-remarried.....	3
Divorced.....	4
Separated.....	5
Common law.....	6
Divorced, remarried, separated, etc...	7
Homosexual, bisexual.....	8
other.....	9

28. Code highest category

No negative factors known, or no marriage.....	0
Very young (to 18).....	1
Immature.....	2
Wife pregnant, forced.....	3
Difference in background, values, etc.....	4

28. '
  - Wife, husband divorce.....5
  - Personality differences.....6
  - Wife, husband mentally abnormal...7
  - Wife, husband sexually abnormal...8
  - Other.....9
29. Code highest Category
  - No marriage.....0
  - All indicators excellent.....1
  - Fair, few problems.....2
  - Good, lately deteriorated.....3
  - General poor adjustment.....4
  - Wife, husband, sexual problem.....5
  - Heavy drinking, husband/wife.....6
  - Sexually promiscuous, husband/wife.7
  - Abusive husband, drinking,  
physical violence.....8
  - Poor, both parties, several of  
above.....9
30. Code Highest Category
  - Unknown.....0
  - Retarded (up to 60).....1
  - Definitely below average (61-75)...2
  - Below average (75-90).....3
  - Average (91-100).....4
  - Average (101-110).....5
  - Above Average (111-125).....6
  - Superior (126-135).....7
  - 136+.....8
  - Genius, in special area.....9
32. Code Highest Category, use closest grade or description
  - Unknown.....0
  - "A" - Superior in all areas, no  
problems.....1
  - "B" - Above average, no problems..2
  - " - Good grades, some problems..3
  - "C" - Average, few problems.....4
  - " - Average, serious problems...5
  - "D" - Poor, low grades, few  
problems.....6
  - " - Poor, low grades, poor  
attendance.....7
  - "E" - Very poor, low grades,  
serious problems.....8
  - " - Very poor, failed two or  
more grades.....9
33.
  - None.....0
  - Unskilled.....1
  - Housewife.....2
  - Skilled.....3
  - Clerical, Sales.....4
  - Manager, Proprietor.....5
  - Service.....6
  - Professional, Arts.....7
  - Professional.....8
  - Professional (M.D., Ph.D.) etc....9
34.
  - No employment.....0
  - Excellent record, promotions.....1
  - Excellent record.....2
  - Good record.....3
  - Fair record, some problems.....4
  - Poor record, absenteeism, etc....5
  - Poor record, much absenteeism,  
etc.....6
  - Part-time only (school).....7
  - No work record-valid reasons....8
  - Very poor, worked only spora-  
dically.....9
35.
  - 0 - (valid reasons, housewife,  
school).....0
  - 1-500.....1
  - 501-1000.....2
  - 1001-2500.....3
  - 2501-4000.....4
  - 4001-5500.....5
  - 5501-7000.....6
  - 7001-9000.....7
  - 9001-10,500.....8
  - 10,501-and up.....9
36. Code Highest Directly health Related Problem
  - Excellent, no problems.....0
  - Good, no problems.....1
  - Some health problems.....2
  - Chronic ill health.....3
  - Serious disease.....4
  - Amputation, blindness, deaf.....5
  - Mental problems.....6
  - Mental and health problems.....7
  - Retarded.....8

37. Code Highest Rating (higher more negative)

Excellent-reading, educational, commun.....	0
Very good-hobbies, beneficial interests, no negative.....	1
Good-semi-skilled activities only.....	2
Good-sports, hunting, fishing, TV, etc.....	3
Good-hunting, TV, some illegal activity....	4
Fair, other.....	5
Fair-TV, passive pursuits.....	6
Drinking, parties, some criminal activity..	7
Drinking, parties, much crime involved.....	8
Largely crime, negative activities.....	9

FOLLOW-UP INFORMATION

38.

Mandatory minimum prison sentence.....	0
Physical danger prison, sentence (E).....	1
Other group E prison, sentence.....	2
Group D prison sentence.....	3
Diverted from institution (C) to probation.	4
Project probation (A).....	5
Regular probation (B).....	6
Jail.....	7
Other (specify).....	8

39. Code 2 Most Serious Violations

None.....	0
Not pay court cost.....	1
Non-report.....	2
Non-report and pay costs.....	3
Leaves state w/o permission.....	4
Moved w/o notifying P.O.....	5
Associate with felons.....	6
Did not maintain employment.....	7
Did not obtain psychological help.....	8
Other.....	9

40. See #2 and #3.

41. Code Most Serious Outcome

No appearance, not adjudicated yet.....	0
Case dismissed.....	1
Continued on probation/parole, no penalty..	2
Suspended sentence, fine, restitution.....	3
Short jail sentence.....	4
New probation sentence.....	5
Six months or more jail.....	6
Probation and six months or more jail.....	7
To State correctional facility.....	8
New sentence - institutionalized.....	9

42, 43. See #11.

44. Code Number of Months After Disposition Date.

46. SUPERVISION SERVICES (three or less)

00 No supervision needed  
01 No services needed, or provided

Provided by:

	A	B	C	D
	Proj. Staff	Cont-ract	Contri-bution	Need not pro
Information	02	03	04	09
Financial	10	11	12	17
Psych./Psychia.	18	19	20	25
Transportation	26	27	28	33
Educational	34	35	36	41
Group Counseling	42	43	44	49
Family Group Co.	50	51	52	57
Drug Group Coun.	58	59	60	65
Half-Way Hse., Drug House	66	67	68	73
Alcoholic Coun.	74	75	76	81
Marriage Coun.	82	83	84	89
Volunteer	90	91	92	97

47.

Not married.....	0
Major improvement.....	1
Some improvement.....	2
Slight improvement.....	3
No changes.....	4
Minor deterioration.....	5
Major deterioration.....	6
Separated.....	7
Divorce.....	8
Divorce, remarried.....	9

48. See #34.

49. See #35.

50.

No change.....	0
Started training, little eff..	1
Started training.....	2
Completed GED.....	3
Started college, doing fair...	4
Training program, excellent...	5
In college, doing exceptional.	6
Completed training program, excellent.....	7
Completed college.....	8
Completed college and other programs.....	9

51, 52.

None.....	0
Interpersonal use, minor.....	1
Interpersonal use, major.....	2
Legal (arrests).....	3
Legal, major arrests.....	4
No change in use - violated.....	5
Greater use - violated.....	6
Unknown.....	7
Other.....	8

53.

Unknown.....	0
Great improvement.....	1
Moderate improvement.....	2
Some improvement.....	3
No change.....	4
Some regression.....	5
Great regression.....	6

54. See #26.

55. Participation in the Treatment (Box 76)

Failed to follow through.....	0
Failed some conditions.....	1
Followed through reasonably well.....	2
Followed through quite well.....	3
Enthusiastically participated.....	4

Outcome (Box 77)

Very successful.....	5
Moderately successful.....	6
No improvement.....	7
Lost ground.....	8
Tremendous regression.....	9

56.

None.....	0
Work.....	1
Alcohol.....	2
Drugs.....	3
Relating to others.....	4
Emotional maturity.....	5
Living conditions.....	6
Educational.....	7
Attitude.....	8
Went into Service.....	9

57.

None.....	0
Counseling minimum.....	1
Counseling intermediate.....	2
Counseling intensive.....	3
Counseling need minimum.....	4
Counseling need intermediate.....	5
Counseling need intensive.....	6
Other	
Died.....	7
Escaped, or absconded.....	8



Appendix III

General Statistics For  
Oakland County Circuit Court

GENERAL STATISTICS  
FOR  
OAKLAND COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT

JAIL

	<u>1969</u>		<u>1970</u>		<u>1971</u>		<u>1972</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>AGE</u>								
To 21 years	21	26.3	11	25.0	15	25.9	17	32.7
21 to 25	18	22.5	19	43.2	12	20.7	17	32.7
26 to 34	20	25.0	7	15.9	16	27.6	13	25.0
35 to 44	11	13.8	5	11.4	7	12.1	2	3.8
45 to 52	7	8.8	1	2.3	6	10.3	3	5.8
53 to 64	3	3.8	1	2.3	1	1.7	0	0.0
65 and up	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.7	0	0.0
MALES	73	91.3%	38	86.4%	55	94.8%	48	92.3%
FEMALES	7	8.8%	6	13.6%	3	5.1%	4	7.7%
Born In Michigan	42	52.5	30	68.2	27	46.6	36	69.2
Born Out of Mich.	38	47.5	14	31.8	31	53.4	16	30.8
<u>RACE</u>								
White	55	68.8	21	47.7	30	51.7	26	50.0
Mexican	1	1.3	1	2.3	1	1.7	0	0.0
Indian	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Negro	24	30.0	22	50.0	27	46.6	26	50.0
<u>MARITAL</u>								
Single	34	42.5	21	47.7	25	43.1	29	55.7
Married	23	28.8	14	31.8	15	25.9	12	23.1
Divorced	11	13.8	4	9.1	12	20.7	4	7.7
Separated	11	13.8	5	11.4	5	8.6	7	13.5
Widowed	1	1.3	0	0.0	1	1.7	0	0.0
<u>EDUCATION</u>								
1st thru 4th	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
5th	1	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
6th	5	6.3	1	2.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
7th	5	6.3	1	2.3	2	3.4	2	3.8
8th	9	11.3	2	4.5	5	8.6	3	5.8
9th	13	16.3	8	18.2	7	12.1	9	17.3
10th	10	12.5	10	22.7	16	27.6	10	19.2
11th	16	20.0	7	15.9	14	24.1	12	23.1
12th	14	17.5	12	27.2	10	17.2	11	21.2
<u>COLLEGE</u>								
1st year	2	2.5	1	2.3	1	1.7	1	1.9
2nd year	3	3.8	1	2.3	3	5.2	4	7.7
3rd year	0	0.0	1	2.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
4th year	4	5.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

GENERAL STATISTICS  
FOR  
OAKLAND COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT

703

PROBATION

	<u>1969</u>		<u>1970</u>		<u>1971</u>		<u>1972</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>AGE</u>								
To 21 years	322	49.8	360	51.4	407	46.2	436	47.7
21 to 25	147	22.7	167	23.9	258	29.3	243	26.6
26 to 34	89	13.8	105	15.0	137	15.6	139	15.0
35 to 44	51	7.9	39	5.6	52	5.9	57	6.2
45 to 52	18	2.8	21	3.0	16	1.8	26	2.8
52 to 64	15	2.3	8	1.1	8	.9	10	1.1
65 and up	5	.8	0	.0	3	.3	3	.33
<u>MALES</u>								
<u>FEMALES</u>								
Born In Michigan	438	67.7	480	68.6	614	69.9	656	71.8
Born Out of Mich.	209	32.3	220	31.4	267	30.3	253	27.7
<u>RACE</u>								
White	528	81.6	507	72.4	652	74.0	623	68.2
Mexican	6	.9	3	.4	6	.7	281	30.7
Indian	1	.2	3	.4	1	.1	9	.99
Negro	112	17.3	187	26.7	222	25.2	1	.11
<u>MARITAL</u>								
Single	372	57.5	423	60.4	537	61.0	569	62.3
Married	196	30.3	208	29.7	234	26.6	220	24.1
Divorced	33	5.1	39	5.6	68	7.7	63	6.9
Separated	44	6.8	28	4.0	36	4.1	56	6.1
Widowed	2	.3	2	.3	6	.7	6	.6
<u>EDUCATION</u>								
None	3	.5	1	.1	0	.0	2	.2
1st thru 3rd	2	.3	0	.0	3	.3	7	.7
4th	1	.2	3	.4	1	.1	4	.4
5th	2	.3	1	.1	4	.5	4	.4
6th	9	1.4	4	.6	6	.7	9	.9
7th	21	3.2	18	2.6	20	2.3	31	3.4
8th	53	8.2	47	6.7	54	6.1	67	7.3
9th	82	12.7	97	13.9	107	12.1	136	14.9
10th	116	17.9	125	17.9	182	20.7	145	15.9
11th	106	16.4	126	18.0	155	17.6	145	15.9
12th	204	31.5	234	33.4	280	31.7	288	31.5
<u>COLLEGE</u>								
1st year	18	2.8	18	2.6	32	3.6	29	3.2
2nd year	16	2.5	14	2.0	21	2.4	20	2.2
3rd year	4	.6	6	.9	5	.6	3	.3
4th year	10	1.5	6	.9	11	1.2	4	.4

GENERAL STATISTICS  
FOR  
OAKLAND COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT

PRISON

	<u>1969</u>		<u>1970</u>		<u>1971</u>		<u>1972</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>AGE</u>								
To 21 years	86	30.5	101	31.3	115	31.0	95	28.4
21 to 25	88	31.2	105	32.3	127	34.2	126	37.7
26 to 34	69	25.5	77	23.7	80	21.6	74	22.2
35 to 44	23	8.2	32	9.8	35	9.4	20	6.0
45 to 52	10	3.5	9	2.8	12	3.2	11	3.3
53 to 64	6	2.1	1	.3	2	.5	6	1.7
65 and up	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	.3
MALES	268	95.0%	306	94.2%	364	98.1%	325	97.3%
FEMALES	14	5.0%	19	4.9%	7	1.8%	9	2.7%
Born In Michigan	163	57.9	198	60.9	228	61.5	194	58.1
Born Out of Mich.	119	42.2	127	39.1	143	38.5	140	41.9
<u>RACE</u>								
White	174	61.7	197	60.6	198	53.4	183	54.8
Mexican	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Indian	4	1.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Negro	104	36.9	128	39.4	173	46.6	150	44.9
<u>MARITAL</u>								
Single	140	49.6	171	52.6	202	54.4	190	56.9
Married	83	29.4	79	24.3	92	24.8	67	20.1
Divorced	30	10.6	35	10.8	39	10.5	5	1.5
Separated	25	8.9	38	11.7	34	9.2	36	10.8
Widowed	4	1.4	2	6.1	4	1.1	36	10.8
<u>EDUCATION</u>								
None	0	0.0	3	.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
1st thru 3rd	0	0.0	2	.6	0	0.0	1	.3
4th	4	1.4	1	.4	1	.2	0	0.0
5th	2	.7	4	1.2	4	1.0	2	.6
6th	1	.4	3	.9	4	1.0	4	1.2
7th	11	3.9	20	6.2	15	4.0	6	1.8
8th	43	15.2	33	10.2	41	11.0	41	12.3
9th	61	21.6	70	21.5	77	20.7	67	20.1
10th	61	21.6	73	22.5	88	23.7	69	20.7
11th	41	14.5	40	12.3	53	14.3	64	19.2
12th	49	17.4	68	20.9	79	21.3	72	21.6
<u>COLLEGE</u>								
1st year	3	1.1	4	1.2	1	.2	4	1.2
2nd year	4	1.4	2	.6	4	1.0	1	.3
3rd year	0	0.0	2	.6	1	.2	3	.9
4th year	2	.7	0	0.0	3	.8	0	0.0



Appendix IV  
General Oakland County Statistics

## GENERAL OAKLAND COUNTY STATISTICS

Item	Oakland County	Michigan
1. Population Total (1967)	690,603	7,823,194
A. Rank of U.S.A.	31	7
2. Land Area (square miles)	867	56,217
A. Population per Sq. Mi.	797	138
3. Population Change (1950-60)	74.3%	22%
A. Migration	42.2%	2.5%
B. Natural Increase	32.1%	20.3%
C. Natural Increase (1960-65)	8.6%	7.3%
4. Population Characteristics (1960)		
A. Urban	82.2%	73.4%
B. Negro	3.3%	9.2%
C. Foreign Born	25.5%	24.3%
D. 65 Years & Older	5.5%	8.2%
5. Births (1964)	15,628	175,506
A. Deaths (1964)	4,924	72,038
B. Marriages (1964)	5,887	73,911
6. Education (25 & Older)		
A. Median School Yr. Completed	11.1 Yrs.	10.8 Yrs.
B. Completed Less Than 5 Yrs.	3.2%	5.8%
C. Completed High School or More	51.6%	40.9%
D. Persons 5 to 34 in School	190,427	2,065,224
7. Employment (1960) Total	240,861	2,726,864
A. Manufacturing	41.2%	38.0%
B. White Collar	49.4%	40.1%
8. Income (Aggregate)	\$1,703,000,000	\$15,175,000,000
9. Number of Families, Total	173,063	1,943,960
10. Income Median (1960)	\$ 7,576	\$ 600,256
A. Under \$3,000	9.2%	15.7%
B. \$10,000 & Up	28.8%	17.4%
11. Public Assistance Recipients (1964)	11,553	240,972
12. Housing Units (1964)		
A. Total	204,632	2,548,792
B. In One-Unit Structures	91.8%	82.6%
C. Sound, All Plumbing	87.2%	78.6%
D. Occupied Units	188,986	2,239,079
1. Owner Occupied	83.3%	74.4%
2. Medium Value	\$ 13,900	\$ 12,000
3. Medium Monthly Rent (Renter)	\$ 90	\$ 77
4. Index of Home Equipment	399	271
(Washing Machine, Home Freezer, Air Conditioning, TV, Auto - Maximum = 600 points.)		

13. Bank Deposits, Total	\$722,378,000	\$11,925,261,000
A. Change (60-64)	74.7%	39.8%
B. Time Savings	\$378,613,000	\$ 6,048,194,000
C. Demand Savings	\$264,301,000	\$ 3,955,046,000
D. Capital Savings	\$ 12,442,000	\$ 2,766,181,000
E. Percent of Change (60-64)	99%	68.2%
14. Revenue (1962) Total	\$148,713,000	\$ 1,699,547,000
A. Internal Government	32.9%	32.9%
B. Taxes	52.1%	53.3%
C. Property Total (per capita)	\$ 111	\$ 112
15. Local Government Finances (1962) Total	\$158,885,000	\$ 1,822,546,000
A. Education	\$ 87,414,000	\$ 897,476,000
B. Highways	\$ 12,897,000	\$ 188,991,000
C. Public Welfare	\$ 3,527,000	\$ 83,889,000
D. Health & Hospital Care	\$ 10,691,000	\$ 129,000,000
E. Police Protection	\$ 5,766,000	\$ 80,989,000



Appendix V

1970 Census of Population and Housing  
For Oakland County

1970 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING  
FOR  
OAKLAND COUNTY

	No.	%
Total Population .....	907,871	100.0
Urban Places	792,632	87.31
2,500 - 24,999	164,299	18.10
25,000 or more	411,863	45.37
Rural Places	90,997	10.02
Less than 1,000	1,361	00.15
1,000 - 2,499	1,391	00.15

Race Totals:	No.	%
White	875,664	96.5
Negro	28,439	3.1
Indian	728	.08
Other races	3,040	.32

Family Relationship by Age:	No.	%
Under 18		
Head of Family	560	.06
Child of Head		
Hus.-Wife Fam.	304,019	33.49
Male Head	3,219	.35
Female Head	21,244	2.34

Relative of Head:		
Hus.-Wife Fam.	8,509	.94
Male Head	592	.06
Female Head	1,883	.21

Non-Relative: 1,784 .20

Inmate of Institution: 503 .06

Group Quarters: 309 .03

Over 65:		
Head of Family	21,767	2.40
Wife of Head	12,238	1.35

Other Family Mem.	8,944	1.00
Male Primary Mem.	2,763	.30
Female Primary	10,086	1.11
Non-Relative	1,179	.13
Inmate of Inst.	3,067	.33
Group Quarters	320	.03

Family Type

by Age of Members:

Husband-Wife		
All Mem. Bet. 18-65	74,858	8.25
Under 18, Not 65+	127,483	14.04
Not under 18, but 65+	2,519	.28
Under 18 & 65+	3,282	.36
Male Head		
All Mem. Bet. 18-65	1,581	.17
Under 18, Not 65+	1,782	.20
Not under 18, but 65+	809	.09
Under 18 & 65+	98	.01
Female Head		
All Mem. Bet. 18-65	4,483	.50
Under 18, Not 65+	10,094	1.11
Not under 18, but 65+	1,404	.15
Under 18 & 65+	351	.04

Persons per Room

by Household:

Husband-Wife		
More than 1.01	15,432	1.70
More than 1.51	2,365	.26
Male Head		
More than 1.01	219	.02
More than 1.51	54	.01
Female Head		
More than 1.01	1,137	.13
More than 1.51	233	.03

Totals by Age & Sex:	White				Negro			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0 to 4	41,185	4.53	39,857	4.39	1,757	.19	1,206	.13
5 to 14	60,536	6.66	98,945	10.90	3,487	.38	3,456	.38
15 to 24	73,149	8.05	57,193	6.30	2,668	.30	2,953	.32
25 to 34	55,800	6.15	58,470	6.44	1,703	.19	1,956	.22
35 to 44	55,491	6.11	58,434	6.44	1,379	.15	1,682	.19
45 to 54	54,905	6.05	56,947	6.27	1,228	.14	1,322	.15
55 to 64	35,852	3.95	36,565	4.02	842	.09	848	.09
65 plus	25,742	2.84	34,622	3.80	619	.07	733	.07

Marital Status of 14 + year olds:	White				Negro			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	213,411	23.51	214,045	23.58	4,610	.51	4,514	.50
Widowed	6,125	.67	30,035	3.31	267	.03	929	.11
Divorced	7,762	.85	13,196	1.45	419	.46	727	.08
Separated	2,460	.27	3,902	.43	397	.04	759	.08
Single	81,850	9.02	72,587	.	3,089	.34	2,783	.31

Household Head:	White		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%
Husband	208,092	22.92	4,192	.46
Wife	208,092	22.92	4,146	.46
Other Male	4,270	.47	282	.31
Other Female	15,332	1.80	1,476	.16
Relative	413,973	45.60	15,346	1.70
Non-Relative	11,623	1.28	1,056	.17
Primary Person, Male	13,336	1.47	617	.07
Primary Person, Fem.	22,536	2.48	645	.07
Inmate of Inst.	6,778	.64	429	.47
Group Quarters	3,839	.42	249	.03

Appendix VI  
Recidivist Outcome Index

BASED ON ACTIVITIES THAT TRANSPIRED  
SUBSEQUENT TO PROBATION SUPERVISION

RECIDIVIST OUTCOME INDEX

713

Scoring Code	Disposition and Description of Conduct
0	Imprisoned: Convicted of felony.
1	Imprisoned: Convicted of misdemeanor.
2	Imprisoned: Technical violation of probation; Technical violation with prior and separate misdemeanor for which sentence has already been imposed and/or served on an earlier occasion during current probation; Technical violation with absconding on the record, whether part of the current charge or not.
3	Absconder: Also wanted for or charged with an alleged felony, or has been convicted of or confessed to a felony on the same or a separate charge; or arrested and arraigned for an alleged felony and awaiting disposition.
4	Absconder: Also wanted for or charged with an alleged misdemeanor or has been convicted of or confessed to a misdemeanor on the same or a separate charge; or arrested and arraigned for an alleged misdemeanor and awaiting disposition.
5	New Probation: Placed on probation for a new felony offense.
6	New Probation: Placed on probation for a new misdemeanor offense.
7	Absconder: Has no record of any other convictions nor of any alleged offenses during current probation; or offenders convicted of one or more offenses for which a sentence of more than 90 days in a jail or workhouse or a fine of over \$100 has been imposed.

8 Offenders convicted of a law violation for which a jail or workhouse sentence of 90 days or less or a fine over \$25 and up to \$100 has been imposed; or technical violators of probation articles whose violations have been officially reported to the court but have not had their probation violated as a result.

9 Offenders arrested and temporarily jailed without charges supported by arraignment or other substantial evidence; or offenders convicted of one or more law violations for which there has been no jail sentence and no fine of more than \$25; or technical violators of probation articles including any illegal activities reported in quarterly activities reports, progress reports, or chronological case records of the probation officers but for which no revocation of probation was recommended to the court.

10 No illegal activities on any available official records; or probationers imprisoned or otherwise prosecuted for offenses that occurred prior to the current probation period who have not committed any other technical violations or illegal activities of any kind recorded in official records.

Multiple offenses are classified according to the most serious (lowest score) disposition category.

Appendix VII

Individual Contingency Agreement Contract

INDIVIDUAL CONTINGENCY  
AGREEMENT CONTRACT

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

After you have read the Contingency Agreement explanation and  
commitment form, this document can be regarded as the actual  
working or self-management contract.

CLIENT'S GOALS: (please write your goals below):

Goals to be  
realized while  
on probation:

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Long term future  
goals to be real-  
ized after pro-  
bation:

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## QUESTIONNAIRE II

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

This is a list of problems which trouble many people - problems of health, money, social life, home relations, job, and the like. Some of these problems are likely to be troubling you and some are not. As you read the list, pick out the problems which are troubling you.

Read through the list slowly, and when you come to a problem which suggests something which is troubling you, underline it. An example, if you are troubled by the fact that you are underweight, underline the first item like this: "1. Being underweight." Go through the whole list in this way, underlining the problems which are troubling you.

- |                                              |                                                    |
|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Being underweight                         | 36. Dropping out of school                         |
| 2. Being overweight                          | 37. Having too little education                    |
| 3. Getting sick too often                    | 38. Needing to know my job abilities               |
| 4. Tiring very easily                        | 39. Doubting I can get a good job                  |
| 5. Taking too much medicine                  | 40. Feeling that others have better jobs than I do |
| 6. Often have headaches                      | 41. Wanting a more pleasing personality            |
| 7. Don't get enough sleep                    | 42. Not getting along well with others             |
| 8. have trouble with my teeth                | 43. Worrying how I impress people                  |
| 9. Taking illegal drugs                      | 44. Too easily led by others                       |
| 10. Drinking too much alcohol                | 45. Being alone                                    |
| 11. Have to see the doctor too often         | 46. Daydreaming                                    |
| 12. Sickness in the family                   | 47. Being careless                                 |
| 13. Smoking too much                         | 48. Forgetting things                              |
| 14. Weak eyes                                | 49. Being lazy                                     |
| 15. Trouble hearing                          | 50. Not being serious enough                       |
| 16. Not having enough money                  | 51. Parents                                        |
| 17. Having to ask parents for money          | 52. Not having any fun at home                     |
| 18. Needing to learn how to save money       | 53. Feeling I don't really have a home             |
| 19. Having no regular income                 | 54. Parents separated or divorced                  |
| 20. Spending my money foolishly              | 55. Brothers or sisters                            |
| 21. Slow in getting to know people           | 56. Afraid to speak up                             |
| 22. Awkward in meeting people                | 57. Unable to express myself well in words         |
| 23. Having dates                             | 58. Afraid of groups of people                     |
| 24. Awkward in talking to girls              | 59. Don't trust people                             |
| 25. Not being attractive to the opposite sex | 60. That others criticize me                       |
| 26. Getting into arguments                   | 61. Being shy                                      |
| 27. Hurting people                           | 62. Feelings too easily hurt                       |
| 28. Being talked about                       | 63. Getting embarrassed too easily                 |
| 29. Being made fun of                        | 64. Feeling inferior                               |
| 30. Being different                          | 65. Afraid of making mistakes                      |
| 31. Losing my temper                         | 66. Wanting to learn a trade                       |
| 32. Taking things too seriously              | 67. Wanting to go to college                       |
| 33. Being nervous                            | 68. Get some training                              |
| 34. Worrying                                 | 69. Not interested in working                      |
| 35. Being treated like a child               | 70. Not interested in going to school              |

71. Having no car
72. Not having a room of my own
73. Family not interested in my problems
74. Not being able to drive
75. Arguments at home
  
76. Loving someone who doesn't love me
77. Needing advice about marriage
78. Needing advice about sex
79. Needing marital counseling
80. Not getting along with the opposite sex
  
81. Feelings of depression
82. Having feelings of extreme loneliness
83. Being left out of things
84. Unhappy too much of the time
85. Not feeling or caring about what happens to me
  
86. Can't forget some mistakes I've made
87. Being disliked by someone
88. Lacking self-confidence
89. Having bad luck
90. Being stubborn
  
91. Bothered by physical handicap
92. Speech handicap
93. Thoughts of suicide
94. Feeling that nobody understands me
95. No one to tell my troubles to
  
96. Being punished for something I didn't do
97. Too many bad dreams
98. Getting angry too easily
99. Getting into trouble with the law
100. The feeling that something terrible could happen

Any other problem areas:

Appendix VIII

Contingency Agreement For Probation Achievements

### Introduction

The success of your term of probation depends primarily on your commitment to help yourself. If you decide to engage actively in a program of **"self-management,"** then it will be my commitment to assist you in developing goals and utilizing all possible community resources to carry out such tasks or goals.

The reasoning behind my reference to the "self-management" probation system is simple logic or "common sense". Using an example to illustrate my point, let us suppose that you and I were making interviewing or reporting contacts at a rate of one (1) hour per week. This means that out of 168 hours per week (24 hours x 7 days), my efforts to influence your behavior the rest of the 167 hours per week are questionable. You are definitely responsible for your behavior or actions, irregardless of what I say to you. Right? So, the purpose of this "Contingency Agreement" is to determine who are the individuals on my caseload who would desire to "start getting it all together", immediately! I would like to know which individuals on my caseload are interested in designing or planning their own guidelines and goals to accomplish on probation and afterwards, also. Otherwise, if you are not interested in making your own personal commitment to try to "get it together" on probation, then it's sort of a waste of time and effort for you and I to meet weekly or bi-weekly for "reporting" purposes.

### "Pros and Cons" of Making a Commitment

As you probably have determined by now, there are some inherent risks in making a commitment for yourself. The risks are as follows:

- a. If you decide on developing your program of "self-management" or make a commitment to actively pursue various goals while on probation, then you will assume considerable responsibility. You will have to work hard consistently and persistently to achieve your goals or aspirations you want out of life. You and I will both outline a pattern for getting to these objectives. If you fail to accomplish some steps to a goal, then we will simply go back or revert to a step before that particular goal and start over again. It's a simple method, but it's been found to be very effective.
- b. The possible decision to "make it on your own" implies that you do not need any substantial supervision or assistance by myself to successfully complete probation. Under such a decision by yourself, you would be expected to abide by all of the conditions of probation, and report when dir-

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\*"Self-Management" Program - a type of probation plan developed by the probationer for himself. The probationer states what plans or goals he would like to achieve, how he is to achieve them, and what he expects of the probation officer to help him accomplish these aims while on probation.

ected to fulfill the court requirements. By assuming this type of probationary role, let me refer you to the risks that could develop as a result of this minimal "report" system between you and I. Although your responsibilities would be considerably less under the "report" system, the chances of unsuccessfully completing probation increase significantly. The percentages for events occurring and leading to charges and convictions for additional criminal acts by yourself vary about 65 to 70% against your favor. It's a grim statistic, but it's realistic and I would be happy to explain it to you if you so desire.

### The Structure of the "Self-Management" Program

Before an opinion or judgement is rendered by yourself whether or not to make a commitment, perhaps it would be advantageous for you to review the following example of an agreement plan between a "committed" probationer and myself.

#### Example:

Client's Goals: "Would like to get out of debt; get a better job or a skilled job; seek legal counseling for reducing support payments; go to school full time or part-time; and eventually have a home and enjoy life."

The example above points out that the client would like to live a happy and productive life - an admirable goal for oneself and a typical goal for many people in this country. Is such a goal unreasonable? -- No! Providing he is willing to assume this responsibility he can achieve this overall goal.

Some probationers' goals are simply to get off probation early; stop committing additional crimes; or to get a better job. Whatever goal it may be, there are always steps or procedures to accomplish an objective. Let's look at our example above to illustrate this point:

The client states the goal he wants, and he and the probation officer breaks the client's objective down into steps as detailed below:

#### Client's Goals and Expectancies:

"Would like to get out of debt:

- a. tell Probation Officer when you can make an appointment
- b. Get to the appointment

"Would like a better job"

- a. Tell Probation Officer what kind of job you need
- b. What strengths or abilities you have
- c. Get yourself to the employment agency

#### Probation Officer's Obligations to Client:

Call up Financial Counseling Center and schedule an appointment for the client.

Ask the client what type of job he want and make available training to him through community resources. Also, check Project's job inventory and make an appointment for the probationer.

"Would like to get legal help to try to reduce support payments to my 'ex'"

- a. Explain and inform Probation Officer of weekly or monthly support costs.
- b. Determine your average earnings and percentage of earnings going into support payments.
- c. Get to the appointment.

Call Legal Aid for client and make an appointment for him; also, attempt to locate a volunteer lawyer.

"Would like to get to school part-time or full time"

- a. Assist Probation Officer in determining appropriate school
- b. Get to appointments set up by the Probation Officer

Determine where the client would like to attend school and call the admissions counselor to arrange an appointment. Also help client fill out the forms for the application.

The previous example gives you an idea of working relationships between the client and the probation officer. The main objective in the formation of a working relationship as previously illustrated is to help the client accomplish or achieve a better life for himself.

Alternatives for Yourself

If you desire to engage in starting yourself a "Self-Management" Program and would like my assistance in such a commitment, please indicate below.

If you are satisfied with your status quo, and do not want to participate in a "Self-Management" Program at this time, then please check the appropriate response below and I will determine a monthly reporting schedule for you.

Yes - I would like to accomplish some goals and eliminate certain problems that may occur while on probation, and would like to begin immediately.

No - I won't be needing your help at this time, as I feel I can pretty well take care of myself.

Important:

It should be noted that your decision will not be regarded by myself as a personal affront and will not effect your current status on probation in any way.

This is not a legal document. This information will be regarded as confidential and thus it can never be used against you. This document is to be used or regarded as a counseling tool or method, and your responses or opinions would be appreciated by this officer.

Signature of Client \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of Probation Officer \_\_\_\_\_



In addition to the steps to achieve various goals while on probation, other objectives of probation can be attained if the previous objectives of the client and probation officer are met. Such probation-related goals as paying court costs; early discharge from probation; and the necessity for "reporting" can be reduced or minimized. Please check or write the appropriate response or answer below:

CLIENT:

PROBATION OFFICER

Amount of Court Costs paid to date:  
\_\_\_\_\_ (if no amount has been  
paid, write "none").

Balance: \_\_\_\_\_  
Amount to be possibly  
waived: \_\_\_\_\_

Amount of time you have been on  
Probation thus far in months:  
\_\_\_\_\_

Amount of remaining time on  
Probation that may be waived:  
\_\_\_\_\_

How often would you like to "report"  
or meet with the Probation Officer?  
\_\_\_\_\_

How often would you like to  
meet with the client?  
\_\_\_\_\_

The Previous information responded to by the client and Probation Officer is a mutual agreement or contract to achieve various goals while on probation and the commitment to engage in such a contract is valid only if the parties involved sign their respective signatures below.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Client's Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Probation Officer's Signature



Appendix IX  
Personal Questionnaire

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

UPDATED INFORMATION  
FOR CASE FILE

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

PRESENT ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

OTHER PERTINENT ADDRESSES: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE NUMBERS AND  
RELATIONSHIP TO SUBJECT: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

SIGNIFICANT OTHERS: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

OTHER PERTINENT BEHAVIOR, BACKGROUND, OR CASE STATUS REVISIONS IN ADDITION TO  
PROGRESS REPORT INFORMATION:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

1. Give a brief description of how you see yourself:

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2. What are your strengths?

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3. What are your weaknesses?

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4. What is your ultimate goal(s)?

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5. What factor(s) led to you getting in trouble with the law?

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6. How do you get along with:

a) Men: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

b) Women: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

c) family (wife, husband, parents, children): \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

If you have any other comments or questions, please write them here:

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(NOTE: This questionnaire will be held in the strictest confidence).

Appendix X

Authorization For Release of Information

**PROBATION DEPARTMENT**

730

**DENNIS C. WHETSTONE**  
DEPUTY CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER

COUNTY OF OAKLAND  
COMMUNITY TREATMENT PROJECT  
318 WASHINGTON SQUARE PLAZA  
ROYAL OAK, MICHIGAN 48067  
TELEPHONE 847-3873

**MICHAEL J. MAHONEY**  
PROJECT DIRECTOR

**ARTHUR P. MCKENNA**  
CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER

**AN ACTION PROJECT**  
OF THE  
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

**AUTHORIZATION TO RELEASE CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION**

Be it known to all interested parties that I am \_\_\_\_\_,  
and I am currently residing at \_\_\_\_\_, in the  
city or township of \_\_\_\_\_, Michigan. Further, that  
of my own free will and volition, I hereby give my consent, approval, and written  
permission for the Oakland County Circuit Court, Community Treatment Project, as  
represented by \_\_\_\_\_, Coordinator, who is acting in my  
behalf, to release any confidential information they have acquired and deem  
relevant on myself or my case. Specifically, this information will be released  
to the following individual(s) or agencies: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_, for the purpose of aiding in my over-  
all treatment. I have read this form or have had it read to me in its entirety,  
and I understand its contents.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Dated \_\_\_\_\_

Witness \_\_\_\_\_

PROBATION DEPARTMENT

731

COUNTY OF OAKLAND  
COURT HOUSE  
P.O. BOX 1000  
TELEPHONE 334 4751

ARTHUR P. MCKENNA  
CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER

WALTER H. ...  
THOMAS ...  
JOSEPH ...  
JAMES R. ...  
JAMES L. THOMAS  
RICHARD A. PURNELL  
THOMAS G. JACKS  
GARY A. DOSE

AUTHORIZATION FOR MEDICAL RECORDS

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

To: \_\_\_\_\_

You, or any person associated with you, are hereby authorized to give to \_\_\_\_\_, Oakland County Circuit Court Probation Department any and all information regarding my medical standing.

Witness \_\_\_\_\_

Appendix XI

Petition for Bench Warrant and  
Probation Violation Hearing



STATE OF MICHIGAN

THE CIRCUIT COURT

PETITION FOR BENCH WARRANT AND PROBATION VIOLATION HEARING

DEFENDANT		JUDGE			PROBATION OFFICER	
DOCKET NO	STATE NO.	COUNTY	OFFENSE	DATE OF PROB.	PROB. TERM	

Now comes your petitioner, the probation officer above named, being so designated by the Court of this County, and having principal charge of the probationer named herein, who avers that, according to his information and belief, said probationer has violated the terms and conditions of his probation in the following respects :

All of which is contrary to the terms of said probation, as appears by the files and records in this cause. Wherefore, YOUR PETITIONER PRAYS that a Bench Warrant be issued for the apprehension and detention of said probationer, pending probation violation hearing by this court to determine whether or not said probation order shall be revoked.

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Signed \_\_\_\_\_  
**PROBATION OFFICER**

BENCH WARRANT

To the Sheriff of above county or any peace officer of this state. Greetings :  
 Whereas, the above named probationer is accused of being in violation of the terms of said probation in the manner set forth in the above petition :  
**THEREFORE**, in the name of the People of the State of Michigan, you are commanded **FORTHWITH TO ARREST** the said probationer and bring him before the Circuit Court for said County to be dealt with according to law.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, Witness the Seal of said Circuit Court

\_\_\_\_\_ Michigan Signed \_\_\_\_\_  
 City County **CIRCUIT JUDGE**

Seal of  
 The Court

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Docket No. \_\_\_\_\_

State of Michigan

THE CIRCUIT COURT  
FOR THE  
COUNTY OF \_\_\_\_\_

The People of the  
State of Michigan

vs

Defendant

STATE OF MICHIGAN )  
 ) SS  
COUNTY OF \_\_\_\_\_ )

This is to certify that I have served

\_\_\_\_\_  
(DEFENDANT)

with an exact copy of this Petition and  
Warrant which sets forth the charges  
against this person relative to his proba-  
tion violation.

Dated \_\_\_\_\_

Signed \_\_\_\_\_  
(OFFICER)

By virtue of this warrant to me directed, I have  
taken

.....  
before the Circuit Court within named as command-  
ed.

Dated this ..... day of.....  
19.....

Signed.....

PETITION AND BENCH WARRANT  
FOR  
PROBATION VIOLATION HEARING

Date Filed

Date Recorded \_\_\_\_\_ page

County Clerk

Appendix XII

Petition For Order To Show Cause

STATE OF MICHIGAN  
IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR THE COUNTY  
OF OAKLAND

736

People of the State of Michigan

Vs.

No.

**PETITION FOR ORDER TO SHOW CAUSE**

Your Petitioner, ARTHUR P. McKENNA, Chief Probation Officer of this Court, respectfully represents as follows :

- 1 - That the above named respondent was placed on probation on \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_\_\_, having been convicted of the crime of \_\_\_\_\_
- 2 - That said probation was for a term of \_\_\_\_\_ years.
- 3 - That said probation was extended for a period of \_\_\_\_\_ years by Order of the Court.
- 4 - That said Probationer has violated the terms and conditions of said Order by :

Whereof your petitioner respectfully prays that an Order to Show Cause be entered by this Honorable Court directed to said respondent requiring him to appear personally before this Court and show cause, if any he has, why his order and conditions of probation should not be set aside and revoked.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Chief Probation Officer

STATE OF MICHIGAN  
IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR THE COUNTY  
OF OAKLAND

People of the State of Michigan

Vs.

No.

**ORDER TO SHOW CAUSE**

At a session of said Court held at the Courthouse, in and for the County of Oakland on the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, A.D., 19\_\_\_\_

PRESENT :

CIRCUIT JUDGE :

Upon reading and filing of a petition by ARTHUR P. McKENNA, Chief Probation Officer, in and for the said County, that the conditions and order of your probation be revoked and set aside for reasons set forth in a Petition heretofore filed and the Court being fully advised in the premises.

It is hereby ordered that you personally appear before the Honorable Court on the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, A.D., 19\_\_\_\_, at \_\_\_\_\_ o'clock in the \_\_\_\_\_ noon and show cause why the conditions and order of your probation should not be revoked and set aside.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Circuit Judge,

STATE OF MICHIGAN )  
 ) SS  
COUNTY OF \_\_\_\_\_ )

This is to certify that I have served

\_\_\_\_\_ )  
( Defendent )

with an exact copy of this Petition and Order  
to show cause which sets forth the charges  
against this person relative to his probation  
violation.

Dated \_\_\_\_\_

Signed \_\_\_\_\_ )  
( Officer )

Appendix XIII  
Articles of Probation

**State of Michigan**  
**The Circuit Court for the County of Oakland**

At a session of said Court to be held at the Court House in the City of Pontiac in said County on the.....day of.....A.D. 19.....

PRESENT: Honorable .....Circuit Judge.

PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

vs

NO.....

.....  
RESPONDENT

The respondent in this cause.....has been duly convicted by the Court of the crime of.....  
Therefore, it is ordered and adjudged by the Court now here that the said.....  
be released under the statute in such case made and provided on probation for a period of.....  
years from and including this date, in charge of and under the probation of.....  
Probation officer of this Court, who is to report to this Court the conduct of said respondent.

The conditions of this probation are such that he shall during the term of such probation obey the following conditions:

- 1 — Refrain from the violation of any State, Federal or Municipal ordinance or law.
- 2 — Not leave the State without permission of Probation Officer or the Court.
- 3 — Report to the Probation Officer the first of each month in writing or at such times as may be designated by Probation Officer or Court.
- 4 — That he shall not engage in any anti-social or intemperate conduct which shall furnish good cause to this Court to believe that his probationary order should be revoked in public interest.
- 5 — Pay Costs or Fines in the sum of \$.....forthwith or at the rate of \$.....per month.
- 6 — Make restitution in the sum of \$.....forthwith or at the rate of \$.....per month.
- 7 — Special Conditions of the Court:

I have read the foregoing order of Probation and hereby consent to the terms thereof:

.....  
Circuit Judge

Appendix XIV  
Presentence Investigation Form



MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS  
BUREAU OF FIELD SERVICES  
PRESENTENCE BASIC INFORMATION

741

IDENTIFICATION DATA

NAME	NUMBERS: F.B.I.
REET	M.S.B.
TY	PRISON
ING WITH:	Social Security

CURRENT OFFENSE DATA

OFFENSE(S)	DATES: OFFENSE		
L. NO.	M.S.A. NO.	MAX. PENALTY	ARREST
D-DEFENDENTS			CUSTODY
ATTORNEY			BOND
			CONVICTION
			CONVICTED BY:
			Plea: Jury: Court:

PERSONAL DATA

AGE	DATE OF BIRTH		PLACE OF BIRTH			RELIGION	HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED
RACE	SEX	HEIGHT	WEIGHT	HAIR	EYES	MARITAL STATUS	NO. OF PREVIOUS MARRIAGES
KNOWN ALCOHOLIC INVOLVEMENT			KNOWN HOMOSEXUALITY			KNOWN DRUG USE OR ABUSE	
YES NO			YES NO			YES NO	
KNOWN MENTAL ILLNESS			KNOWN MENTAL HOSPITAL (If yes, give name of Institution)				
YES NO			YES NO				
JUV. COMM.		PROBATION		JAIL TERMS	PRISON TERMS	ESCAPES	SEX OFFENSES
B.T.S.	OTHER	JUV.	ADULT				

SOURCE AND AMOUNT OF PUBLIC ECONOMIC SUPPORT:

MILITARY SERVICE

FROM	TO	BRANCH OF SERVICE
TYPE OF DISCHARGE	HIGHEST RANK	SERVICE NO.

EMPLOYMENT DATA

MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS  
BUREAU OF FIELD SERVICES  
PRESENTENCE BASIC INFORMATION - 2

742

FAMILY DATA

Include: Parents, Siblings, Spouse, and Children

NAME	RELATIONSHIP	BIRTHDATE	ADDRESS

PRIOR CRIMINAL RECORD

Appendix XV

Presentence Investigation Report

MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS  
BUREAU OF PROBATION  
PRE-SENTENCE INVESTIGATION REPORT

Date \_\_\_\_\_

To The Hon \_\_\_\_\_

Docket No. \_\_\_\_\_

Circuit Court Of:

\_\_\_\_\_ County

By: \_\_\_\_\_

PROBATION AGENT

NAME	OFFENSE

Your Honor:

- RACE:
- AGE:
- JAIL TIME:
- MARITAL:
- CHILDREN:
- ADDRESS:
- EMPLOYMENT:
- PREVIOUS RECORD:
- EDUCATION:
- ATTORNEY:

\_\_\_\_\_ plead guilty before your Honor on \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ to the charge of \_\_\_\_\_  
 The original charge was \_\_\_\_\_ This  
 offense occurred on \_\_\_\_\_ in \_\_\_\_\_ when the  
 defendent \_\_\_\_\_

The victim of this offense is \_\_\_\_\_, age \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_

Reason for the Offense: The defendent states that " \_\_\_\_\_

Cooperation with the police and investigating P.O.: \_\_\_\_\_

MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS  
BUREAU OF PROBATION  
PRE-SENTENCE INVESTIGATION REPORT

Date \_\_\_\_\_

To The Hon. \_\_\_\_\_

Docket No. \_\_\_\_\_

Circuit Court Of: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ County

By: \_\_\_\_\_  
PROBATION AGENT

NAME

OFFENSE

Your Honor:

The defendant was arrested on \_\_\_\_\_ by the \_\_\_\_\_.  
He/she acquired \_\_\_\_\_ days jail time from \_\_\_\_\_ through \_\_\_\_\_  
before his/her release on \$ \_\_\_\_\_ (cash, surety, personal) bond  
furnished by \_\_\_\_\_ . He/she is  
represented by (retained, appointed) attorney, \_\_\_\_\_ of  
\_\_\_\_\_.

EVALUATION AND PLAN

\_\_\_\_\_ is a \_\_\_\_\_ year old, single/married/divorced/separate  
, caucasian/negro/\_\_\_\_\_ male/female, who appears to be of \_\_\_\_\_ average  
intelligence; IQ of \_\_\_\_\_.

Education summary: (academic & social adjustment) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Home Environment summary: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Criminal summary: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Employment summary: (also military) (economical situation) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Defendant's problem(s) (drugs, alcohol, mental, others) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Plan of rehabilitation: \_\_\_\_\_

CP6-145 REV: 4/87  
RECOMMENDATION: (court costs:none, maximum, minimum; &/or restitution \$ \_\_\_\_\_)

## OAKLAND COUNTY ADULT PROBATION DEPARTMENT

Your case has been referred to the Oakland County Adult Probation Department for a Pre-sentence investigation. Probation Officer John P. Jones has been assigned to work with you. In order for the sentencing Judge to make the wisest and fairest decision possible concerning your case, the Probation Officer will need your complete and honest cooperation in filling out the report. This report will be treated as Confidential, so please provide the following requested information as fully, honestly, and neatly as possible.

Do Not Send these Papers through the mail - keep them until you meet with your probation officer for the personal interview, and give them to him at that time. If, you should have any questions concerning these forms, telephone your probation officer any Wednesday from 9:AM to 4:30PM - 338-4751 Ext: 371

Your probation officer will give you a date for the personal interview - **THIS IS IMPORTANT TO YOU** - when you come to that interview bring with you the following papers: Social Security Card, Marriage License, Divorce Papers, Military Discharge, Driver's and/or Chauffeurs License, and High School and/or College Diploma.

**I. YOUR VERSION OF THE OFFENSE: (Present one) "Tell it like a story."**

- A. Describe in detail: What you were doing prior to the offense. How you became involved and why you became involved? What took place during the time the crime was being committed? What part did you have in the offense? Were there other people involved with you or were you alone? If there were other people, what are their names? Were they arrested with you? What were they charged with by the police? What has happened to them - what sentence? What happened after the crime took place, if you were not arrested at the scene of the crime? What was the date of your arrest? What police department arrested you?
- B. Were you high on either drugs or alcohol at the time this crime was being committed? Explain.
- C. Was this the first such crime you have been involved in, or were there others that you weren't arrested for? Explain.
- D. If there were other such crimes that you were involved in, did you clean them up with the police? Explain.
- E. What are your feelings now that you have been arrested and charged?

Use the rest of this page and the backside to answer the above questions.

SOURCE OF REFERRAL:

\_\_\_\_\_ plead guilty in the Oakland County Circuit Court on \_\_\_\_\_ to the charge of \_\_\_\_\_ before the Honorable \_\_\_\_\_, Circuit Court Judge, Oakland County, Michigan. The case was referred to this officer for pre-sentence investigation by Arthur P. McKenna, Chief Probation Officer, Oakland County, Michigan.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION:

- 1. defendant, \_\_\_\_\_, age \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2. Oakland County Prosecutor's office, records.
- 3. Oakland County Sheriff's Dept., records.
- 4. Michigan State Police returns.
- 5. Arresting Officer, \_\_\_\_\_.
- 6. Defense Attorney, \_\_\_\_\_.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.

INVESTIGATOR'S VERSION OF THE OFFENSE:

date of the offense \_\_\_\_\_. Date of arrest \_\_\_\_\_.

Police dept. who made arrest \_\_\_\_\_. Officers: \_\_\_\_\_.

Co-defs: 1) \_\_\_\_\_ . Disp: \_\_\_\_\_.

2) \_\_\_\_\_ . " : \_\_\_\_\_.

3) \_\_\_\_\_ . " : \_\_\_\_\_.

Co-part: 1) \_\_\_\_\_ . " : \_\_\_\_\_.

2) \_\_\_\_\_ . " : \_\_\_\_\_.

3) \_\_\_\_\_ . " : \_\_\_\_\_.

Date released on PERSONAL, CASH, OR SURETY bond \_\_\_\_\_. Jail time: \_\_\_\_\_.

Defense Attorney, \_\_\_\_\_, is RETAINED OR APPOINTED?

Possible reasons for offense: drug abuse drug addiction alcohol abuse  
mental problems money needs other \_\_\_\_\_.





If you have any STEP-BROTHERS, STEP-SISTERS, HALF-BROTHERS, or HALF-SISTERS, indicate which it is by filling in the blank at the left of this paper, and answering the following about them:

\_\_\_\_\_ Name: \_\_\_\_\_ . Age: \_\_\_\_\_ .

\_\_\_\_\_ Name: \_\_\_\_\_ . Age: \_\_\_\_\_ .

\_\_\_\_\_ Name: \_\_\_\_\_ . Age: \_\_\_\_\_ .

\_\_\_\_\_ Name: \_\_\_\_\_ . Age: \_\_\_\_\_ .

I want to know what it has been like to grow up in your family and home. Tell me in your own words how life has been for you, growing up in your neighborhoods, perhaps moving around occasionally, etc. Did you receive an allowance, and if so, what did you have to do to earn it? Who punished you when you did something that your parents didn't want you to do? Was the punishment fair and just? Who did you go to when the "chips were down" and you were in trouble - your mother or father. Were your parents understanding of you, and did you have a good relationship, or a bad relationship with them. Did you do things as a family, for instance: go camping, to church, to movies, on vacations, on picnics, and etc; or did each member of your family go their own way? Did you have enough to eat, nice cloths, a clean and neat home (perhaps, your parents always rented?). Maybe one or both of your parents drank excessively, which caused a hardship on the family. Tell me what problems you have had in the past, what problems you have now, and anything else that might be bothering you. Perhaps, if you want, we can work together to solve or at least ease some of these problems.

Use this page and the back of this page for your "family and home story."

IV: MARITAL HISTORY: Are you married or single?\_\_\_\_\_.

If, you are single than the rest doesn't apply to you, but if you are presently married, list the following information about your wife:

maiden name:\_\_\_\_\_ Her Age, when you married to her:\_\_\_\_\_. How old were you, when you married her:\_\_\_\_\_. date of your marriage (day, mo., yr.)\_\_\_\_\_. How many children have been born to you and your wife:\_\_\_\_\_. List them by first and middle name, from oldest to youngest, below:

- boy or girl      1) \_\_\_\_\_ age \_\_\_\_\_.
- boy or girl      2) \_\_\_\_\_ age \_\_\_\_\_.
- boy or girl      3) \_\_\_\_\_ age \_\_\_\_\_.
- boy or girl      4) \_\_\_\_\_ age \_\_\_\_\_.
- boy or girl      5) \_\_\_\_\_ age \_\_\_\_\_.

If, you have been married more than once, and have divorce, or separated list the following information:

date of divorce or separation\_\_\_\_\_. Ex-wife's name\_\_\_\_\_. Date you married her:\_\_\_\_\_. How many children born to this marriage\_\_\_\_\_. Do you pay child support?\_\_\_\_\_ if so, to what part\_\_\_\_\_. How much do you pay per week or month?\_\_\_\_\_. Reason for the divorce or separation:\_\_\_\_\_. Ex-wife's present home address;\_\_\_\_\_ & phone #\_\_\_\_\_.

If, you are presently married and living with your wife answer the following:

What kind of relationship do you and your wife have?\_\_\_\_\_

If there are marital problems, what are they:\_\_\_\_\_

If, your wife is employed give the following information:

name of employer or business; \_\_\_\_\_.

kind of work she does: \_\_\_\_\_ . How long she has been working for this place \_\_\_\_\_ and how much is she paid \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

V. EDUCATION: What is the name and address of the school you last attended \_\_\_\_\_?

What was the

last (or highest) grade you completed; \_\_\_\_\_. If, you graduated from the above school, what was the date of your graduation (day, mo., yr.) \_\_\_\_\_.

But, if you dropped out of the above school, what was the date you last attended school; \_\_\_\_\_. Why did you drop out of school: \_\_\_\_\_.

What kind of grades did you receive while attending school: \_\_\_\_\_.

Were you ever expelled, or suspended from school, if yes - why? \_\_\_\_\_.

Did you participate in any extra-curricular activities, while attended school: \_\_\_\_\_?

What was your counselor's name: \_\_\_\_\_.

What was the name of the Jr. High school that you attended: \_\_\_\_\_.

What was the name of the Elementary school that you attended, \_\_\_\_\_.

Do you have any future educational aspirations, if you do, what are they: \_\_\_\_\_.

Have you learned any special trades or skills, if so

list them: \_\_\_\_\_.

School Verification: IQ \_\_\_\_\_, as shown by the \_\_\_\_\_ test, and given on \_\_\_\_\_. Social aspects \_\_\_\_\_.

Expelled \_\_\_\_\_ times, and suspended \_\_\_\_\_ times, usually for \_\_\_\_\_.

Grades average \_\_\_\_\_. Class standing \_\_\_\_\_.

Full name (maiden): \_\_\_\_\_ . Age: \_\_\_\_\_ .

Marital status: \_\_\_\_\_ . Home address: \_\_\_\_\_

Home telephone #: \_\_\_\_\_ . Employment status: (whom does she work for? How long has she been employed at this job? \_\_\_\_\_

Employment address: \_\_\_\_\_ and telephone #: \_\_\_\_\_ .

Weekly salary: \_\_\_\_\_ . Birthplace: \_\_\_\_\_ . Date of birth \_\_\_\_\_

Nationality: \_\_\_\_\_ . Schooling completed: \_\_\_\_\_

Present health: (good, fair, poor) if you say fair or poor - why? \_\_\_\_\_

Does she have a police arrest record: (if yes, explain): \_\_\_\_\_

What kind of relationship do you have with your parents? Don't just say "good", "ok" or "alright"; I want to know how you feel about your mother and father: \_\_\_\_\_

If you don't have a real father or mother because of separation or death of one or both real parents, and you do have a step-father or step-mother, than answer these questions about the person:

Step-mother or Step-father: (cross out the one that doesn't apply)

Full name: \_\_\_\_\_ . Age: \_\_\_\_\_ . Marital status: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ . Date of marriage: \_\_\_\_\_ . How old were you when your (mother or father) re-married: \_\_\_\_\_ . How old were you when you lost your (mother or father)

because of (separation, divorce, death): \_\_\_\_\_ . Home address: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ and telephone #: \_\_\_\_\_ . Employment status (whom does he or she work for? How long has he or she been employed at this job? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ . Employment address: \_\_\_\_\_ and telephone # \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ . Weekly salary: \_\_\_\_\_ . Nationality: \_\_\_\_\_ . Schooling completed: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ . Health: \_\_\_\_\_

Any police arrest record: (if yes, explain) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ . weekly salary: \_\_\_\_\_ .

Employment address: \_\_\_\_\_ and phone # \_\_\_\_\_ .

Birthplace: \_\_\_\_\_ . Date of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_ .

Nationality: \_\_\_\_\_ . Schooling completed: \_\_\_\_\_ .

Health condition: (good, fair, poor, if fair or poor - why? \_\_\_\_\_

Does he have a police arrest record: (if yes, explain) \_\_\_\_\_

VI. EMPLOYMENT HISTORY: Make a list of all the jobs you have held over a three months period during the past three years. Begin with your present employment, if you are employed, and work back in time. Give the following requested information:

name of the company or firm: \_\_\_\_\_  
 mailing address: \_\_\_\_\_ . phone: \_\_\_\_\_  
 started working (month & year): \_\_\_\_\_ . job or title: \_\_\_\_\_  
 salary or hourly pay: \$ \_\_\_\_\_. Work schedule: \_\_\_\_\_  
 name of supervisor or boss: \_\_\_\_\_  
 left this job (month & year): \_\_\_\_\_ . Reason: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ . Did you enjoy it: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ . Employer's statement: \_\_\_\_\_

-----  
 name of the company or firm: \_\_\_\_\_  
 mailing address: \_\_\_\_\_ . phone: \_\_\_\_\_  
 started working (month & year): \_\_\_\_\_ . job or title: \_\_\_\_\_  
 salary or hourly pay: \$ \_\_\_\_\_. Work schedule: \_\_\_\_\_  
 name of supervisor or boss: \_\_\_\_\_  
 left this job (month & year): \_\_\_\_\_ . Reason: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ . Did you enjoy it: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ . Employer's statement: \_\_\_\_\_

-----  
 name of the company or firm: \_\_\_\_\_  
 mailing address: \_\_\_\_\_ . phone: \_\_\_\_\_  
 started working (month & year): \_\_\_\_\_ . job or title: \_\_\_\_\_  
 salary or hourly pay: \$ \_\_\_\_\_. Work schedule: \_\_\_\_\_  
 name of supervisor or boss: \_\_\_\_\_  
 left this job (month & year): \_\_\_\_\_ . Reason: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ . Did you enjoy it: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ . Employer's statement: \_\_\_\_\_

-----  
 name of the company or firm: \_\_\_\_\_  
 mailing address: \_\_\_\_\_ . phone: \_\_\_\_\_  
 started working (month & year): \_\_\_\_\_ . job title: \_\_\_\_\_  
 salary or hourly pay: \$ \_\_\_\_\_. work schedule: \_\_\_\_\_  
 name of supervisor or boss: \_\_\_\_\_  
 left this job (month & year): \_\_\_\_\_ . Reason: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ . Did you enjoy it: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Employer's statement: \_\_\_\_\_

Are you addicted to any drugs, such as heroin: \_\_\_\_\_  
How old were you the first time you used any form of drug: \_\_\_\_\_  
Have you ever sold drugs: \_\_\_\_\_ If you are addicted to drugs do  
you want help with your drug problem: \_\_\_\_\_?

Have you ever had a homosexual relationship: \_\_\_\_\_ Have you ever had  
a sexual relationship with a girl? \_\_\_\_\_ Have you ever contacted a  
venereal disease: \_\_\_\_\_

MENTAL HEALTH: Have you ever had a psychological evaluation \_\_\_\_\_  
Have you ever been to a psychiatrist \_\_\_\_\_  
Have you ever been in a mental health clinic \_\_\_\_\_  
Do you feel you may need a psychologist or psychiatrist \_\_\_\_\_

Interview evaluation of defendant: (don't fill this one out) \_\_\_\_\_

X. HABITS AND RECREATION: What do you like to do in your spare time \_\_\_\_\_

Who  
is your closest friend (complete name and address, phone #) \_\_\_\_\_  
Do you belong to any

Club or organization, now or have you in the past: \_\_\_\_\_  
Do you feel yourself to be a leader or a follower \_\_\_\_\_

XI. RELIGION: What is your religion: \_\_\_\_\_ Do you attend

regularly, occasionally, or not at all \_\_\_\_\_ Are your parents religious  
and did they take you to church \_\_\_\_\_ Do you believe  
in a God: \_\_\_\_\_  
Minister's name & address & phone # \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE DEFINE WHAT PROBATION MEANS TO YOU: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

VII. MILITARY HISTORY: What is your Selective service number: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_? What is your present classification: \_\_\_\_\_

Do you have any prior military service: \_\_\_\_\_? What is your Selective Service

local board number: \_\_\_\_\_ & address of this board: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_. If, you have had prior military service, what was the date

you either enlisted or were drafted into the armed forces: \_\_\_\_\_.

Which branch of the service did you serve in (army, navy, air force, or national guard unit, etc.) \_\_\_\_\_.

Did you receive an honorable or dishonorable discharge \_\_\_\_\_, if you received a dishonorable, explain - why? \_\_\_\_\_

What was your date of discharge: \_\_\_\_\_.

What was the highest rank you held: \_\_\_\_\_? Did you receive any awards or medals: \_\_\_\_\_?

Did you ever go A.W.O.L. \_\_\_\_\_.

What were your duties in the service: \_\_\_\_\_.

VIII. ECONOMIC SITUATION: Do you rent, living at home with your \_\_\_\_\_ parents, or buying a house, \_\_\_\_\_, if you rent, or are paying money \_\_\_\_\_ for living arrangements - how much per month \_\_\_\_\_.

Do you own a Car?, if so, what year and make \_\_\_\_\_, how much is it worth today, \_\_\_\_\_.

How much did you pay for it \_\_\_\_\_.

medical expenses \_\_\_\_\_.

Have you ever received welfare or ADC, or are you presently receiving such: (explain) \_\_\_\_\_

Do you have any health insurance: \_\_\_\_\_.

Do you owe anyone money, if so who and how much: \_\_\_\_\_

IX. HEALTH: What is your present health condition (good, fair or poor, if fair or poor - why?) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_.

Have you ever had any serious diseases? \_\_\_\_\_

broken bones? \_\_\_\_\_, or operations? \_\_\_\_\_

How much do you smoke (packs per day) \_\_\_\_\_.

How much do you drink (alcohol) \_\_\_\_\_.

Do you use drugs of any kind, if so, list the kinds of drugs you have used, even if only once: \_\_\_\_\_

LIST YOUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS FROM OLDEST TO YOUNGEST, including yourself, AND ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ABOUT EACH; you don't have to answer all these questions about yourself, just your name and age:

Brother or sister: (cross out the one that doesn't apply)

Full name, (if your sister is married, use her married name): \_\_\_\_\_

Age: \_\_\_\_\_. Marital status (married, single, separated, divorced): \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ . How many children: \_\_\_\_\_. Home address: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ and telephone #: \_\_\_\_\_. How many times have they been married (is this the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or more times): \_\_\_\_\_

Employment status (who do they work for? What do they do?): \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ . Schooling completed: \_\_\_\_\_

present health (good, fair, poor), if fair or poor - why: \_\_\_\_\_

Have they ever been arrested, if yes, explain: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_. What kind of relationship do you have with them? explain: \_\_\_\_\_

Is restitution needed? \_\_\_\_\_. Amount: \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

Michigan State Police # \_\_\_\_\_ . F.B.I. # \_\_\_\_\_ .

Michigan State Police P/C \_\_\_\_\_ . Others: \_\_\_\_\_ .

Driver's License # \_\_\_\_\_ . State of \_\_\_\_\_ .

Driving Record: good poor fair

Brother or sister: (cross out the one that does not apply)

Full name: \_\_\_\_\_. Age: \_\_\_\_\_. Marital status (married, single,

Separated, divorced): \_\_\_\_\_. How many children: \_\_\_\_\_. Home address

\_\_\_\_\_ and telephone #: \_\_\_\_\_. How many times have they been

Married (is this the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or more times): \_\_\_\_\_

Employment status (who do they work for? What do they do?): \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ . Schooling completed: \_\_\_\_\_

Present health (good, fair, poor), if fair or poor - why: \_\_\_\_\_

Have they ever been arrested, if yes, explain: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_. What kind of relationship do you have with them? Explain: \_\_\_\_\_



PRESENTENCE INVESTIGATION REPORT

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Judge \_\_\_\_\_ Investigator \_\_\_\_\_

IDENTIFICATION:

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Alias \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_ How long \_\_\_\_\_  
Previous Address \_\_\_\_\_ Race \_\_\_\_\_ Sex \_\_\_\_\_  
Eyes \_\_\_\_\_ Hair \_\_\_\_\_ Height \_\_\_\_\_ Weight \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_  
Birth Date \_\_\_\_\_ Place \_\_\_\_\_

Further Comment:

INSTANT OFFENSE:

Charge \_\_\_\_\_ Bond \_\_\_\_\_ Jail \_\_\_\_\_ PG \_\_\_\_\_ FG \_\_\_\_\_  
Complainant \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Officers \_\_\_\_\_ Attorney \_\_\_\_\_  
Co-defendants \_\_\_\_\_

FAMILY BACKGROUND:

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Father;	_____	_____	_____	_____
Mother	_____	_____	_____	_____
Brothers &	_____	_____	_____	_____
Sisters	_____	_____	_____	_____
Age Left Home	_____	Why	_____	_____

Further Comment:

MARITAL HISTORY

Present Status \_\_\_\_\_ Number of Marriages \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_ Spouse \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_ Result \_\_\_\_\_

Children:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Address</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Further Comment:

EDUCATION

High. grade compl. \_\_\_\_\_ School \_\_\_\_\_ Counselor \_\_\_\_\_  
Failures \_\_\_\_\_ Grades \_\_\_\_\_ Problems \_\_\_\_\_ IQ \_\_\_\_\_  
Why Left \_\_\_\_\_ Desire for More \_\_\_\_\_

Further Comment:

MILITARY RECORD

Enlist \_\_\_\_\_ Induct \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ Branch \_\_\_\_\_ Rank \_\_\_\_\_  
Overseas \_\_\_\_\_ Discharge \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ Number \_\_\_\_\_

Further Comment:

EMPLOYMENT RECORD

Social Security \_\_\_\_\_ Savings \_\_\_\_\_ Debts \_\_\_\_\_ Income \_\_\_\_\_  
From \_\_\_\_\_ To \_\_\_\_\_ Firm \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Further Comment:

HABITS:

Religion \_\_\_\_\_ Church \_\_\_\_\_ Member \_\_\_\_\_  
Minister \_\_\_\_\_ Alcohol \_\_\_\_\_ Drugs \_\_\_\_\_ Gamble \_\_\_\_\_

Appendix XVI

Preliminary Circuit Court Case  
Evaluation At Bind Over

I. PRELIMINARY CIRCUIT COURT CASE  
EVALUATION AT BIND OVER

1. People -vs- \_\_\_\_\_

2. Bound over on \_\_\_\_\_

3. Prosecutor \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Exam: Held ( ) Waived ( )

5. Defendant(s) Criminal Record:  
( ) Clean  
( ) Misdemeanor Conviction(s) number and type \_\_\_\_\_  
( ) Multiple arrests without conviction, number and type \_\_\_\_\_

( ) Felony conviction(s), number and type \_\_\_\_\_  
( ) Other pending charges \_\_\_\_\_  
( ) Further description if necessary here \_\_\_\_\_

6. Defendant(s) approximate age(s) \_\_\_\_\_

7. Has any agreement been made that defendant(s) plead guilty at arraignment?  
( ) No  
( ) Yes - agreed plea: \_\_\_\_\_

8. If no agreement, your recommendation for case disposition:  
( ) Trial  
( ) Felony plea, what charge: \_\_\_\_\_  
( ) High Misdemeanor, what charge: \_\_\_\_\_  
( ) YTA  
( ) Other, describe \_\_\_\_\_

Your reason for recommendation in 7 or 8 above: \_\_\_\_\_

9. Does officer in charge approve ( ), or disapprove ( ) of your recommendation.

10. Amount of bond \_\_\_\_\_  
Should bond be raised ( ) left as is ( )  
Reason for bond recommendation \_\_\_\_\_

11. Other comments (use reverse side if necessary) \_\_\_\_\_

II. FINAL CIRCUIT COURT CASE EVALUATION

No action on this case may be taken other than the one recommended below without the express approval of Mr. Plunkett, Mr. Shifman or Mr. Davey.

12. Recommended Action:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Plunkett, Shifman, Davey

Appendix XVII

Referral Form for Psychological Testing



REFERRAL FORM FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTING

CLIENT'S NAME \_\_\_\_\_ AGE \_\_\_\_\_

D.V.R. OFFICE \_\_\_\_\_ APPOINTMENT DATE \_\_\_\_\_ TIME \_\_\_\_\_

1. What particular questions do you have about this client's:

A. Intelligence? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

B. Emotional Adjustment? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

C. Work Aptitudes? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

2. What is the demonstrated or suspected disability? (Please specify impairment and, if possible, its relationship to vocational functioning.)

\_\_\_\_\_ Physical Disability: (Please Specify) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Emotional Disability: (Please Specify) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Sociogenic Retardation: (Specify Factors) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Sociogenic Neurosis: (Specify Factors) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3. Has this client ever been hospitalized because of emotional disorders?

No \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ When \_\_\_\_\_ Where \_\_\_\_\_

4. What level of employment or education does this client want? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

5. With the information you now have available, what is the approximate level of employment or education you expect for this client? (Please specify professional or non-professional.) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Other Comments \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Appendix XVIII  
Record Check Requisition

PROBATION DEPARTMENT

COUNTY OF OAKLAND

COMMUNITY TREATMENT PROJECT

319 WASHINGTON SQUARE PLAZA

ROYAL OAK, MICHIGAN 48067

TELEPHONE 547-3573

ARTHUR P. MCKENNA  
CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER

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MICHAEL J. MAHONI  
PROJECT DIRECTOR

AN ACTION PROJECT

OF THE

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

JOHN C. WHETSTONE  
DEPUTY CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER

Michigan State Police  
Identification Bureau  
714 S. Harrison Road  
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Gentlemen:

I wish to request a record check on the following individual; thank you in advance for your cooperation.

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

ALIAS: \_\_\_\_\_

D.O.B.: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

HEIGHT: \_\_\_\_\_

WEIGHT: \_\_\_\_\_

COLOR: \_\_\_\_\_

SEX: \_\_\_\_\_

D.L.#: \_\_\_\_\_

OTHER: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Bergman  
Oakland County Circuit Court Probation

Appendix XIX  
Point System Guidelines



GUIDELINES FOR DEVELOPING  
GOALS WHILE ON A POINT  
SYSTEM PROBATION

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Introduction

Since you have recently been selected for the opportunity to significantly abbreviate your term of probation(s), I would like to suggest some guidelines, alternatives, and recommendations for you to consider as a participant in this type of point system probation. There are several ways to view the point system. They are as follows:

1. Providing you accumulate a certain number of points, you can terminate your probation in 90 days.
2. You can waive or eliminate a considerably large amount of court costs.
3. Your personal objectives (employment, training, group counseling participation, etc.) will be given points, also.
4. If you do not complete your personal "extra probationary" objectives or goals, don't worry - the legal aspect of your probation (Articles of Probation) will not be affected. However, the possibilities for discharge upon completion of the 90 day termination period will be jeopardized or delayed.
5. In summary, you can pile up points as fast as you want; or, you may proceed slowly if you wish. It's your choice!

Structure of Point System Probation

The first step in the three month period of the point system probation is establishing your personal goals while on probation. An example of such goals that you might develop are as follows:

1. Getting a job.
2. Becoming involved in full or part-time skill training.
3. Paying a significant amount of your court costs.
4. Getting out of financial indebtedness.
5. Participation in various group activities to foster development of your social relationships with others.
6. Getting off probation early.

The examples above are only a few of the goals that you may wish to pursue. Perhaps you have only one goal in mind - getting off probation early. If this is the case, then a point system would be set up for you to accomplish this single goal. There will be a variety of steps to assist you in accomplishing your goals; and, of course, the various

steps or sequences towards achieving your objectives will be given credit through an accrual of points.

As previously mentioned, the first step of participating in the point system is the formulation of your personal goals. Remember, in addition to our Second Offender Project, there are ideal resources in the community to assist you to achieve all objectives. Please give careful thought when writing your goals down. List them in the order which is most important to you. Feel free to consult with me if you desire assistance. The goal formulation sheet is on the next page.

Page 4 is the specified point system with the number of points credited for each step undertaken.

## SPECIFICATION OF POINT SYSTEM

- A. During the May 1st through July 31st, 1973 period, a total of 900-1,000 points will be needed for automatic termination of probation(s) and waiver of the balance of court costs.
- B. A total of 800-899 points will be needed to waive 75% of court costs and a termination of probation(s).
- C. A total of 700-799 points will be an adequate sum for the waiver of 50% of the balance of court costs and termination of probation.
- D. A total of 600-699 points will be an adequate sum for the waiver of 25% of the court cost balance, and termination of probation.
- E. For the total of 500-599 points, all court costs must be paid in full, but termination of probation can be realized.
- F. A 400-499 point total accrual could result in an early discharge from probation eventually, but the discharge would not occur within the 90 day period as specified in the above explanations "A" through "E".
- G. A 300-399 point total will result in an adjusted minimal level of supervision, but you would legally be responsible to all court contingencies (Articles of Probation) until discharge from probation occurs.
- H. Any point accumulation below 300 will not jeopardize your probationary status, but keep in mind that the chances you have for any early discharge from probation would be somewhat remote.

NOTE: The above ranges of the point continuum can be adjusted for "In-between" point totals and court cost waiver percentages. For example: 601 points to 699 points would be an adequate point accrual for waiving 25 to 49% of the court cost balance.

**EXPLANATION OF POINTS ACCRUED FOR  
REWARDS AND RESPONSIBILITIES**

Responsibilities are efforts or tasks accomplished by the client for which a reward in the form of points are credited to his total points. Once a specified number of points is accumulated, the reward, such as early release from probation or waiver of court costs, is granted to the client (probationer).\*

Below are the Responsibilities and Rewards that pertain to the activities that are possible to perform on probation. Please read the responsibilities in detail and their respective points on page 8.

RESPONSIBILITIES

Providing the client works  
one day

If the client attends a group  
meeting or individual appoint-  
ment with the probation officer

If the client makes a contact  
with a social agency or  
equivalent agency (see page 8)

If the client attends an appoint-  
ment with the agency

If the client becomes involved in  
an approved training program on  
a full-time basis, and is meeting  
the specified requirements on page 8

REWARDS

he will be credited for 3  
points. Based on a normal  
5 day work week (excluding  
Memorial Day and July 4th)  
a total of 192 points can  
be attained on an average  
basis.

he will be credited for 10  
points per meeting (based  
on 1 hour per week for 13  
weeks, so a total of 130  
points could be achieved).  
The meeting must be pre-  
arranged and the client  
must be on time (see page 8).

he will be credited with 5  
points per contact.

he will be credited for 10  
points.

he will be credited for 300  
points.

\* See page 9

RESPONSIBILITIES

If the client becomes involved in a part-time training program and meeting the specified requirements on page 8

The payment of 10%-20% of the court cost balance will

The payment of 30%-40% of the court cost balance will

The payment of 50%-60% of the court cost balance will

The payment of 70%-80% of the court cost balance will

The payment of 90% or more of the court cost will

REWARDS

he will be credited for 200 points.

be credited for 100-200 points.

be credited for 300-400 points.

be credited for 500-600 points.

be credited for 700-800 points.

be credited for 900 or more points or automatic discharge from probation.

BONUS POINTS

Bonus Points will be credited to your total accumulation for:

1. Telephoning the probation officer to notify the probation officer of a significant development or activity, etc., possibility of being late for a meeting, revealing new employment possibilities for other probationers, etc.
2. Being on time (within 5 minutes) for a pre-arranged appointment or group meeting.
3. Participating in an activity on a volunteer basis, such as a recreational activity with fellow group members.
4. Goals or activities developed and acted upon by the client that demonstrate additional responsibilities such as paying off creditors, getting out of debt, initiating additional familial obligations, etc.

**SANCTIONS**

Legal or technical violations of probation will result in the following sanctions or loss of points:

1. If an additional felony charge occurs, you may participate in the probation point system program; but until the process of adjudication occurs, you could not be given an early release from probation. If you are found innocent of charges, and eligible for early discharge, then you would be discharged. A guilty plea would result in incarceration.
2. If you are found guilty of a misdemeanor, and you are fined instead of being administered time in jail, you would lose 200 points. If you are jailed for a month or so, your eligibility date for early discharge would be extended two days for every day you spend in jail.

A loss of points will also be subtracted from your total if you are late for meetings on the following basis:

1. Five points loss will occur if you are five minutes late for a prearranged appointment.
2. Seven points loss will occur if you are six minutes or more late for a prearranged appointment.

**REMEMBER:** These sanctions can be avoided by a telephone call in advance of the projected tardiness. All potential excuses for tardiness must be substantiated.

EXPLANATION OF PRIVILEGES, RESPONSIBILITIES, AND EXPECTANCIES  
OF THE POINT SYSTEM PROBATION

- A. Following the completion of a weekly or bi-weekly work week, please attach your pay stub or equivalent pay record to your weekly Achievement Monitoring Form.
- B. The Achievement Monitoring Form can be filled out by yourself and mailed to this office on a weekly basis. However, it may be more efficient and convenient for you to hand in this form to this officer at a group meeting, individual meeting, or you may drop it off at leisure during the week at this office. Make sure you check with this officer that you receive the appropriate point total accrued for each week's activities.
- C. A "social agency" as mentioned on page 5 means such community resources as the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation; the Michigan Employment Security Commission; the Neighborhood Service Center; the Neighborhood Education Center; Adult Education Centers; Drug Abuse Clinics and Methadone Centers; Psychological Resource Centers, and other equivalent agencies in the human service areas.
- D. An approved training program (part or full time) is an educational activity designed to teach you new skills; or to improve your present skills. College (2 or 4 year) degree programs are also included in this classification.
- E. Court cost payments are highly valued by the Circuit Court Judicial System. The percentages of payment of court costs involve a direct correlation with the number of goals you may decide to pursue. In other words, the higher the number of goals undertaken, the lower the percentage of court costs you would have to pay.
- \*F. Show tickets, recreational passes, or "Metro Tickets" can be substituted for bonus points at the client's request.

\* See Bonus Point section on page 6 for additional information.

EXPLANATION FOR COMPUTING OR ESTIMATING PERCENTAGES OF  
COURT COST BALANCES AND RELATED POINT TOTALS

In determining an approximation or estimate of an individual's court cost balance and waiver percentage, the following steps are used:

1. At the initiation of the Point System Probation plan, the client is informed of his present balance of court costs and total time remaining on probation.
2. After the client is informed in detail of the Point System Probation structure, he and the probation officer mutually establish or negotiate a reasonable determination of goals for the client to achieve or initiate during the 90 day Point System period.
3. The client reveals his daily activities or behavior to the probation officer. All positive activities (work, family, recreational activities, etc.) are particularly cited.
4. The client's formulated goals are integrated into a future program of daily activities.
5. The points are assigned to the projected activities (work, education, community resource contacts, etc.) and the total accumulation of points are estimated for a thirteen to fourteen week span or 90 days.
6. After weekly averages and total points are examined, the estimated percentage of court costs to be paid is calculated and the client is informed of the possible amount of court cost waiver.
7. After the client is advised of the potential waiver percentage, he may further reduce or adjust this waiver percentage by committing himself to additional court cost payments that would reduce his balance during the ninety-day Point System phase. Thus, the balance or percentage of court costs can further be reduced.



GOAL FORMULATION SHEET

When developing objectives to pursue as part of the Point System Probation, please keep the following points in mind:

- 1. Have you clearly defined your goal(s) before you decide to list them?
- 2. Do your goals "fit" you as a person? (Are they really your goals?)
- 3. Are you capable of reaching your goal(s)? (Check your test results and time left on probation).
- 4. Will you need assistance to reach the goal(s)? If so, Who? What? etc.

Please list below the objective(s) that you feel you would like to accomplish while on probation, or that could be initiated during a three month span of time:

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

4. \_\_\_\_\_

5. \_\_\_\_\_

6. \_\_\_\_\_

7. \_\_\_\_\_

8. \_\_\_\_\_

9. \_\_\_\_\_

10. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



ACHIEVEMENT MONITORING  
FORM

NAME	WEEK OF _____ TO _____		TOTAL	BONUS	SANCTIONS	ADJUSTED TOTAL				
	ACTIVITY:	MON					TUES	WED	THUR	FRI
WORK										
SCHOOL (TRAINING)										
FULL TIME										
PART TIME										
PAYMENT OF COURT COSTS										
CONTACTS AT SOCIAL AGENCIES										
" " " "										
" " " "										
" " " "										
" " " "										
INTERVIEWS WITH SOCIAL AGENCIES										
" " " " "										
" " " " "										
" " " " "										
INTERVIEW WITH PROBATION OFFICER										
PROJECT GROUP ACTIVITY										
OTHER GROUP ACTIVITY										
TELEPHONE CONTACT (PROBATION OFFICE)										
" " " "										
" " " "										
" " " "										
OTHER CONTACTS/ACTIVITIES										

Place an "X" in the daily activity slots that have occurred during each day of the week above.

Appendix XX  
Ineligible Form

ELIGIBLES FROM PRISON POSSIBLE GROUP  
Not Referred, December, 1971 and January, 1972

776

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Docket Number \_\_\_\_\_ Disposition date \_\_\_\_\_

First charged offense (last of prior offenses which permits definition of recidivist)  
\_\_\_\_\_

Present Offense: a. Charged \_\_\_\_\_

b. Convicted \_\_\_\_\_

Disposition (present offense):

PSI Officer: \_\_\_\_\_

Court Officer: \_\_\_\_\_

Judge: \_\_\_\_\_

Behavior Characteristics (describe):

a. Weapon involved in offense: \_\_\_\_\_

b. Sex offense: \_\_\_\_\_

c. Aggressive/assaultive behavior: \_\_\_\_\_

d. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Appendix XXI  
Mail Report Form

Name:

Date:

Please place an "X" next to the following statements if they are true. Leave the space blank if not true since last report.

- 1.  I have been arrested.
- 2.  I have paid court costs.
- 3.  I have changed my address.
- 4.  My telephone number has been changed.
- 5.  I have maintained my employment.
- 6.  I have been looking for employment.
- 7.  I have followed all conditions of probation, including the Special Conditions in my case.
- 8.  I am in school, or studying for the G.E.D.
- 9.  I have been having some problem with friends or relatives.
- 10.  I 've had some problems that I could use some help with.
- 11.  I've had no serious problems.
- 12.  I have found new employment.

If numbers 3 or 4 are checked, please give new address and/or phone number:

If number 12 is checked, please give name of employer and if they know you are on probation:

Any other comments or significant changes in the last month:

Please mail to:

Thomas G. Jacks  
 319 Washington Square Plaza  
 Royal Oak, Michigan 48067

Thank you for your cooperation.

Appendix XXII  
Court Cost Collection Forms



JOHN C. WHETSTONE  
DEPUTY CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER

**PROBATION DEPARTMENT**

COUNTY OF OAKLAND  
COMMUNITY TREATMENT PROJECT  
319 WASHINGTON SQUARE PLAZA  
ROYAL OAK, MICHIGAN 48067  
TELEPHONE 547-3573

ARTHUR P. MCKENNA  
CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER

780  
MICHAEL J. MAHONEY  
PROJECT DIRECTOR

**AN ACTION PROJECT**  
OF THE  
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

February 15, 1973

Dear

Our records show you have paid \$            of \$            court costs  
assessed.

Sincerely,

Thomas G. Jacks  
Probation Services Coordinator

**PROBATION DEPARTMENT**

**COUNTY OF OAKLAND**

**COMMUNITY TREATMENT PROJECT  
319 WASHINGTON SQUARE PLAZA  
ROYAL OAK, MICHIGAN 48067**

**TELEPHONE 547-3573**

**ARTHUR P. MCKENNA  
CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER**

**781**

**MICHAEL J. MAHONEY  
PROJECT DIRECTOR**

**AN ACTION PROJECT**

**OF THE  
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY**

**JOHN C. WHETSTONE  
DEPUTY CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER**

**February 15, 1973**

Dear

This is to inform you of the increasing pressure that is being put on this office concerning the court costs of our clients. My records show that as of this date, you have not fulfilled any part of this obligation.

I don't want you to think of this letter as a threat, but rather as a reminder that failure to pay court costs is grounds for a violation of probation. A conscientious effort on your part will preclude such action.

It will be to your benefit to start payments as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

**Ellsworth Jackson  
Probation Services Coordinator**

**PROBATION DEPARTMENT**

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**JOHN C. WHETSTONE**  
DEPUTY CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER

COUNTY OF OAKLAND  
COMMUNITY TREATMENT PROJECT  
319 WASHINGTON SQUARE PLAZA  
ROYAL OAK, MICHIGAN 43067  
TELEPHONE 547-3573

**MICHAEL J. MAHONEY**  
PROJECT DIRECTOR

**ARTHUR P. MCKENNA**  
CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER

**AN ACTION PROJECT**  
OF THE  
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELIN

February 15, 1973

Subject: Court Costs and Violation of Probation

Dear

It is my displeasure to inform you that administrative officials of the Circuit Court of Oakland County have reviewed your court records and have found that you have made no payments toward your court costs. Since it is a MANDATORY condition of probation that court costs be paid, they feel that you are in VIOLATION of your current term of probation. Naturally, I am quite concerned, as I am sure you are, that immediate incarceration is an undesirable consequence!

Therefore, , as you are currently working (the Court is aware of this), I suggest that you begin to make payments NO LATER THAN FEBRUARY 28, 1973.

As mentioned in previous contacts and letters, please contact me at my office (547-3573) or at my home (373-6285) if you have any questions concerning this matter.

Sincerely yours,

**Chuck Grisdale**  
Probation Services Coordinator

cc: Circuit Court Probation

**PROBATION DEPARTMENT**

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PROJECT DIRECTOR

**AN ACTION PROJECT**  
OF THE  
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

February 15, 1973

**WARNING LETTER**

Dear

Your failure to pay your court costs leaves your probationary status in danger! Until you react and handle this responsibility, we cannot begin to consider you for discharge. In fact, I am enclosing for your reference a probation violation form. You can still avoid this unpleasant consequence by making regular payments.

Unless you handle the court cost responsibility, you shall leave me no alternative but to request a warrant for your arrest, and a probation violation hearing.

This is your final warning .....

The report group meetings will resume on a monthly basis for three final sessions beginning March 5th at 3:00 p.m.; subsequently, April 2nd and May 7th. Location is Orchard Ridge Campus of Oakland Community College, Room 305, J Building. Your attendance is requested.

Sincerely,

**James D. Strong**  
Probation Services Coordinator

APPENDIX XXIII

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE WRITTEN SINCE THE  
OAKLAND COUNTY COMMUNITY TREATMENT PROJECT

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE WRITTEN SINCE THE  
OAKLAND COUNTY COMMUNITY TREATMENT PROJECT

Probably the most controversial recent article on corrections was written by Robert Martinson (The Public Interest, Spring, 1974). Martinson made what appears to be a much needed thorough review of all the research studies in corrections published from 1945 to 1967. A major problem is that the cut off date for this review was 1967. Many important studies have been completed since then or are currently in progress. Even among several well known studies, as the California CTP, the results significantly changed after 1967. California's CTP's intake continued to mid-'69 and the followup period was well into 1973 - the results "greatly increasing the earlier sample size and parole followup period - E's are then found to have committed offenses at a significantly lower rate than their C's." (Palmer, 1975, p. 146) Another possible problem is that studies were selected from "all those studies whose findings were interpretable - that is, whose design and execution met the conventional standards of social science research." (Martinson, 1974, p. 24) That a majority of the studies consulted were rejected raises several questions relative to any conclusions one can make from Martinson's review. If nothing else, it indicates that it is difficult to do good research in corrections. This is partially true because it is difficult to obtain a control group, especially if the treatment being withheld is perceived as effective. There are ethical problems, and, typically, clear objections to withholding help for research reasons. Importantly those studies which met the "rigorous but hardly esoteric" (Martinson, 1974, p. 24) requirements are most likely measuring different factors than the studies which were "not as rigorous." Thus it could be that many of the studies selected would be those that tend to produce a given result, and not that such given result is, by the nature of the program, always produced. Some of the criteria used to reject many studies has little to do with the study itself, including such elements as space limitations, publishers' requirements, etc., and problems as "presented only summary findings, ...one could not understand the description of the treatment in question, ... used inappropriate statistical tests, ... did not provide information to the reader to recompute the data," etc. Only a total of 231 acceptable studies were located. Even these acceptable

studies Martinson states contain three major problems which make it very difficult to draw any conclusions from Martinson's research. These are:

1. There are numerous methodology complications which make it difficult to report and understand the findings. When comparing different projects in different cities, each having a different staff, philosophy, goal and types of offenders, etc., is very difficult to control for many factors, although some of the more blatant obvious factors can be controlled, such as the size of the project city.
2. Martinson used primarily recidivist rates in his conclusions. Some of the major problems of this technique include:
  - a. Usually only convicted offenders are included.
  - b. The rate of apprehension and conviction for experienced criminals is not known but several estimates indicate it is quite low (evidently the younger, inexperienced criminals are more likely to be caught).
  - c. Many other factors aside from recidivist rate are important, and in the long run may be more important. Many of these factors cannot be measured, or can be measured only with difficulty. The court record keeping problems alone make it difficult to adequately assess even recidivism, let alone other less tangible factors.
3. There is no consistent established criteria for determining recidivist rate. Whether a person is violated depends on the offender but also upon the probation officer and attitude factors between the offender and the probation officer. Criteria for "guilty" varies, and whether or not a person is violated for an offense depends on many situational factors. Another serious problem is that recidivist rates normally vary tremendously - from 2.8% to 74%. Although the mean rate for prison cases is around 50% and for probation cases around 20%, even within these two groups there is tremendous variation. Thus the recidivist rate seems to have a great deal to do with chance factors, as there are numerous factors which affect it, not the least of which is the criteria used to determine whether or not a person is a recidivist.

In Martinson's review he stresses more than anything else research problems and not whether the various correctional techniques have been proven to work. Relative to this Martinson states, "despite our efforts, a pattern has run through much of this discussion - of studies which 'found' effects without making any truly rigorous attempt to intrude upon the measurements, of recidivism measures which are not all measuring the same thing, of 'followup' periods which vary enormously and rarely extend beyond the period of legal supervision, of experiments never replicated, of

'system effects' not taken into account, of categories drawn up without any theory to guide the enterprise." (Martinson, 1974, p.48) Importantly these comments apply just as much to studies which "found no significant difference" as studies which supposedly found a significant difference. At any rate, Martinson concludes, "it is just possible that some of our treatment programs are working to some extent, but that our research is so bad that it is incapable of telling." (Martinson, 1974, p.49) This is a conclusion he is making of hundreds of studies which, according to his criteria, are the best available. A good question is, can we, by means of the research method and given the resistance of the public correctional workers (and especially the judges) utilize the research method to determine what does work?

Martinson tends to note programs which produce no significant differences and accept their results almost without question. But for the studies which do produce significant positive results (as Schnur and Saden) Martinson always raises questions about the validity of the research. It seems that the studies which produced no significant differences could likewise be critically examined, and problems may be discerned which would indicate why no significant difference was found when there could be a significant difference. One could proceed from either assumption when analyzing the studies. This is not to say that criticism of studies which found positive results should not be carried out, but studies which found negative results should be examined with the same scrutiny. The assumption is made that if any negative results were found, the study must be all right, and thus little detail was supplied about these studies and possible problems were rarely pointed out. His bias is rather blatant in such statements as: "... despite this difficulty, one can be reasonably sure that, so far, educational and vocational programs have not worked." (Martinson, 1974, p. 28) Aside from not clearly knowing what he refers to as "worked" and the problems of statistical comparisons, it is difficult to demonstrate whether or not a program "works" regardless of whether or not it does "work." Many correctional workers this researcher has worked with vouch strongly for the fact that, for them, the program has "worked," even though the results have not "proved" success. Again, Martinson stated that "education and skill development have not reduced recidivism by rehabilitating criminals." (Martinson, 1974, p. 28) What he should have said is that it has not yet been demonstrated



to the criteria which he has set up, that these programs reduce recidivism.

In Martinson's discussion of the effect of individual counseling, one of the few significant results found, according to his selection criteria, was when individual psychotherapy was used with juveniles. This is rather interesting in that there have been numerous studies that some feel demonstrate that psychotherapy produces little change in anybody. (See Eysenck, Hans J., The Effects of Psychotherapy, New York: The International Science Press, 1966).

Dr. Palmer (1975, p. 133) stated of Martinson's research that there were certain significant positive findings and relatively optimistic observations in spite of Martinson's rather sweeping negative conclusions. Palmer reviewed the 20 studies which Martinson concluded do have significant positive results in an attempt to find any common elements. Palmer did find several common elements, foremost of which was the relationship between the offender and the level of treatment effectiveness. Martinson's results lend support to Palmer's thesis that the therapist's motivation and skill (and especially matching) is a factor found to be instrumental in the success of most of the successful studies. Further, according to Palmer, Martinson was looking for "treatment methods that could be recommended on an across-the-board basis - i.e. for the offender population as a whole." (Palmer, 1975, p. 138) As in all other behavioral sciences and even in medicine, there is simply no one treatment method that works across the board. (Reed, 1974, p. 39) Treatment has to be individual. The wonder drug, penicillin may work for almost everybody, but also can kill some patients. A teacher ideally should assess each student's individual cognitive style to find which way of teaching may work best for each child. There simply is no across-the-board laws in most of the behavioral sciences; therefore why should we expect one in corrections?

The serious problem in corrections of several factors interacting is illustrated by Palmer (1975, p. 140) Palmer's illustration is that of two hypothetical counseling studies where the experimental group of the first study contains primarily offenders of personality type A and the second study for the experimental groups is made up primarily of type B. If the counseling utilized is beneficial with personality A, study one would succeed where study two would fail, producing contradictory results. If the researcher controlled for this personality factor, the

contradictory results would be understood. Importantly, Palmer concluded that "taken together, the various factors and conditions that have been described make it very difficult for any one treatment method to avoid being associated with a number of conflicting results. Given these practical and methodological 'realities,' only an unusually powerful and flexible mode of intervention would have been able to satisfy, even figuratively, Dr. Martinson's criteria of success for methods of treatment as a whole." (Palmer, 1975, p. 141) The Oakland County CTP also found this factor to be very important.

Martinson almost consistently found positive results when the therapists were "specially chosen for their 'empathy' and 'non-possessive warmth.'" In other words, it may well have been the therapists' special personal gifts rather than the fact of treatment itself which produced the favorable result ... the personal characteristics of offenders - first offender status, or age, or type of offense - were more important than the form of treatment in determining future recidivism. An offender with a 'favorable' prognosis will do better than one without, it seems, no matter how you distribute 'good' or 'bad' or 'enlightened' or 'regressive' treatments among them." (Martinson, 1974, p. 42)

Martinson helps us understand why some programs fail when he relates the result of the Johnson's research (1962) where it was found that an adequate parole agent produced relative improvement in his charges whether he had a small or large caseload, but an inadequate agent was more likely to produce failures when he was given a small caseload as compared to a large caseload. (See page 46 of Martinson, 1974) Evidently the quality of supervision is important and most of that quality rests in the person doing the supervising. A supervisor with a small caseload who is inadequate does not help his charges by spending more time with them, but evidently hurts them; again indicating the factor which Palmer has repeatedly stressed. Yet Martinson summarizes most programs which indicated some positive results with, "It is hard to summarize these results ... A reader must draw his own conclusions, on the basis of sparse evidence ... these programs are especially hard to summarize because of their variety; they differ, for example, in how, 'supportive' or 'permissive' they are designed to be, and the extent to which they are combined with other treatment methods

such as individual therapy, group counseling, or skill development, and in how completely the program is able to control all the relevant aspects of the institutional environment ..." to name a few. (Martinson, 1974, pp. 32-33)

One of the studies which found positive results, according to Martinson, "became the most famous and widely quoted example of 'success' " was criticized on the grounds that are equally valid for studies that concluded no significant differences exists. Lower recidivist rates for the experimental group were found at 12 and 36 months, but not at 24 and 60 months, and the 12 and 36 month results were used to support success. A longer followup for studies with negative conclusions could result in positive results. The fact that the populations were not fully comparable, and different organizations were utilized for each population (a probation agency for the experimental group and a parole agency for the control group) also could apply to many studies that found no significant positive differences. In several studies that concluded no significant positive difference, further examination has found the two groups are not fully comparable. Often there are elements involved in the control group which clearly could be seen as treatment.

Martinson continually implies that recorded violations are the absolute number of real violations. For instance, when discussing California's Fremont program he states that "the youths subjected to this treatment committed more violations of law than did their non-treated counterparts." (1974, p. 34) Often actual violations, reported violations and convicted violations are three totally different numbers. More intensive treatment, it is believed, tends to cause the officer to become more aware of violations, and thus there may be a tendency for more reported violations. Actual violations may not be much different or even less than the control group.

Martinson's summary of the effects of the basic type of prison on recidivism is, "In short, we know very little about the recidivism effects of various degrees of security in existing institutions," and this could be extended to that we know very little about what "works" and what "doesn't work." Probably the major factor compounding this is that individuals are infinitely complex and there are probably an endless number of influential elements influencing one's propensity to crime although, undoubtedly, there

are several major factors. This factor seems to come up again and again in studies. For instance, Martinson quoted a study done by Garrity which found that offenders are divided into three categories, pro-social, anti-social and manipulative; the pro-social had a low recidivist rate regardless of the length of their sentence, the anti-social did better with short sentences, and manipulative did better with longer sentences. (Martinson, 1974, p. 37) Palmer and other researchers have found this same factor. A study in Britain quoted by Martinson found that previous offenders but not first offenders did better with longer sentences while another British study (Cambridge, 1962) found the reverse to be true with juveniles, stressing the multiplicity of factors that are involved. The handful of studies completed so far has not been able to even begin to control for these many factors, especially considering the majority of studies Martinson originally looked at did not meet his criteria, (including, ironically, several of his own studies) which he terms "minimally acceptable" criteria.

Martinson's conclusions seem to be slightly more positive when looking at Community Treatment programs, stating that (p. 38) "by and large, when one takes the programs that have been administered to institutions and applies them in a non-institutional setting, the results do not grow to encouraging proportions."

Martinson seems to spend a great deal of time criticizing studies which work, but merely mentions the studies that do not work as though their conclusions are the final word. This does not mean that criticism of the studies that work is not necessary. In many cases some excellent, cogent criticism is presented by Martinson. Often Martinson's criticism does not negate the results, but could be understood to negate the results by an uncritical reader. For instance, he quotes five studies and concludes that intensive supervision does work. Then he states, "yet these studies left some important questions unanswered. For instance, was this improved performance a function merely of the number of contacts a youngster had with his probation officer? Did it also depend upon the length of time and treatment? Or was it the quality of supervision that was making the difference, rather than the quantity?" (1974, p. 42) These are all excellent questions, but does not cause us to question the results of the five

studies previously mentioned although it is inferred that these qualifications do bring into question the results. Another criticism Martinson levels against many programs is that the program could succeed because of the enthusiasm of the staff, and not because of the effectiveness of the program. This effect, commonly known as the Hawthorne effect, is extremely important and should be looked at, but is an important factor for almost all new programs dealing with human beings. This criticism simply stresses that it takes time before we can establish the effectiveness of any new program. A program must be, in some sense, old or at least around for a while before we can truly assess its effectiveness. But this reality certainly should not prevent doing social science research. Another criticism of Martinson's work is numerous statements are made which are somewhat unfounded as "... it was claimed, the higher reported offense rate was primarily an artifact of the more intense surveillance that the experimental youth received. But the data show that this is not a sufficient explanation of the low failure rate among the experimental youth; the difference in 'tolerance' of offenses between experimental officials and control officials was much greater than the difference in the rates at which these two systems detected youths committing new offenses." (1974, p. 44) No research data was given to back up this statement and it is difficult to fully delineate the effect of more intense surveillance as he expects should be done.

In spite of Martinson's attempt to be objective he makes several clearly subjective statements in his paper. For instance, on page 50 he says, "... one cannot ignore the fact that the punishment of offenders is the major means we have of deterring incipient offenders." Then he goes on to admit that it is not known whether or not the punishment is in fact a deterrent, stating, "We know almost nothing about the 'deterrent effect,' largely because 'treatment' theories have so dominated our research, and 'deterrence' theories have relegated to the status of a historical curiosity." An excellent statement but it seriously modifies the previous rather dogmatic statement. In another paragraph Martinson includes many contradictions as: "by and large, intensive supervision does work," (p. 42) and then in his summary he states, "no single treatment method consistently works."

Martinson concludes that "few and isolated exceptions have positive results,(1974, p. 49) but a statistical tabulation done by Palmer reveals that 48% of the total cases used by Martinson yields positive or partly positive results. A breakdown of this total is rather impressive, but, importantly, only published results were used. We have no idea how most programs turn out, and it would seem more difficult to publish a study which produced negative results as opposed to a study which produced positive results, possibly biasing the results of Martinson's study in the direction of his conclusion. The studies with negative results quite possibly are more easily obtained compared to studies with positive results. The only way to eliminate this problem is systematically examine every single study done, or ideally every single project developed, whether a study was done or not, in an attempt to determine what percent of those done yielded negative results. Clearly, it is extremely tenuous to conclude "what works?" from published studies for these reasons as well as the fact that there are many factors which determine whether or not a study is published, not the least important of which is the identification or "name" of the author. The so-called big-name people are able to get articles published where other researchers, whether they find results that are positive or negative, usually have a more difficult time. Several studies on what factors are looked at in an article seem to bear this out (although some of these studies survey the editors which causes the results to be, to some extent, distorted).

An examination should be made of the studies Martinson consulted but excluded. Palmer's evaluation concludes that they were rejected because "the evaluation had instead been focused on educational achievement, personality and attitude change, general adjustment to the outside community, etc. as opposed to purely criminal recidivism." (Palmer, 1975, p.142)

Interestingly, Palmer notes that there were "a larger number of favorable" compared to "unfavorable" or ambiguous results in relation to the use of a.) probation rather than prison, and b.) small caseloads and intensive supervision. Adam (1975) cites Speer (1972), whom found that "the most definitive finding is that after eight studies of juveniles treatment, six showed significant improvement." This is commensurate with

several of Martinson's statements, which indicate that the younger the offender is, the more amenable to treatment he is. Relative to the first statement, Palmer, who did most of the research for the California CTP, agrees, but as to the latter statement he points out that it "holds up only if one has included, in the overall analysis, offenses which are of a minor nature - more specifically, technical violations ... " (Palmer, 1975, p.145)

Palmer concludes his summary of Martinson that instead of asking "what works?" we should ask "which method works best for which type of offenders, and under what conditions or in what types of settings?" In the field of education instead of asking "what works?" Palmer's question is clearly much more appropriate. As correctional rehabilitation is actually primarily adult education, the numerous problems contained in the volumes of studies done in education should shed some light on the problems in corrections, although it is this researcher's opinion that much research done in corrections for several reasons is clearly inferior to that done in education. And it has long been recognized that the research done in education tends to be below that of the physical sciences, and even many of the behavioral sciences (especially experimental psychology).

After reflecting on Martinson's gloomy conclusions, looking at numerous other studies will help us understand the results. Eysenck (Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1952, pp. 319-324) concluded that his research fails "to support the hypothesis that psychotherapy facilitates recovery from neurotic disorder," finding essentially no difference in speed and quality of recovery between those receiving therapy and those without such therapy. Peel (1958, pp. 151-152) has concluded from his summarization of the studies which compare individuals which regularly receive medical care with individuals who do not seek out medical care due to religious reasons, that there is no significant difference and some studies even indicate there is an advantage in the favor of those who refuse medical treatment! He states that this research data is impressive enough that "special provision is made for (Christian Scientists) by an increasing number of insurance companies. Hundreds of these companies here in the U.S. now recognize Christian Science care in connection with their casualty

lines ... the significance of this special recognition of Christian Science lies in its wholly pragmatic basis. It cannot be written off as a triumph of ecclesiastical propaganda ... Christian Science treatment must pay off before they will recognize it." Studies by Theodore Newcomb conclude that "what does college do for a person? - frankly, very little." (Psychology Today, Sept. 1974, p. 73) Thus if modern psychotherapy, modern medicine and modern education has essentially no effect on people, then why do we spend billions for education, medicine and mental health? Would we not expect to find little difference between countries that have these advantages and countries that do not? Clearly there are differences. The problem is, it is hard to scientifically "prove" that these institutions have an effect on their recipients. Thus the problem seems to be demonstrating the effect that we believe to be there. One who has worked in these correctional programs, and is clearly seeing results, or at least seeing some of his charges change, cannot say they "do not work." There is no doubt that the Oakland County CTP did "work" at least for some offenders for the duration of the project, but "proving" it is an entirely different matter.

Amazingly, Robert Martinson, in his rather bombastic attack on Palmer, (Journal of Crime and Delinquency, April, 1976) in the opinion of this researcher, did not answer most of the cogent arguments Palmer brings up. Martinson seems to conclude that anything done to help the offenders should be done away with unless it can be proven to "work" across the board. He dichotomizes "criminals" and the "public," concluding that the criminals should be done away with, but by what method he does not say, (in a later paper he gives some good creative if not unusual suggestions) and seems to spend more time criticizing Palmer's person instead of attacking the issues Palmer brings out. He criticizes research in such phrases as, "surely it took no 10-year experimental study to convince the administrators and the public that letting the Boy Scouts out of prison in the 1890's onto parole was a sound idea. Only the troglodytes opposed probation for first offenders when it was first introduced." (Martinson, 1976, p. 190) Even if Palmer's type of recidivism works and research uncovered an "invention" which could "significantly reduce" recidivism, "the public would



want to know by how much. 5 percentage points, 10? 15?" Martinson seems to blame "criminals" for their behavior, not realizing crime is a social problem, and the public produces criminals as much as the public is victimized by them. Martinson does stress the public's concern, that is a program may work and may be successful but has it "reduced the crime rate?" He seems to want to develop radical methods of crime control, which, although he doesn't mention in this paper what he has in mind, will reduce drastically the crime rate. An excellent point, but the polemic of his response to Palmer's response to his original article will alienate many readers from this important point which is pointed to but not explicitly stated in the paper.

Palmer concluded for the California CTP that "more than 93% of the eligibles appear to have been handled at least as effectively as within the community located program as in this additional program, no more than 50% have been handled more effectively." In another paper Martinson states that "we are not apologists (nor) treatment advocates of those who incarcerate all or most offenders." In yet another paper ("Is the Treatment of Criminal Offenders Really Necessary?" Federal Probation, March, 1976) Martinson states, "those placed on probation almost inevitably perform better relative to recidivism than do those of similar background and criminal history who are placed in prison." (p. 3)

Martinson is also somewhat pessimistic regarding treatment as a whole ( March, 1976, p. 4) He states, "the research revealed in our book tends to indicate that the mere placement on probation or parole may be more important in the reduction of recidivism than are treatment elements such as group counseling, pre-vocational training, job placement, and psychological testing which have been pasted onto probation and parole." Assuming that these things produce better adjusted individuals we might be producing better adjusted criminals instead of what is normally expected, a better adjusted person less likely to become a criminal. Indeed, as Martinson states, "why in the world we would expect group counseling, or learning to read, or being taught how to fill out a job application would transform most violent offenders into law abiding citizens?" (p. 4) While the treatment model is based on plausible theory, i.e. teaching one to read, for example, will help him to get a better job, thus helping him

achieve satisfaction in a non-criminal life which may reduce his need to pursue a criminal life. But probably the reality is once criminal behavior has become part of his life style, teaching him to read will simply result in a criminal that can read as opposed to a criminal who cannot read. Thus, in theory, reading may be highly instrumental, but the offender probably must know how to read first, then successful achievement in non-criminal areas may result and then the person is less likely to involve himself in criminal behavior in the first place. But these other achievements must usually occur first and not the other way around.

Martinson advocates removing the criminal justice system from the treatment business assuming the state and local governments could provide existing services to the offender population. Actually, at present, most of the state and local services are available to the offender population. The problem is though, that few offenders avail themselves of these services unless they have some type of coercion. But the coercion could still come from the probation or court agency, as discussed in the Oakland County CTP Review. Martinson's main substitute for treatment is what he terms "restraining" which, in essence, is where a private policeman is assigned to each offender. The restrainee is not to know who his agent is, and the agents will be periodically shifted to different restrainees to guard against corruption. The restrainer could be a para-professional and include ex-offenders, unemployed teenagers, etc. Their only job would be to catch the restrainee in the act of crime. When this occurs, he is to call the police and either testify or produce evidence (photographs, fingerprints, etc.).

Some studies make rather blanket condemnatory statements, as Robison (1971) states "There is, as of yet, almost no evidence that available correctional alternatives have any impact on...(the)...likelihoods (of recidivism.)" (p. 67) Robison does stress the important problem of interpreting an event as a violation, or in officially designating it as such. While it is true that agreed upon uniform standards are a problem, this certainly does not justify the generalization that "no evidence was found to support claims as superior rehabilitative efficacy of one correctional alternative over another." (p. 67) There are some studies which indicate "some impact;" Davidson (1971) concludes that in his attempt to

rehabilitate chronic juvenile offenders through community based treatment that "behavior modification techniques can be successfully used with hard-core delinquents ... many of the negative effects of institutionalization can be avoided by community treatment." The evaluation of the Provo experiment concluded that their community program working with what they termed persistent delinquent offenders was at least as effective as incarceration and at the same time much more humanitarian and far less costly.

Probably one of the most reasonable criticisms of community corrections was done by David F. Greenberg (Issues in Criminology, 1975). After reiterating the various plusses for the belief that prisons deter crime, he cited the study by Berocochea, Kaman and Jones (1973) which indicated that "length of sentence for adult male prisoners appears to have no measurable effect on outcome after release, as one might expect if prisons were truly criminogenic." (p. 3) He also referred to the study by Babst and Mannering (1965) which indicates that success rates of probationers and released prisoners are substantially different when background variables of offenders were controlled. Recidivist rates were often much higher for those institutionalized and those on probation but rarely is the great background differences between the two groups controlled for. After briefly citing these studies which question the contentions of common assumptions, he discusses some problems of community treatment. One important factor he dealt with is the problem of working with an offender in the community where temptations abound, including pressure from the environment and his peers to resume a former life-style. Community treatment programs could be located in the community, but, Greenberg feels, as far as possible from criminal areas. Ideally offenders should be removed from their old environment and placed into a new community environment so as to reduce criminal contact. Another serious problem is that ideally the offender has many opportunities in the community he does not have in prison, but realistically, many opportunities, including employment, training, etc. are severely limited. If good schools, adequate housing, and good jobs reduce crime, what good does it do to live in a community which does not have good schools, has little adequate housing and few jobs?

While in the community program, the offender is still working with professional personnel and the problem between the offender and most authority figures is still there. Another point stressed by Greenberg is that community treatment can be expensive. Many of the costs involved in institutional care are fixed, and a reduced number of inmates does not mean a lower cost, but simply a higher per-capita cost for imprisonment of those still incarcerated. Greenberg stated that he "knows of no Department of Corrections among those where extensive decarceration has taken place that has reduced its overall budget." (p. 6) And importantly, Greenberg stresses the effect of substituting community alternatives for imprisonment on crime rates, instead of recidivism rates, has not been fully assessed. Going to prison may not change the offenders chance of recidivism, but it may affect the would-be offenders in the community. Another important point is that community correctional programs would probably vary widely in quality. Small towns without a crime problem are unlikely to invest much money in specialized programs. This possibility would argue for a community correctional system to be set up by the state or another large agency.

James Robison and Gerald Smith in an article in Crime and Delinquency (Jan. 1976) summarize several studies done in California's CTP and concluded "variations in recidivism rates among these alternatives are, for the most part attributable to initial differences among the types of offender processed, and that the remaining differences in violation rates between programs may be accounted for by differences in interpreting an event as a violation or in officially designating it as such. No evidence was found to support claims of superior rehabilitative efficacy of one correctional alternative over another." (p. 67) Robison stresses that effectiveness of the various programs were not studied very rigorously until recently, and gives two problems as to why.

1. Effectiveness of various correctional programs is difficult to evaluate because adequate measures of performance are not established.
2. Attempts to measure behavior is compounded by reporting and record-keeping procedures of the system.

Unfortunately, these are still serious problems in correctional research and there are, at present, few concerted efforts to overcome these. If Robison's observation is true, i.e. that efforts of working with offenders in the community has not been studied until recently, it would indicate that there has not been enough time to establish the degree of effectiveness, or in effectiveness of the various types of community treatment and current trends away from the treatment therapeutic approach is premature. The CTP's concept has not been adequately evaluated, especially considering the length of time it has taken to effectively research the effectiveness of most programs. Robison stresses that even with the sophistication of multi-variate analysis, it is still difficult to separate all the influences - both known and unknown - that act on the measuring instruments. Robison brings out that California's CTP has demonstrated statistically significant differences in favor of community treatment as compared with the control group. When looking at actual offenses it would sound that the experimentals committed more known offenses than the controls (2.81 per experimental compared to 1.61 per control). Robison concludes that this is probably an effect of increased supervision and hypothesizes that if the controls were watched as carefully there probably would have been no differences. Again, he is stressing purely a recidivist rate, and is not looking at the many other factors that community treatment purports to help. True, we may have better adjusted criminals, but the long term effect of increased help is rarely examined. It is quite possible that although the number of delinquent acts may remain high for the youths, their behavior 20 or 30 years later may be drastically different. Early experiences tend to be cumulative, i.e. the benefits of high school compared to a 6th grade education are accumulative; the person making more money, able to afford better medical care, is better adjusted, which in turn enables him to work more, earn more money, etc. Thus Robison concludes "one might, however, still argue in favor of 'community treatment' on humanitarian and economic grounds." (p. 70) Robison also quotes the study by Jaman (California Dept. of Corrections, 1968) which indicates that the practice of keeping men in prison longer increases the probability of recidivism. This is in direct

contrast to several other studies which indicate there are no differences. (See Berechocha, et. al, 1973) Obviously Robison is either selecting studies which support his thesis (all six studies he discusses were found to not affect recorded recidivist rates) or is unaware of the many studies. Obviously contradictory studies must be compared and looked at further to discern why there are seeming contradictions. At any rate, it is obviously unwise to conclude much from a single study. Robison concludes "regardless of which 'treatments' are administered while he is in prison, the longer he is kept there the more he will deteriorate and the more likely it is that he will recidivate." (p. 72) Even in expository writing it is either poor research or dishonest to conclude this from a single study, especially considering the presence of contrary evidence. (Berechocha, et.al, 1973)

Robison's discussion of group counseling brings out an important point, i.e. "only infrequently are treatment programs subject to the types of experimental testing necessary for valid evaluation." (p. 72) Unfortunately much of the published research in corrections deals with simple descriptions of the program: story-narrative, theoretical justification or as Robison terms, "shoddy evaluations without adequate control group and random assignment of cases." (p. 72) The prison situation is such where it would be extremely easy to do research and it is difficult to understand why there is not a large amount of more than adequate research done. Robison concludes, on the basis of what he has previously described as "shoddy evaluations," that "participation in group counseling and community living did not lessen even the limited endorsement of the inmate code, nor did it result in a demonstrable decrease in frequency of prison discipline problems." (p. 74 - see also Robison's source, D. Ward, 1967) In correctional literature it is common to read of extensive criticisms of the research and then read an over-generalization from this poor research that the program is "not working." Clearly, larger studies are needed, controlling for many more factors than presently. There have been elements which have been consistently found to be instrumental in success (for example, the personality of the correctional worker). The very limited followups done on fairly narrow criteria (as only recidivism)

do not support sweeping generalizations as "there are still no treatment techniques which have unequivocally demonstrated themselves capable of reducing recidivism." (Robison, p. 74) Interestingly, this quote could be applied to all mental therapeutic techniques, including psychotherapy, counseling and even many educational programs. What teaching technique has "unequivocally demonstrated itself capable of" teaching all students? It is not so much the unequivocal ability of corrections to change the behavior of those under its care but the schools, mental therapists and one might add, the church and family. But there are obvious techniques which are effective with many students and many patients even though it is difficult to prove it is effective. Robison's summary of the special intensive parole units' research on the effect of the size of caseload on outcome (reduced caseloads had no measurable effect on parole outcome) makes one wonder if he is aware of the research which concludes that increased time does not necessarily help an offender and can hurt him. The important factor is the quality of the time, which highly depends upon the personality of the caseload worker and especially proper matching of the worker and the offender.

In summary, Robison's criticism of "treatment" is a rather unemotional review of a limited amount of literature which demonstrates fairly convincingly that many treatment programs have not "worked." He endeavors to reduce the commonly used "treatment dichotomy concept." Treatment is not the anti-thesis of punishment as punishment itself can be a type of treatment. His conclusion though, is rather subtle, i. e. the statement "will the clients act differently if we lock them up, or keep them locked up longer or do something with them inside or watch them more closely afterward, or cut them loose officially? ...'Probably not.'" (p. 80) As a whole, the results of these conditions may balance out to "no effect" for a large population but one with extensive experience in working with offenders usually agrees that jail can and does motivate many offenders not to recidivate, but with other offenders, it doesn't make much difference, and yet other offenders it causes them to become more bitter and often more likely to recidivate. The words and actions of the offenders themselves countlessly bear this out. If there was some balance between these

three factors, and the experience of many probation and parole officers indicate there is, then we would expect for a large number of offenders, "it doesn't make much difference." Certainly Robison's cursory examination of the literature does not warrant the rather all-encompassing conclusion that, "since the more unpleasant or punishing alternatives tend also to be more expensive, the choice of appropriate disposition for offenders should be determined by the amount of punishment we want to impose and the amount of money we are prepared to spend in imposing it; it should not be obscured by illusions of differential rehabilitative efficacy." (p. 80) The vantage point of a person primarily involved in administration or university teaching, as most contributors to correctional research tend to be, tends to differ from a caseworker who daily spends a great deal of time in contact with probationers.

It is, unfortunately, not uncommon to find contradictions even within a single research article. For instance, Daniel Glasser's article in the January 1971 issue of Crime and Delinquency states that the fact is "all criminal record information will be incomplete ... since one can know only about the offenses for which a man is caught." (p. 33) Two pages later he forgets this consideration and states, "considering also the combination of low income, limited resources, accumulated needs, pent up desires, and higher criminality, it is remarkable that at least nine out of ten adult offenders spend at least their first month out of prison trying to solve their problems by legitimate means; in most jurisdictions for which data are available, a majority seem to persist indefinitely." (p. 35) It is very doubtful that nine out of ten try to "solve their problems by legitimate means," and five out of ten may even be an over-optimistic estimation, but it probably could be said that "at least nine out of ten adult offenders are not convicted of an offense they committed in their first month out of prison."

Garabedian (1971) admits,

"a ... problem with controlled experiments is the necessity of maintaining integrity of the research design throughout the experimental period. The history of controlled experimental research in corrections clearly reveals that it is impossible to maintain the required level of rigor. There is not a



single instance of controlled experimentation in corrections that has maintained complete integrity of the research design so that observed changes in dependent variables can be attributed indisputably to the independent variable. The difficulties involved in random selection, the attrition in numbers of experimental and control subjects, the deliberate or unintentional changes in the program, and the difficulties of clearly defining the program (the independent variable) are fundamental reasons for the failure of the controlled experiment as an unambiguous method of research." (p. 46)

In summarizing California's CTP research, especially the problem of different violation standards (the more lenient violation standards with the treatment group) caused Garabedian to state that it is "difficult to keep faith in the concept of controlled experimentation as a method of correctional research." (p. 47) Even if a study were to maintain full integrity, researchers would probably be somewhat skeptical, due to the lack of rigor of most past research.

Garabedian brings out several excellent points as to why many programs have had difficulty in demonstrating success. He stresses the advantage of controlled experimentation where a two group, randomly assigned, experimental control group is measured in a before and after paradigm, but "while the controlled experiment represents the most powerful theoretical model for deriving reliable knowledge, especially in social control systems, (it) is fraught with difficulties." (p. 45) These difficulties include "serious and ethical implications of programs which utilize involuntary subjects or subjects who do not fully comprehend the program. Garabedian states "we can predict that future decisions by the Supreme Court will make it increasingly difficult to conduct controlled experiments with offenders." (p. 46)

Another problem Garabedian mentions is that "correctional institutions exist to perpetuate themselves." (p. 49) For this reason decisions are made from the perspective of organizational maintenance. This tends to make the prison structure so rigid that it is very difficult for research to properly be carried out. Garabedian feels that "'treatment oriented' institutions are really not radically different in their form of organization from 'custody-oriented' institutions," (p. 49) stressing that often the experimental group is not much different than the control

group. This is an explanation for the fact that there tends to be similar recidivist rates between offenders released from treatment institutions and those from so-called custody-oriented institutions. He also stresses there is strong resistance to change by the "existing correctional organizations ... and ... petrified bureaucracies..." (p. 49) Rigid research is rare partially because the prisons and most treatment centers tend to be responsive to developing conditions and make system change in order to meet them, contaminating the research design. As was the problem in Oakland County's CTP, most of the correctional personnel seem to be very ignorant of the necessity for numerous elements of good research design.

Many recent programs have been established with the goal of working with offenders in the community. This is obviously threatening to prison administrations and personnel alike. Especially within the prison do we find the paradox that prisons are increasingly willing to play host for projects designed to bring about change but yet, "prisons have so far remained virtually untouched by them." (Garabedian, 1971, p. 51) As the newness of a project wears off, Garabedian states that it typically "comes to be regarded as a nuisance that interferes with the smooth operation of the institution." (p. 52) He states that "with time, however, they become a thorn in the side of the prison's administration. Occasionally, overt conflict erupts. Thus, despite the usual publicity given to a project when it begins, prison administrators and project staff alike are generally relieved to see it come to an end. When the demonstration period is completed and the foundation grant used up, prison and project personnel shake hands, congratulate each other on a job well done, and part company, probably never to see or hear from each other again." (p. 52) This summary of Garabedian's experience with projects is similar to the writer's; once the project is finished there is little attempt to fully assess what has happened and there is even less attempt to endeavor to apply any possible implications to correctional practice. The result of the ending of a program has a negative effect on the inmates. As Garabedian states, "within hours the program, where the inmate perhaps for the first time in years was allowed

to speak his piece on matters that directly affected him, becomes a thing of the past. The inmate again is a number doing time. This dramatic reversal of status serves to reaffirm what the inmate knew all along: that the prison authorities only pay lip service to the ideal of rehabilitation." (p. 52) It is obviously difficult for innovative programs to work, because, as Garabedian says, "at best, research-demonstration projects have been successful in bringing about limited change temporarily." (p. 52) Another reason they have had limited success is that research projects have not succeeded in deeply involving administrators and the supervisory staff. The project ideally needs to be initiated from the top administrators on down. The project supervisor, who typically is responsible for planning and implementation of the research, is typically viewed by administrators and staff alike as simply another administrator, similar to that of an associate superintendant. This is probably true in correctional institutions and parole and probation facilities as well. The project director, fully convinced of the value of his program, and, armed with a lot of academic information and innovative ideas, may leave the impression on the prison, probation or parole staff that he is there to "fix things up and help the pions who don't know what they are doing." There is typically a deep resentment against these reformers whom often have little practical experience to solve longstanding problems with their book know-how. The project director is seen as an outsider with little "practical" experience, and usually lacks a long range commitment to the agency. Aside from being suspicious of him they are likely to feel he is naive, impractical, and hardly worth serious consideration. The antagonism between project director and the top administrators is especially strong as in many ways the project director is the man with knowledge, not the administrator. Administrators thus often react against the project, sometimes even overtly sabotaging the project. As Garabedian says, "the top administrative staff can literally make or break the project." (p. 54) It is all too easy for administrators to project any problems which may or may not have anything to do with the project onto the project. An innovative project is an easy scapegoat for administrators, and staff alike, especially if it does increase frustration, problems, work, etc. for the staff or administrators.

## AUTOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

Name: Gerald R. Bergman  
Birthplace: Detroit, Michigan  
Date of Birth: May 30, 1946

### EDUCATION:

1969: Bachelor of Science, Wayne State University (W.S.U.), Detroit, Michigan 48202  
1970: Certification, W.S.U., both Primary and Secondary level  
1971: Master's Degree, W.S.U., Majored in Psychology and Education

### EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES:

On the staff of the college newspaper and yearbook. Photographer for school publications. Several awards earned in conjunction with publication activities. Personal assistance including reading for the blind, working with deaf people, teaching adult education classes, working with drug addicts at Alexandrine House, SHARE, etc.

### WORK EXPERIENCE:

College Professor, September 1973 to present. Teaching general Psychology and Evaluation and Research classes. General duties in connection with position included carrying on research studies, writing and publication, as well as extensive work with students both educationally and as a therapist at Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio. Present position is Assistant Professor.

College Instructor, September 1971 to June 1973. Teaching Psychology, Sociology, and History for Oakland Community College, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan. Worked in developing several innovative programs. Rated in 90th percentile in O.C.C. student rating system.

Research, July 1971 to December 1973. For the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) on the criminal population for a community treatment project for second felony offenders; results to be published by NCCD. Research experience includes developing measuring techniques, designing psychological tests, evaluating psychological programs, system rates research, gathering, coding, and summarizing data using computer, writing out reports, writing summation of the research study, evaluating on-going programs, including group counseling, marriage counseling, drug groups, individual counseling, writing progress reports for publication and general public dissemination, speaking about the project to college classes and organizations including the Rotary Club, Kiwanis Club, and Birmingham Community Club. In this position, I was also deeply involved in group therapy and behavior modification therapy, and the more traditional psycho-analytic chemo-therapy and counseling techniques. Involved in this position was the usage of a wide range of psychological testing. In-service training on behaviorism taught by Jerry Provencal and Paul McCormick, program directors for BAT at Plymouth State Training Home. Seminar included readings and application of behaviorism in working with several types of abnormal behavior. Worked in developing practical applications of behaviorism in treating sexual, social, and drug offenders.

Upper Elementary Team Teacher, October 1969 to June 1971. Taught in a non-graded open classroom "house" situation. Used behavioral objectives in designing lessons under a highly structured teacher accountability system. Utilized discovery approach in teaching science and behavior modification techniques for several classes. Taught one year with psychologically handicapped slow learners and one year in a team teaching situation and worked on a committee developing curriculum. Designed and developed research projects on creativity, reading readiness, studied use of rating scales, internality/externality scales and other psychological tests as applied to education. Extensive use of the computer and writing programs in evaluating educational data.

Teacher, March 1967 to June 1969. For Clawson Board of Education. Taught 9th grade history, 12th grade psychology. Also for several years have taught adult education classes.

Reference Librarian, Summer of 1969. For the Royal Oak Public Library.

Civil Engineer, Summer of 1968. For Cunningham Engineers, Inc. Also did some structural architectural, electric, and mechanical engineering. Worked in developing educational structures conducive to an educationally sound learning environment.

Commercial and Industrial Photographer, Summer of 1967. For Bloomfield Photographers, Inc.

Reference Librarian and Audio-Visual Technician, September 1965 to January 1967. Oakland Community College. Worked in the early stages of developing the audio-tutorial approach based on behavior objectives, utilizing multi-media for OCC's experimental educational program.

Medical Photographer and General Hospital Work. November 1961 to June 1964. For Oakland Center Hospital. Involved in photography of gross specimens, photo-micrography, surgical photography, X-Ray copies, patient progress records, and records for medical journals, professional medical presentations, etc. Involved in processing black and white and color prints.

Cabinet Maker, June 1964 to May 1965. For Hugh Acton Company in Birmingham, Michigan. Worked in the design and development of office furniture. Pioneered the use of steel bars in office furniture. After two months, promoted to Department Head. Designed and custom built most of the furniture for the Detroit Public Library, Berkely Public Library, Birmingham Public Library, and many prestige hotels.

**PART-TIME, VOLUNTEER, OR CONTRACTUAL WORK EXPERIENCE:**

1. Designed and implemented, in conjunction with Central Michigan University, a research study comparing offenders' perceptions of regular probation compared to a special services unit which was highly therapeutic and behavioristic in approach, offering a wide variety of services normally not available to probationers.
2. Designed and implemented an experimental program for adult education, utilizing the multi-media approach in retraining high school drop-outs for Pontiac Adult Education, Project Director Tom Rosenthal.

3. Taught classes in psychology and sociology for Alexandrine House in Detroit. Alexandrine House is a halfway house funded by the government working largely with hard-core drug addicts. Developed several educational programs and worked as a counselor.
4. Worked on a research project involving the biological basis of learning in conjunction with Wayne State University and Plymouth State Training Home. Extensive reading and writing on various biological theories of learning.
5. Have done a wide variety of photography work including weddings, portraits, industrial, medical, scientific, commercial, and advertising photography.
6. Worked during 1973 as a volunteer with the Brandeis University Used Book Sale sorting, selling and other duties connected with a used book sale of approximately one hundred and fifty thousand volumes.

**INTERESTS AND HOBBIES:**

Family, photography, restoring antiques, carpentry, stamp collecting, reading, collecting old books, travel (have traveled throughout much of the United States, Canada, and Europe).

**PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS:**

1. Ohio Psychological Association
2. Northern Ohio Psychological Association
3. National Educational Association
4. American Educational Research Association
5. National Council on Measurement in Education
6. American Sociological Association
7. American Psychological Association
8. Creation Research Society
9. American Scientific Affiliation
10. The Society for the Scientific Study of Religion

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