

# THE TREATMENT OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR AN EVALUATION OF REHABILITATION AT THE ORLEANS PARISH PRISON

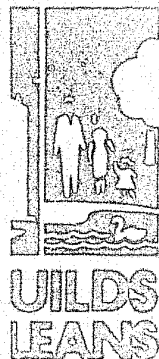
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MAYOR'S CRIMINAL JUSTICE COORDINATING COUNCIL

IMPACT EVALUATION REPORT

Project: Orleans Parish Prison Rehabilitation Program

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Orleans Parish Prison

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

During the late 1960's, reported offenses in New Orleans were rising rapidly, by more than 100% during a seven-year period. It was believed that a large proportion of these crimes were being committed by repeating offenders. These factors contributed to the findings of a task force report in August, 1971, which recommended the provision of several social services by the Parish Prison designed to reduce crime by impacting recidivist rates.

The immediate condition, however, that led to the funding of a Rehabilitation Unit in Orleans Parish Prison was an order issued by the Federal District Court in November, 1972. Suit had been brought to the court relative to the poor conditions in the prison, and the court responded by ordering immediate changes. Partly in response to the court order, a rehabilitation program was written into the Target Area Crime Specifics Program submitted to LEAA in 1973. The Parish Prison was awarded discretionary funds with which to establish the project.

### Program Definition and Study Objectives

The Orleans Parish Prison Rehabilitation Program was funded to provide a program of services to inmates that included counseling, education, vocational services, recreation, and other social services. This comprehensive program had reduced recidivism as its primary goal.

This report is a study of the program during part of the discretionary funding period, and it is also a discussion of the issues surrounding the concept of rehabilitation. The evaluator looks at the project from four perspectives:

1. At the broadest level, he discusses the issues of rehabilitation.
2. The history of the project is reviewed.
3. The delivery of services is analyzed to assess the efficiency of the project.
4. The impact of the project upon recidivist behavior is assessed.

#### The Issues

In a discussion of the issues surrounding rehabilitation, the evaluator discusses some of the assumptions made by some corrections authorities and treatment professionals in the development of treatment programs. Generally, the assumptions focus on criminal behavior as being due to a personality defect and subject to correction through treatment. Many treatment programs have developed following from these assumptions and within the constraints produced by funding sources.

The proliferation of treatment programs has created demand for assessments of the programs, and thus raised other questions, a second issue area discussed in this report. The major areas of controversy include (1) the methods used by researchers in the assessment of the effects of treatment programs, and (2) the findings of the studies. The evaluator

argues that these controversies have developed primarily in the cases of negative findings. He highlights two types of reaction by corrections and treatment personnel to these negative findings:

1. "Implementation of treatment programs are obstructed by...the procedures by which prisons are run and organized."
2. The second reaction is that the evaluator, by using reduced criminal activity as a primary objective of the program has ignored the long-range changes in personality produced by the therapeutic experience.

Proceeding from the second reaction stated above, the evaluator argues the LEAA mandate is the reduction of criminal activity for those programs using the language of treatment. Based upon this mandate and the evaluation design and program description (written prior to program implementation), the evaluator uses recidivism measures as the test of program effectiveness.

### Project History

Conditions leading to the implementation of the Parish Prison Rehabilitation Program are reviewed above. The project funded in 1973 was not immediately implemented, however. A new Sheriff came into office in April, 1974, facing a variety of problems primarily based upon the almost total disregard for the court order. The prison conditions and the solutions to them pushed rehabilitation into the background for several more months. By January, 1975, the project was staffed and began to be more fully operational. The planning document

was general enough that it was unclear what the unit was expected to be doing. Throughout the operation of the project, activities were defined in more detail and this reorganization continues to the present.

### The Delivery of Services

The report includes a discussion of the services delivered during the year of operation studied here. Included is a discussion of the classification methods used. A review of the activities of the various units within the rehabilitation program gives an overview of the staff activities. Included in the service delivery section are the following components:

1. Classification
2. Group Counseling
3. Work Release
4. Education

Using available data, the evaluator tentatively concludes the education program was the most effective component. The other components delivered only some of the services that were expected; the evaluator includes a detailed discussion on problems encountered in this delivery.

### Impact

Using several recidivism measures, the evaluator assesses the ability of the components to impact criminal activities of the individuals who participated in the respective components. This analysis focuses on the counseling group, the

work release group, and the education group, each in separate contexts since the overlap between groups was minimal (those who participated in more than one service were eliminated from the study). A group similar to the rehabilitation populations was established for comparative purposes. In no case was the recidivism rate significantly lower than for those who received no rehabilitative services.

### Conclusions

The evaluator concludes that the staff has made progress in the development of services identified in the grant application and expanding into areas not mentioned previously. He also concludes while the various components have been implemented, there is no evidence that they impact criminal behavior.

### Recommendations

Specific recommendations for the program include the following:

1. The education component should be expanded based upon its past record.
2. Re-evaluate the possibility of an in-prison vocational program.
3. Revise program objectives, revising downward expectations of behavioral change.
4. Review the problems of access to inmates and work at achieving appropriate solutions to the problems of the prison setting.
5. Change the language of the program, away from treatment and rehabilitation, and de-emphasize the role of counseling.

Finally, the evaluator recommends clarification of and/or changing of certain broader issues and practices in the criminal justice system.

Response by the Sheriff

In response to the evaluation report, the Criminal Sheriff of Orleans Parish, Charles C. Foti, Jr., summarized his reaction to the study. That letter is enclosed in this document, immediately following the Executive Summary.

# CRIMINAL SHERIFF

Parish of Orleans - State of Louisiana - New Orleans, Louisiana 70119

CHARLES C. FOTI, JR.  
Sheriff

April 7, 1977

Evaluation Subcommittee  
C/O Executive Committee  
New Orleans Criminal Justice Coordinating Council  
1000 Howard Avenue  
Suite 1200  
New Orleans, Louisiana 70130

Dear Evaluation Subcommittee:

I have asked the New Orleans Criminal Justice Coordinating Council to allow me the opportunity to reply to the evaluation of the Rehabilitation Program at Orleans Parish Prison. Needless to say, many of my staff disagree violently with the focus and methods used by the evaluator. My concerns are elsewhere. First, I am worried that the evaluation not be used as a lever to prevent the continuation of education, job training, and related classes. These services are necessary if we hope to encourage the human potential in some of the offenders. The evaluator makes this point, but I would like to re-emphasize it. Second, I want to acknowledge the evaluator's extensive involvement with the program since January, 1975. I have no problems with the procedures he used; I am in the process of modifying some of our internal administrative reporting. Third, I have no reservations in citing the commitment of the staff of the rehabilitation program. We have all learned that prisons, particularly parish prisons, are an extremely difficult environment for the operation of an ambitious human services program. We have benefited from our initial experiences.

I am not surprised that the evaluator found the program to have had minimal effect (in a statistical sense) on the criminal behavior of the inmates. I am persuaded by the argument that "programs" may not change peoples' behavior. What really happens, I think, is that some people make the decision to change the way they have been living. In making this decision, they may take advantage of opportunities available to them. I have always seen the Orleans Parish Prison Rehabilitation Program in that context, that is, providing opportunities to inmates to improve their educational and job skills. The important point, and I believe the evaluation also stresses it, is that these kinds of services should be available to inmates. For this reason, I disagree with the evaluator when he makes recidivism the test for assessing the effectiveness of the program. LEAA is none too clear on this question, and I would have preferred that recidivism not be the only measure of the program's impact.

I have several regrets with regard to the way the program has developed, and in each case, I have moved to re-orient the program and to emphasize those components that we carried out most proficiently. In all fairness, some of the problems have resulted from the conditions which I acquired from my predecessor, including a federal court order, severe overcrowding, and insufficient financing. In spite of these restraints, I see now that the emphasis on treatment, rehabilitation, and therapy that was stressed in the original language of the grant that I inherited, gave an unrealistic picture of the real purposes of the program. This situation subsequently hindered the program's operation. We should have been concentrating primarily on developing skills, and not promising to change the way inmates behave. On the one hand, I don't think we can do that, and on the other hand, I don't think that we should try. As firmly as I favor services to inmates, there is no way of predicting what an inmate will do in the future. Sometimes we get too involved in trying to help people and forget that we are invading their privacy.

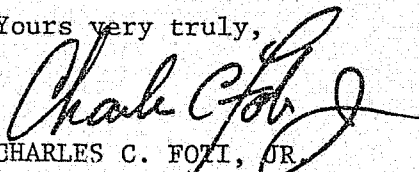
In dealing with the findings of the evaluation, I have begun to re-think the role of the program within the prison--keeping in mind that those men are not in prison by accident. I have already begun to reduce the number of counselors substantially and placed new emphasis on the teaching, job training, and job placement components. For those inmates who want to change their behavior, these are the services that are most helpful. I am presently submitting a grant adjustment to the Louisiana Commission on Law Enforcement to implement the changes in emphasis.

In addition to the Rehabilitation Program, which is being renamed as "Human Services", we will soon be opening a restitution center within the new prison facility. The purpose of the center will be to provide a vehicle to reimburse victims of property crimes and to make employment available to inmates. Additionally, this will allow us to release selected inmates under a controlled, experimental setting.

Both the human services and restitution shelter programs are attempts to reduce the costs that are inherent in institutionalized housing. I am convinced that we have to find a way to separate out first and marginal offenders who may have the will to refrain from further criminal acts, from fully committed criminals. The inefficiency of our early attempts at this kind of prediction are a necessary step in reducing the financial burden on the taxpayer. At the same time, we must find a way to clearly state severe penalties to persons persisting in criminal behavior. In my opinion, we cannot do one without the other.

I thank you for your time and consideration in this matter and if I may be of further assistance, please contact me.

Yours very truly,



CHARLES C. FOLT, JR.  
CRIMINAL SHERIFF



## PREFACE

The evaluation of corrections programs seems to inspire both interest and controversy, and the present study of the Orleans Parish Prison Rehabilitation Unit should prove no exception. The purpose of this preface is to discuss the role and function of the evaluator in the context of the assessment of corrections programs.

The reader should be careful to note that several conscious decisions were made by the evaluator with regard to the objective of the evaluation. The first decision was to stress the goal of reduced recidivism and to organize the impact section of the evaluation around the issue of crime reduction. This was the evaluator's way of asking the question, corrections for what purpose? Ultimately, policy-makers must address this same question and arrive at decisions regarding the funding of social services within prisons. If the reason for underwriting the costs of these services is based on humanitarian concepts and notions of human decency, the results of the present study have no reflection or relevance to the financial support of the Parish Prison Rehabilitation Unit. If, however, policy-makers insist upon changes in criminal behavior as the sole justification for the provision of social services in prisons, this report will be of interest. In choosing to focus upon the concept and meaning of rehabilitation, the evaluator has deliberately

raised an issue that goes far beyond the confines of Orleans Parish or the state of Louisiana, partly because the issue is too large to ignore, and in part to place the idea of social services in its proper perspective.

When reduced to its basic elements, much of "rehabilitation" is the providing of opportunity for inmates to learn, work, and recreate. Whether or not these are basic rights of an inmate is a primary policy question in this country. There is, in fact, no way to separate out a position on the provision of services from a view of criminality. The two are intertwined and because great disagreement exists with respect to the meaning of criminal behavior, the existence of social services in prisons has become itself an issue. One way to address the subject of rehabilitation is to discuss the meaning of behavioral change programs and the expectations that accompany them. By raising the issue of crime reduction, the evaluator has sought to examine not the wisdom of social services but the promise of significant behavioral change.

Two aspects of the program that are not discussed in the evaluation are (1) changes in the level of violence within the prison, and (2) the efforts of the Sheriff and his staff to promote the work of the unit and to develop the public's interest in the prison and the inmates. Neither element can be measured with any precision, although the reduction in escapes has been dramatic and, according to

the Sheriff, homosexual rapes, drug traffic, and a wide variety of violent behavior is substantially less. The credit for these accomplishments must be shared with the security staff, although the role of the Rehabilitation Unit is considered important in reducing the problems.

With respect to prison innovation, the Sheriff is presently undertaking the development of a restitution shelter, in which the victim is compensated by the offender for the loss of property. This latest project is an example of the Sheriff's (and the city's) commitment to improving the efficiency and fairness of the criminal justice system in New Orleans.

One final note. The reader is advised to carefully sort out the various arguments and positions presented in the evaluation. As is customary, the evaluator is required to distill and interpret LEAA program guidelines and objectives and to blend these with the orientations of professionals in the subject area. The blend is never perfect, and often significant disagreement exists even with regard to the assumptions used by the evaluator. That is, of course, an inherent problem, and one that shall never disappear. The role of the evaluator in this context is to marshal the various arguments, select what he considers to be the appropriate assumptions for the study, and to provide documentation for his decisions.

In the preparation of this report, the evaluator received substantial cooperation from the Sheriff and the

staff of the Rehabilitation Unit. There is no question of the commitment of the unit to the provision of services. As a rule, research evaluations tend to downplay the influence of staff morale, given the primary focus on conceptual issues and specific operational questions. Therefore, it should be underlined that the unit has displayed great enthusiasm for its function in the prison. Problems with the program that are discussed in the text of the report tend to reflect the broad issues pervading the field of corrections.

The evaluator was aided in the preparation of the report by the staff of the Evaluation Unit of the Mayor's Criminal Justice Coordinating Council, including Mr. Stuart Carroll, Ms. Marcia Slotnick, and Ms. Cheryl Lyle. Two student interns (from the University of New Orleans, Department of Urban Studies, and Tulane University, School of Social Work), Mr. Eleck Craig and Ms. Marci Onie, respectively, assisted in the data collection. Drs. Peggy Lentz and John Wildgen (of the University of New Orleans) contributed to the design of the evaluation and, at the request of the evaluator, read several drafts of the paper. Sections of the report were read and critiqued by the Corrections Planner for the CJCC, Ms. Mary Jo Condon, and the fiscal summary was provided by the CJCC Grants Administrator, Mrs. Ruth de la Gueronniere. The views are those of the writer.

Robert Sternhell  
Director of Evaluation

## INTRODUCTION

The present study of the Rehabilitation Unit of the Orleans Parish Prison in Louisiana is funded by a Target Area Grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). The evaluation is largely post hoc, having been undertaken once the program was well underway. The study covers the operational period of January 1, 1975, through January 31, 1976, a 13 month length. In certain instances, the text refers to 12 months or one year; that is not an error. Data collection was suspended after January, 1976, in order to allow the inmate population sufficient time for release and a minimum follow-up period of six months. One effect of closing data collection in January, 1976, is to considerably lessen the aggregate services delivered by the project during its Target Area funding, which expired in August, 1976. The figures presented in this report therefore do not represent the entire project activity.

A number of areas are not discussed or are inadequately discussed, including measures of cost effectiveness and descriptions of the selection process for the work release program. Both of these topics, and others, will be included in the evaluation report issued in May, 1977.

One final note. A detailed discussion of the staffing of the program is included in Appendix A.

That discussion, entitled "A Final Organizational Analysis of the Parish Prison Rehabilitation Program," was a special report submitted to the Dallas Regional Office of LEAA in February, 1976.

#### Rehabilitation: The Issues

The development of rehabilitation programs in prison settings is but one example of the shift in public attitude and public policy toward the convicted criminal, the role of prisons, and the definition of criminal behavior. The establishment of formalized units in which any of several services may be available to inmates (i.e., counseling, education, job training, drug counseling, etc.) should be seen, along with indeterminate sentencing, probation and parole, and work release, as programmatic evidence of the major changes in the way that governmental agencies view criminality. The appearance and diffusion of these programs throughout the correctional system offer face validity to the magnitude of the changes in public policy.

As is the case in major reorientations in public policy, it is difficult to isolate a single causative factor. One element (among several) that is central to the recent changes in correctional philosophy and treatment is the thesis that criminal behavior can be modified through treatment. Such modification has, in

turn, been made possible by the acceptance of the assumption that criminal behavior occurs, to a substantial degree, because of defects in personality.<sup>1</sup> These defects are susceptible to treatment in much the same manner as physical illness. That is, a substantial but essentially unknown percentage of "criminals" can be re-educated, counseled, trained, and persuaded into the adoption of life styles that provide reasonable satisfaction without necessitating further illicit behavior.

I should be careful, however, to note that the rhetoric of the medical model,<sup>2</sup> once popular in corrections, has been replaced by more modest language and more conservative objectives. Nevertheless, the assumptions have remained pretty much the same. Some of these assumptions are restated below:

- (1) Most crime is not committed by evil persons.
- (2) Criminal behavior represents an example of the breakdown in the transmission of societal norms.
- (3) The resultant criminal behavior takes on the characteristics of a defect in personality.

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<sup>1</sup>The term personality defect is intended to summarize a broad range of terms used in clinical diagnostic procedures to describe (and explain) psychological elements that are present in the subject. The broad and careless use of these terms has come under criticism. See Abraham S. Blumberg, Criminal Justice, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967).

<sup>2</sup>An example of this paradigm is seen in Karl Menninger's The Crime of Punishment, (New York: Viking Press, 1966).

- (4) Personality defects are subject to correction through a variety of treatment-based activities.

Not all of the above assumptions are shared by corrections authorities or treatment professionals, nor are they accepted with equal intensity. A review of the broad range of corrections literature will amply demonstrate the divergencies.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, these assumptions about criminality appear throughout the treatment literature, and with reasonable caution, can be thought of as the shared core of corrections philosophy.

Proceeding from these assumptions, the primary issues among corrections authorities have been those of strategy. What types of treatment? Under which circumstances? Administered by whom? Within the correctional community, these issues tend to gather the largest amount of substantive attention. (The overriding issue for corrections personnel has always been a financial one: the pursuit of funding.)

The proliferation of treatment oriented programs has, however, created considerable demand for assessments of the effects of such programs. Moreover, the demand for evaluation of treatment programs has produced at least two major

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<sup>3</sup> For example, compare Menninger, Ibid., to Gibbons, in Corrections: Problems and Prospects, p. 177-190, and Eysenck, Crime and Personality, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1964), for a quick and clear representation of some of the different viewpoints.



areas of controversy: (1) the procedures, measures and definitions used by researchers to assess the effects of treatment programs, and (2) the findings of these studies. Ward and Kassebaum have made the rather persuasive argument that the disputes are not independent; that, in fact, the opposition to the research techniques that have been used is an outgrowth of the negative findings of the research.<sup>4</sup>

This approach to the controversies is a perspective from the "sociology of knowledge",<sup>5</sup> an orientation that seeks to discover relationships between ideas (in this case, research findings) and the producers or consumers of the ideas. To support their contention that the controversies are a product of the findings of the studies, they cite several longitudinal examples in which early support by corrections administrators for evaluation turned to disapproval and the raising of "controversy" when the study conclusions were made public. Ward and Kassebaum conclude that the "dearth of good tidings" has been a major factor in the change in attitudes toward rehabilitation evaluations by corrections personnel.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Ward and Kassebaum, "On Biting the Hand That Feeds," in Evaluating Action Programs, edited by Carol Weiss, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1972), p. 301-302.

<sup>5</sup>Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge, translated by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1936). Refer to Chapter V, p. 264-311.

<sup>6</sup>Ward and Kassebaum, op. cit., p. 301.

With respect to the substance of the "controversy", there have been two general streams of reaction to the negative findings in treatment program evaluations. On the one hand, it has been argued that implementation of many of the programs is obstructed by the prison setting, or the officers and administration of prisons. In short, prisons are said to interfere with the treatment oriented programs. In fact, this may often be the case. In the present study, we will find substantial evidence of interference by prison guards, administrators, and, most important, the procedures by which prisons are run and organized. It remains an open question whether prisons can effectively operate both traditional incarceration programs and treatment programs (as recommended by corrections authorities).<sup>7</sup>

The second general category of reaction to the negative evaluation findings centers around the objectives of treatment programs. Corrections and treatment personnel dispute the contention by evaluators and researchers that the objective of these programs is to reduce criminal activity.

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<sup>7</sup>For discussions of the problems of coexistence, see two articles in Corrections and Administration, edited by Killenger, et. al., "The Failure of Correctional Management," by Alvin W. Cohen, p. 119-131, and "Change and Obstacles to Change in Prison Management," by John C. Meyer, Jr., p. 131-148.

The argument frequently stated is that there are a multiplicity of objectives, and most of them relate only indirectly to immediate changes in criminal behavior. The nature of the treatment makes it difficult, even impossible, to predict the long-term effects of the therapeutic experience,<sup>8</sup> and that to judge the impact of the treatment procedures on inmates through narrowly-based measures of rearrest and conviction is to ignore the long-term changes in personality.

This contention is an important one because it brings into focus many of the issues and points of conflict that underlie the funding of rehabilitation programs. Historically, with the exception of the Bureau of Prisons (and private treatment agencies that were church, volunteer, or foundation supported), the federal government has not been deeply involved in the funding of treatment programs. It is only in the last two decades that support for these programs has appeared; and with some irony, much of the funding has come through the Department of Justice. With the inception of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) in 1968, the funding of corrections treatment and rehabilitation programs increased in frequency.<sup>9</sup> As a

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<sup>8</sup>The use of the word therapeutic is itself a topic of controversy. Proponents of short-term counseling insist that the relationship should be considered therapeutic. The traditional psychoanalytic literature treats the concept of therapy as a later stage of an extensive doctor-patient relationship.

<sup>9</sup>In 1976, Louisiana's spending formula required that 40% of all state bloc action monies be allocated to corrections.

consequence, the primary sources of funding for treatment programs have become criminal justice agencies. For example, the program under evaluation in this report has been underwritten by the LEAA for the previous two years and will be further supported for at least one more year (and possibly three) by the Louisiana Commission on Law Enforcement.

The source of funding is central to the question of treatment program objectives, and relates directly to the authorization to the LEAA by Congress. It is neither an accident nor an arbitrary decision that the initiation of treatment programs funded by LEAA has been framed within the goal of crime reduction. According to the language of the Safe Streets Act of 1968 and all succeeding legislation, the overriding purpose of LEAA is to assist state and local governments in the "development of new methods for the prevention and reduction of crime and the detection, apprehension, and rehabilitation of criminals."<sup>10</sup> Thus, a program using the language of rehabilitation should understand that it will be held accountable for changes in criminal behavior, and that the language of the Act is clear to the extent that an agency accepting money for a rehabilitation program had best be prepared to have as one of its goals the reduction of crime. It would seem that the reason for rehabilitation (i.e., rehabilitation for what purposes) is built into

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<sup>10</sup> See Public Law 93-83, 93rd Congress, H.R. 8152, August 6, 1973, as amended by Public Law 93-415. Title I, page 1.

the LEAA program rationale, and as such, would not require extensive discussion. Alternately, those treatment programs with goals that go beyond the LEAA authorization, or are different, should seek out funding sources that support their ultimate goals.

The point that should be underlined is that LEAA has chosen to fund treatment programs as a means to the reduction of criminal activity. Other objectives or end products of corrections are secondary. The issue is not confined to LEAA, however, since it is more appropriately an issue for all criminal justice agencies and certainly one in which some disagreement exists.<sup>11</sup>

With regard to the present study, the selection of recidivism measures as the primary test of program effectiveness is based on two factors:

- (1) The legislative authorization to LEAA.
- (2) The language of the program plan, in which treatment and rehabilitation are the central elements.

In the present context of LEAA, the issues for the evaluation of rehabilitation programs are reasonably clear: to

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<sup>11</sup>Kassebaum and Ward, op. cit., have summed up the position in favor of the use of recidivism, p. 303. "Measurement of outcome by the use of sliding criteria reflects in part the effort to justify programs on grounds other than a demonstrated impact on inmate behavior or reduction of recidivism. It is our contention, however, that departments of corrections are agencies whose publicly stated principal concern is with the surveillance and control of inmate and parolee behavior. The real 'pay off' of treatment programs cannot be measured in terms of making happier or better adjusted inmates, or parolees who commit fewer or less serious crimes, but in maintaining order in the prison community and in reducing recidivism."

what extent can the program demonstrate that the treatment provided resulted in a significant decrease in criminal activity by inmates participating as clients? Second, what are the costs to the public for each successful outcome? These two issues, crime reduction and cost effectiveness, must be the primary criteria for the assessment of rehabilitation program impact. The evaluation of the rehabilitation program in Orleans Parish Prison makes use of the first criterion and, in addition, assesses program development and service delivery. Cost analyses will appear in future studies.

At this point, it might also be appropriate to indicate other issues that are not addressed in this report. First, the question of incarceration vs. deinstitutionalization is outside the scope of this study. Second, the relationship of the "prison experience" to recidivism is also external to the study. Third, this report does not treat the economic impact of corrections facilities (on the inmates or the employees). Each of these are important questions, and any study of the "prison system" must ultimately take them into account.

A final note with regard to rehabilitation issues. Like other social action programs, there are several layers of inquiry. One of these layers is the activity or work efforts of the project staff. Questions about program implementation are relatively undramatic, however, and not

much attention is given to the area. Nevertheless, it is frequently the case that hard work and staff effort do not lead to program results. The program idea, in this case rehabilitation, is an abstract concept about the behavior of human beings and is logically distinct from the aspiration and concerns of any given project staff. In examining the Rehabilitation Unit as implemented in Orleans Parish Prison, the primary objective is to increase our knowledge about the concept and its value, although in doing so we will necessarily review the work of the unit.

## II

### DEFINING THE PARISH PRISON PROBLEM

#### A. Recent History of Parish Prison

In order to assess the Rehabilitation Unit, its administrative development and service delivery, certain elements of the prison context need to be explained. A review of these factors is included here so that the reader will have at hand the recent history of Orleans Parish Prison (during 1973-1974). Because the unit was the prison's first experience with a large scale treatment program, the impact of the prison on the program was to prove significant.

The awarding of a Target Area grant to the Parish Prison in July of 1973 to organize a Rehabilitation Unit was the result of a court order issued by the Federal District Court in November, 1972. The court's order to the then Sheriff (Louis Heyd) and the City of New Orleans outlined the necessary reduction in the prison population, the rapid improvement of prison facilities (including both the plant and the ancillary equipment), and the incorporation of permanent corrections programs into the prison administration. Largely as a response to this court order, two prison rehabilitation programs were written into the Target Area Plan submitted to LEAA in 1973.



When the incoming Sheriff (Charles Foti) took office in April, 1974, progress on meeting the court order had been minimal. The size of the population had continued to grow from over 700 in November, 1973, to approximately 800 in April, 1974. At present, the institution is housing in excess of 1,200 inmates.

Although construction of a new prison had begun, the magnitude of the disrepair in the existing structure effectively prevented any major changes. Moreover, neither of the two rehabilitative programs had become operational. It is fair to say that the corresponding administrative problems were enormous--far more serious than the new Sheriff had (by his own assessment) anticipated. The aggregated absence of response to the court order in the period prior to April, 1974, had multiplied the problems of the prison and its management.

The increase in the prison population and the continued disintegration of the physical plant forced the new prison administration to emphasize security procedures and the elimination of inmate attacks as priorities. Most of the energies of the Sheriff and his immediate staff were directed toward the hiring of new deputies and administrative staff and the development of new procedures for the processing and movement of inmates. The magnitude of these tasks was large enough to push all other considerations into the background, rehabilitation included.

REHABILITATION MILESTONES

Rehabilitation Grant  
Awarded by LEAA to  
Orleans Parish Prison

Project  
Vacuum: 11/73-4/74

Sheriff Takes  
Office--Begins  
to Develop Unit

Project Starts  
Period of Adjustment

Renovation  
Completed

Project Operational  
Focus of Study

July  
1973

November  
1973

April  
1974

September  
1974

October  
1974

January  
1975

December  
1975

A second factor--the absence of persons with rehabilitation experience--reinforced the orientation of the new administration toward security, personnel, and the upgrading of the physical plant. Neither the Sheriff nor anyone on his administrative staff had worked in a rehabilitation program nor had directed an institutionally-based program. Despite the fact that the prison had been awarded a grant of some size to develop such a unit, no one quite knew what to do with it at the time the grant was awarded and until after the change in administration. The consequence of the absence of either administrative or rehabilitation experience was the extremely cautious development of the Rehabilitation Unit.

By January of 1975, a series of personnel changes and new appointments (within the unit) effected the beginnings of a fully operational program. These changes have been discussed in a previous report submitted to the Dallas Regional Office of LEAA in February, 1976 (see Appendix A).

The impact of the changes in personnel was visible in three areas. First, the level of activity accelerated. Second, security was gradually accommodated to allow for the timely delivery of inmates. Third, the Sheriff's support of the unit increased substantially and with it came a broader understanding from his staff concerning the role of the Rehabilitation Unit within the prison. These changes were critical to the future of the unit, and the continuing

increase in activity reflects the magnitude of the change in attitude of prison administration.

B. Definition of the Problem

The immediate reason for the development of a Rehabilitation Unit in Orleans Parish Prison was an order of the court in November of 1972 mandating an improvement in prison conditions and the institution of social services to the inmates. The more long-term causative factors in the decision to establish the unit were the cumulative increases in the rates of crimes being committed in Orleans Parish. For example, in the seven-year period, 1965 through 1971, reported offenses increased from 21,903 to 43,935, a gain of greater than 100%.<sup>12</sup> During that same period, juvenile arrests had increased from 4,282 to 7,199, a gain of 66%. Further, a substantial portion of juvenile arrests were effected on youths with previous arrest histories and delinquency judgments.<sup>13</sup>

By 1971, the impact of the growing crime rate and the likelihood of further increases due to the high number of juvenile offenders catapulted the issue of modifying criminal behavior to the forefront of local criminal justice planning. A task force report released in August, 1971, by the

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<sup>12</sup>See the Mayor's Criminal Justice Coordinating Council Criminal Justice Plan, 1976, p. 43.

<sup>13</sup>Criminal Justice Coordinating Council, Ibid., p. 71, Table III.

Criminal Justice Coordinating Council recommended that, in addition to medical and diagnostic services, the Parish Prison should provide the following services:

- "(1) Work/study release.
- (2) Education - This should include basic reading and writing skills as well as a wide range of vocational counseling.
- (3) Counseling - This should include spiritual, guidance and vocational counseling.
- (4) Employment - Vocational training and job placement."<sup>14</sup>

These recommendations were the basis for the inclusion of rehabilitation as a primary need in the Criminal Justice Coordinating Council Comprehensive Plan. That document included the recommendation that:

"The major thrust of programs throughout the multi-year period will be toward reducing recidivist rates through professional treatment and rehabilitation programs, thereby minimizing the impact of crime upon the city-parish community."<sup>15</sup>

Behind the emphasis on changing the behavior of criminals was the feeling that a substantial segment of all crimes were being perpetrated by repeat offenders. The only available data as to the validity of this theory is a study performed by the Sheriff's Office in 1971. Unfortunately, there are no records available from the research

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<sup>14</sup>Rehabilitation Task Force: Preliminary Report on Rehabilitation, submitted to the New Orleans Criminal Justice Coordinating Council, August 25, 1971.

<sup>15</sup>Mayor's Criminal Justice Coordinating Council, Comprehensive Plan, 1972, p. 242.

and no indication of the reliability of the study or the appropriateness of the procedure used. Nevertheless, the results of the "study" showed that between 60 and 65% of all sentenced inmates had one or more previous convictions.<sup>16</sup> More important, these figures were taken to be an accurate representation of the patterns of criminal behavior and, subsequently, were incorporated into the argument for the need for treatment programs.

The development of the city's attitude toward the need for rehabilitation programs did not, of course, occur in a vacuum. The influence of national studies, particularly the President's Task Force Report on Corrections,<sup>17</sup> can be seen in the wording of the 1972 Comprehensive Plan. Specific emphasis is placed on (1) the provision of a broad variety of services to the inmates, (2) overhaul of the recruitment and training of all corrections personnel, and (3) a firm commitment to the potential for changing the behavior of criminals. These elements are the cornerstones of the national corrections movement and, as such, represent the penetration of a national definition of criminal behavior (and the proposed solution for criminality) to Orleans Parish.

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<sup>16</sup> MCJCC, Ibid., p. 69 and p. 242.

<sup>17</sup> Task Force Report on Corrections, President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, 1967, p. 173-174.

Thus, in many respects the definition of the crime problem said to be facing New Orleans was a reflection of a larger view of criminal behavior: a perspective that emphasized inmate classification, professional treatment, and a broad spectrum of human and social services. This general orientation was to serve as the basis for the logic and structure of the proposed Rehabilitation Unit that was included in the Target Area planning document and that was subsequently funded in July, 1973.

C. The Rehabilitation Unit as Proposed in the Grant Application

The structure and organization of the Rehabilitation Unit were set out in the Target Area Crime Specifics Plan that was submitted to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in 1973. This document was written by staff planners of the Criminal Justice Coordinating Council in consultation with the respective line agencies that would be sponsoring the eleven individual projects. Thus, in the case of the prison Rehabilitation Unit, the logic and organization were a joint product of CJCC planners and representatives of the Sheriff (Heyd).

The language and tone of the narrative strongly reflects previous CJCC reports on rehabilitation; and although the structure of the unit is somewhat general, it is apparent from a reading of the plan that the elements of the program are those discussed both in the 1972 Comprehensive Plan and the 1971 Task Force report.

The plan proposed to establish a program of comprehensive services that would include counseling and classification, education, vocational services, recreation, religious counseling and services, family and social services, and volunteer recruitment and development.<sup>18</sup>

(Midway through the initial year of operation, 1975, many of these services were phased out and others introduced to the program. See the following section: Implementation of the Program.) Assignment to one or more of the services was to be a decision of the Counseling and Classification Unit. Because the two functions became increasingly distinct, they have been separated for this analysis, with counseling being treated as a service and classification being considered as an administrative function.

The Classification Unit was to implement the evaluative process through the use of psychological tests and an extensive intake interview. "Based upon the results of the tests, an evaluation will be worked up in order to assign the prisoner to a particular tier."<sup>19</sup> Additionally, the results of the evaluation were to be used as the basis for the assignment of inmates to services; and in the case of education classes, the particular point of entry.

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<sup>18</sup> Target Area Crime Specifics Plan, Mayor's Criminal Justice Coordinating Council, 1973, p. 160-161.

<sup>19</sup> MCJCC, Ibid., p. 161.



Staffing of the classification unit was to be accomplished through a clinical psychologist and two "college graduate counselors". The counselors were to serve in a dual capacity, assisting in the classification procedure and conducting individual and group therapy sessions.

With respect to the education component, there are brief discussions of the need for a GED program, specialized teaching techniques, and placement in the program based on test scores administered by the Classification Unit.<sup>20</sup> The plan calls for three certified teachers, preferably with backgrounds in special education.

The plan indicates that the vocational training component will focus on basic skills in trades such as carpentry, welding, and mechanic work. Emphasis is placed on the necessity to guarantee job placement for the released inmate; and although work release is not mentioned as a primary component, it is discussed as an associated program.<sup>21</sup> The plan identifies the Vocational Training Unit as consisting of three instructors and two job placement counselors.

Equal amounts of attention are given in the plan to a variety of activities that are to be developed or expanded, including regular daily recreation, religious counseling, a family crisis section to assist the families of incarcerated men, and a volunteer program.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>MCJCC, Ibid., p. 163-164.

<sup>21</sup>MCJCC, Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>22</sup>MCJCC, Ibid., p. 166-170.

The major weakness of the original plan is the level of generality. Unfortunately, there is no indication of the programs to be implemented, the procedures to be used, the anticipated client loads, or expected outcomes. One example of the problem is the description of the classification and counseling unit. The psychological tests to be used are neither identified or discussed, nor is there an outline of the interview procedure to be used by the counselors. Further, the plan does not include a discussion of the decision points in the classification procedure. Finally, it is difficult to determine the function of the counseling, in part because the methods are not explained and the anticipated benefits are not discussed.

As a consequence of the level of generality, the picture of the program available to the reader of the plan is that of a comprehensive and serious overview of a program to be developed at a later date. Historically, this was partly the intention of the planners who wrote the program component. With the defeat of the incumbent Sheriff and the election of a new Sheriff--and a new staff--it became reality.

#### D. Implementation of the Program

As indicated in the background section of this report, the program did not become fully operational until January, 1975. This was roughly two years after the initial plan

was written and ten months after the election of the new Sheriff.<sup>23</sup> During this interim period, no further conceptual development of the program occurred. In September of 1974, the area being renovated for the unit was completed, but the program was further delayed four months by a conflict between the Civil Service Commission and the Sheriff. Thus, January, 1975, is recognized as the operations starting date for the program.<sup>24</sup>

The program began operations with the Target Area narrative as its only planning document. Although grant adjustments had been requested (and granted) in March, 1974, April, 1974, and March, 1975, neither of the three documents included a discussion of the logic or expectations of the program or specified staff responsibilities, work loads, or program processes.

A grant adjustment submitted in August, 1975, eight months after the program became operational, requested seven new positions and the reclassification of others to "place greater emphasis on job development, post-release follow-up, crisis oriented services for unsentenced inmates, in-service training (by psychiatric residents) for the counseling staff, education, recreation, and public relations."<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> See the Target Area Six Month Report, Robert Sternhell and Stuart Carroll, Mayor's Criminal Justice Coordinating Council, 1974, p. 7-11, for additional information.

<sup>24</sup> See Grant Adjustment Request, August 12, 1975.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

Unfortunately, with respect to the clarity of the program, much of the narrative is a repetition of the Target Area Plan.<sup>26</sup> Although a few additional details of the program are arrayed, the adjustment does not specify processes, work loads, or expectations. (As this is being written, the unit is preparing its most ambitious description of program activity in a grant adjustment request scheduled for submission in October, 1976.

The evolution of the program is partially visible in a formal organizational analysis performed by the CJCC in January, 1976, and submitted to the Dallas Regional Office.<sup>27</sup> The study compared the structure of the program at two points, January, 1975, and January, 1976. The entire study is included in Appendix A, with several salient points presented below.

The analysis concluded that the original program plan had been too ambitious for the level of expertise available to the Sheriff. "Ideally, the program should have first established its credibility in the prison through a narrow range of tightly controlled activities, and only then expand services and open new sections."<sup>28</sup> Further, the study

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 159-170.

<sup>27</sup> See Grant Extension Request, February 11, 1976, Document #3, Robert Sternhell, "A Formal Organizational Analysis of the Parish Prison Rehabilitation Program."

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

cited the absence of administrative experience for the administrative staff.<sup>29</sup> Subsequent changes in personnel during 1975 raised the potential quality of the management of the program, and the merging of components (from seven to four) focused the energy of the program on a narrower range of activities.

The picture of the Rehabilitation Unit's self-definition that is contained in the program's documentation (i.e., plans, grant adjustments, and reports) is one of an awkward and confused beginning, followed by a long period of constant reorganization. That latter phase is still in process, as the unit seeks to increase the efficiency and orderliness of its operations. In retrospect, much of the planning and organizational development should have occurred by January, 1975. Because these activities were neglected in the nine month period, April through December, 1974, certain management and service delivery problems still exist. These will be discussed in the following section, Organization of the Classification Unit.

#### 1. Organization of the Classification Unit

The Rehabilitation Unit operates as a network of related, but semi-independent, components. I have termed this arrangement a separate service format and base the

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

designation on the procedures used by the staff, particularly the work of the classification component. It is useful to clearly distinguish the separate service format from the comprehensive treatment plan. National trends in correctional classification have emphasized a "total approach to treatment" through a comprehensive treatment plan.<sup>30</sup> To implement a comprehensive plan, it is necessary to "diagnose the problem of each offender in the institution and to plan and administer an individualized treatment plan to meet the needs of each prisoner."<sup>31</sup>

It is generally the case that such a diagnostic procedure requires active participation from a classification committee usually composed of members of the Rehabilitation Unit, a warden, an administrator, a psychiatrist, a medical doctor, social workers, and specialists in various aspects of the program (i.e., education, vocational training, etc.).<sup>32</sup>

The classification procedure used at Parish Prison is substantially different from the committee model, and it does not resemble variations such as the "reception-diagnostic system" or the "classification clinic."<sup>33</sup> The distinguishing

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<sup>30</sup>Correctional Classification and Treatment, Leonard J. Hippchen, "Changing Trends in Correctional Philosophy and Practice," p. 17-24, A.C.A., 1975.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

feature of the Orleans Parish Prison classification procedure is the level of authority vested in the individual counselor. Counselors function both as classification decision-makers and as directors of group therapy programs. In their capacity as classification specialists, counselors interview the inmate as the first step in the unit's procedures. The interview is best characterized as a review of available services in the unit by the counselor and varying levels of response by the inmate. It is frequently the case that inmates will ask for either a program, a medical service, or work release. It is the rule that requests for programs are handled favorably and that medical needs are routinely referred to the prison physicians. In the case of work release inquiries, the counselor will usually advise the inmate of "his chances" but will in any case forward the request to the work release component.

On the basis of the interview, the counselor will recommend services for the inmate. Although consultations with the head of classification are not uncommon, the usual procedure is for the counselor to ultimately make the referral decisions. The product of the decisions, rather than a formal treatment plan, is a listing of services requested by the inmate and thought to be appropriate by the counselor. Additionally, the counselor may add a commentary, and occasionally a long narrative appears with the listing of services.

What are the implications for this distinctive approach to classification? Several are fairly apparent, and bear discussion. First, there is no imposition of a treatment schedule for the inmate, so that the concept of directed social change--a cornerstone of the theory of rehabilitation<sup>34</sup>--is operationally secondary.<sup>35</sup> What occurs in the intake-classification process is essentially a set of non-judgemental actions. That is, the counselor lists the services, discusses them, and asks the inmate to select those of relevance or interest. This procedure is basic to most intake practices, irrespective of whether classification uses experts to make the decisions. In Parish Prison, however, the counselor alone is authorized to conduct the intake process by assigning the inmate to services, or withholding an assignment. Generally, this is a pro forma decision in which one area of judgement required of the counselor is to note unusual behavior that might require a referral to a psychiatrist. What distinguishes the Parish Prison unit, at least in formal structure and function, from the committee system is the absence of

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<sup>34</sup>President's Task Force on Corrections, President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1967, p. 16.

<sup>35</sup>I would make the distinction here between the rhetoric of the program which is that of directed change, and the implementation of the program, which dilutes that objective.



a body of experts. The counselor makes the administrative decision, whereas the panel of experts is said to evaluate each case according to their professional expertise.

There is no clear indication in the evaluation literature on rehabilitation whether the "body of experts" mechanism works. Therefore, it remains an open question as to which procedure is more effective. (Moreover, and somewhat disconcertingly, there is also some question as to the actual role of the panel of experts mechanism.<sup>36</sup>) In any event, the point to be emphasized is that the Parish Prison classification procedure is different from the national models that use experts as decision-makers.

The second implication of the counselor decision-making procedure is that it does explicitly what is often done unobtrusively in other rehabilitation programs. It assigns those inmates to services that they have requested. This explicit procedure is basic to (1) clarifying why persons change their behavior, and (2) identifying the relevant issues.<sup>37</sup>

The third implication of the counselor assignment process is the absence of a treatment plan. The language used

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<sup>36</sup>Some of these problems are identified in "Problems of Reception and Diagnostic Centers," A.C.A., Ibid., p. 28-32.

<sup>37</sup>See "The Humanitarian Theory of Punishment," by C. S. Lewis, in Contemporary Punishment, edited by Rudolph Gerber and Patrick McAnony, p. 194-199.

by the unit does not include the term, and there are no organizational procedures to compare the performance of the inmates against hypothetical standards (although there are periodic reviews of cases, and "trouble-makers" are identified and, in some cases, removed). It appears from discussions with the staff that they have broad general expectations of inmate performance or goals. The lack of a treatment plan may be associated with the broad (and somewhat vague) expectations of inmate accomplishment.

The lack of a treatment plan, the broad definition of "successful" inmate performance, and the counselor decision-making as classification, all reinforce the tendency of the program's components to operate with some degree of independence. For example, there is no necessary relationship between the group therapy sessions and the education and job-training components; by that, I mean the rhetoric of the program does not link the components with an expected outcome.<sup>38</sup>

The operation of the program as a network of services in which "classification" is more likely to be a clerical procedure and the services run in quasi-autonomous fashion all have relevance to the structure of an evaluation of the program. That is, the evaluation will examine the components as separate entities.

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<sup>38</sup>Again, the reference here is to the language of the program. It is an open question whether programs that use comprehensive treatment language in fact operationalize the language, and also whether there is any impact.

Before proceeding, however, it is important to re-emphasize that the procedures used by the unit are not necessarily "wrong" or inappropriate. There is every indication that programs that use professional experts do not reach the impact they desire, even in those cases where treatment is comprehensive and a formal plan is used.<sup>39</sup>

## 2. Organization of the Service Components

Whereas the grant application described seven service areas<sup>40</sup> and three ancillary or support services,<sup>41</sup> as the program developed, it began to emphasize some aspects and de-emphasize others. Two service components (religious counseling and volunteer recruitment) quickly became secondary and were absorbed as subunits of other components. The vocational service component, after failing to develop an adequate in-prison training program, had its emphasis shifted to on-the-job training in conjunction with work release.

Midway through the calendar year 1975, three services had developed as the core of the program: counseling,

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<sup>39</sup>See Martinson, Robert, "What Works? Questions, Answers About Prison Reform," The Public Interest, Number 35, Spring, 1974.

<sup>40</sup>Counseling, education, vocational services, religious counseling, volunteer assistance, recreation, and family social services.

<sup>41</sup>Library, medical services, and psychiatric counseling.

remedial education (GED and ABE), and vocational services/work release. It is these components that will be the focus of the present evaluation report. At the same time, it is important not to dismiss the level of services or the value of the ancillary components, particularly the medical and psychiatric referrals. Although most of the discussion in this report will by-pass these functions and their effects, the services delivered on a routine basis were an important element of the total delivery of services. These were services required in the prison, and the Rehabilitation Unit delivered them.

### III

#### EVALUATION DESIGN: SERVICE DELIVERY

The assessment of service delivery will focus upon the three primary service components: counseling, job training/work release, and remedial education. Additionally, the delivery of ancillary services will be briefly discussed.

Because the delivery of services within the prison setting is contingent upon regular access of the inmates to the unit, the analysis of service delivery will be prefaced by a study of the patterns of inmate attendance in the unit.

#### Inmate Access: The Gatekeeper Function

The Rehabilitation Unit is located on the top floor of the four-story prison. Access to the unit by inmates is regulated by prison rules for "open" hours (i.e., times other than meals and work details). Other constraints on attendance are prison lockdowns. Obviously the inmate can also refuse to attend. Enforcement of the rules is the prerogative of the Security Division--the prison guards.

One way to measure the impact of the prison setting on attendance is to compare the number of requests to the guards for delivery of inmates to the unit, to the frequency of deliveries. The practice in the rehabilitation

program was to provide a list of inmates to the guards, who would be asked to bring them to the unit. Eleven months of data are available, including reasons given by the guards for the non-deliveries of inmates.

The significance of this analysis is what it may reveal about the logistical and security problems entailed in operating a Rehabilitation Unit within the prison. That is, the study may provide some indication of the degree of resistance of the security establishment to the intrusion of social service units.

#### Classification

No measures of classification performance are indicated in the grant application. Nevertheless, it will be useful to determine the size of the population given access to the unit and the pattern of classification throughout the year. Under the separate service format used by the program, classification is largely an administrative procedure rather than diagnostic, so that the numbers will have greatest meaning with regard to the client groups coalescing around service activities.

#### Service Delivery: Counseling, Work Release, Education

• With respect to the counseling component, the primary emphasis will be the pattern of attendance for inmates.

Underlying the purpose of the group therapy sessions is the necessity for substantial inmate participation in order to approximate a therapeutic context.

• In the case of work release, the objective listed in the grant application is compared to the number of inmates admitted to work release during the test period.

The grant application identifies objectives for the education and work release components but does not specify one for counseling. The measures listed are:

- (1) To increase the academic level of participating inmates by an average of one grade level during the first full year of operation.
- (2) To place a minimum of 50% of all participants directly into jobs upon release during the first full year of operation.

• With respect to education, the program has added specification by separating out the GED from the ABE programs and identifying 24 classroom hours as the period in which the educational gain is to be accomplished.<sup>42</sup> In order to test the education hypothesis, an index of expected grade increase per classroom hour was derived using the following formula:

$$\frac{\text{One Grade Level}}{24 \text{ Classroom Hours}} = .042 \text{ grade increments per classroom hour}$$

The grade increment statistic (.042) was multiplied against the classroom hours of each inmate in order to

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<sup>42</sup>These revisions are contained in a grant adjustment scheduled for submission to LEAA in October, 1976.

arrive at an expected outcome of grade level improvement for every inmate. The expected outcomes were then compared to the actual outcomes and the differences recorded. The sum of these differences were divided by the number of cases in order to obtain an average grade level improvement.

Finally, the assessment of service delivery will dwell briefly on the ancillary functions and programs; those that are not central to the logic of the program but meet inmate needs in the areas of recreation, medical attention, reading matter, and psychiatric care.



#### IV

#### EVALUATION DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY: IMPACT

Previous sections describing the organization of the program have stressed the separate service format that is used. In view of this structure, there are implications for the measurement of impact on the inmate population. The first implication is that no single inmate population can be identified. Rather, there are separate, but overlapping, subgroups of inmates that coalesce around service components. For example, a percentage of those persons in work release will also have participated significantly in one or more of the other components. The overlap in participation is, fortunately for the purposes of evaluation, minimal, so that relatively independent subpopulations can be identified and studied.<sup>43</sup> As was stated in an earlier section, the primary impact focus of the evaluation will be on the populations participating in the education, counseling, and training (work release) components. The objective of the evaluation, with respect to impact, is to assess the magnitude of behavioral change as a consequence of participation in the

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<sup>43</sup> These subgroups have not been composed with respect to demographic factors or criminal histories. We have assumed that no differences would be found among the counseling and education groups.

program's three primary components.<sup>44</sup> The major design problem in the present research is one common to treatment studies: contamination of one activity (and the experimental group) by the actions of another treatment component. In order to minimize contamination, the usual procedure is to select for study those persons whose participation has been confined to only one of the services. This strategy has been used to define the experimental groups for the three components. The specific procedure is as follows. First, all persons proceeding through intake and classification during the calendar year 1975 had case files prepared by the classification unit. From these case files, lists of participants in each of the three primary service areas were compiled; and names from one area were compared to names from the two other components. The three experimental populations extracted through this procedure are considered to be independent of contamination.

In addition, a fourth group of inmates who were eligible<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> The reader should keep in mind that the particular objectives of this study are reflections of LEAA mandates. The position taken earlier in the study is that the funding of treatment programs by LEAA is based on the expectation of changes in criminal behavior. Other issues and measures are secondary.

<sup>45</sup> Eligibility was defined as a sentenced inmate without tier or other prison restrictions. This definition de facto excluded persons with a history of murder or rape, but did not exclude persons convicted of armed robbery or aggravated assault. Other reasons for exclusion include any inmate with a five-year+ sentence, persons deemed to be security risks, inmates judged to have severe emotional problems, and inmates with "holds" from other jurisdictions.

for the program but for various reasons (i.e., either they declined to participate or their sentence was too short to allow for any participation, or access to them was faulty so that their sentence had expired) did not choose to participate were also identified for the purpose of establishing a comparison group. Because the group was formed through post hoc statistical controls rather than as a feature of the design of the project, the group is most accurately described as a unit for comparison. Nevertheless, the group is thought to be nearly identical to the rehabilitation populations that participated in either the counseling or educational components. Most of the men comprising the comparison group were simply overlooked in the initial months of the program to the extent that participation in the program, once they were "discovered", was moot due to relatively short periods of time remaining on their sentences. The genesis of the group is a natural outcome of the inefficient procedures of the unit in the early months of 1975 and the restriction of access to inmates presented by a prison context. The original sample for the comparison group was 100, approximately a 50% sample of the total population identified as eligible, classified, but lacking significant participation. Of the original 100 sample, accurate criminal histories with no missing values were available for 77 men. These 77 form the comparison group.

Descriptions of each of the three experimental groups are presented below. From these descriptions came the specific measures of program effectiveness used to evaluate goal accomplishment.

A second major design problem is the quality of information contained in criminal histories, the primary data source in recidivism studies. The use of criminal histories always raises conceptual and methodological problems, and the present analysis is no exception. The most pervasive methodological difficulty is the incompleteness of such files. To have used a criminal history file is to understand that missing values are rampant and that data loss is substantial. Consequently, there are always questions, and valid ones, about the representativeness of any sample, control group, or comparison group. This is a continuous problem for researchers, and to deny the impact of the missing data is to mislead.

Conceptual problems are equally troubling. First, it is extraordinarily difficult to interpret the mass of arrest and court events for groups of offenders. The dominant impression one receives from any group of offenders is the very high number of total arrests--with a vast majority of these being municipal rather than state charges. Of this total, most are not prosecuted.<sup>46</sup> Those that are prosecuted

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<sup>46</sup> This is particularly true in Orleans Parish, where the District Attorney (since 1974) has rejected 50% of all cases presented by the police.

seem to be convicted. Of those convicted, very few serve more than a year.<sup>47</sup> Were we to trace the percentage of cases resulting in incarceration, from arrest, we would invariably find less than 25%. Further, of this 25%, less than 10% are sentenced to more than one year. Note also that standard "good time" procedures reduce sentences to 1/2 of the time sentenced to serve. Finally, previous estimates of arrest recidivism range from 65% to 70%. This "revolving door" effect makes it difficult to assign meaning to the events used to measure recidivism. That is, the arrest event has a low level of reliability, and the length of time required to end most cases is such that sample sizes for most studies using final disposition as the standard are too small. For example, with respect to arrests, what meaning does a municipal rearrest charge have as a measure of recidivism or, how can we determine that a state charge refused by the District Attorney was originally a valid arrest? The researcher has no access to any of the information required to answer these types of questions, nor the time to pursue them.

Compounding the problem is the normal police procedure of making arrests on the basis of offense location and method of operation. These are short-cut procedures that

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<sup>47</sup>The average sentence to Parish Prison is 18 months, whereas average actual time served is 6-9 months. The differences are explained by "good time" practices. See Curtis & Davis, A Study of Correctional Design and Utilization in New Orleans: Years 1975-2000, p. 38.

in many instances are validated by effective prosecution. However, many of these arrests (N=unknown) contain evidence that is inadequate for the purpose of prosecution. The effect of these police practices is to inflate the total arrest picture relative to the court processed population. Thus, at every stage of the "system", from arrest to prosecution to conviction to sentencing to incarceration, the population is thinned, leaving a shadow of the original numbers.

How does one ascribe meaning to any of the events in such a process in order to develop a measure of recidivism? To deal with this problem in even the crudest manner requires that several definitions of recidivism be developed. The definitions listed below will provide the reader with a measure of the "drop off" that is present from arrest to the decision to prosecute. We will use the different measures in order to underscore what can only be a superficial clarity present in most definitions of recidivism. We will use three measures, each of which examines a different aspect of contact with the criminal justice system. The first is the most common--simple rearrest.

- (1) The number of persons rearrested, irrespective of charge, whether it be municipal or state.

The problems of this measure have been discussed earlier. Its purpose in this report is as a comparison to the other measures of recidivism, and as a comparison to other studies of recidivism that use no other measures.

The second standard is an attempt to distinguish the more serious crimes, as measured by length of sentence, from the lesser charges.

- (2) The number of persons rearrested on state charges only.

Municipal charges are both frequent and limited by law to a maximum penalty of 90 days in jail. Moreover, municipal charges tend to reflect lifestyles (i.e., fights, drunkenness) rather than identifiable criminal acts. This figure should always be lower than the first measure.

The third measure seeks to reconcile the time limitations imposed by the study with the objective of treating only charges of "serious" crime that are substantiated by arrest documentation. Thus, the following measure:

- (3) 
$$\frac{\text{Number of persons arrested on state charges whose cases were accepted by the District Attorney}}{\text{Total Sample}}$$

This measure seeks to get at the quality of the individual arrest, separating out valid arrests based on substantial evidence from those in which evidence for the arrest was found to be unsubstantial. As indicated earlier, the screening activity of the Orleans Parish District Attorney allows for the distinction. Since 1974, he has been accepting approximately 50% of the cases presented by the New Orleans Police Department.

A. Counseling Component: Inmate Group

The case files for calendar year 1975 show that 140 inmates participated in one or more group therapy sessions. When I controlled for participation in either the work release or education program, and eliminated cases on which files could not be found, the impact population was reduced to 95. An additional requirement for selection to the test group was a minimum period of six months following release. Data collection for this group was conducted during the first week of September, 1976. Cut-off date for release was the first week of March, 1975. All 95 inmates qualified. The final criterion for selection was a complete criminal history. If the history could not be found or if the arrest leading to the present incarceration was not included, that inmate was removed from the test group. As a result of this procedure, 18 inmates were excluded from the population. The remaining 77 inmates form the counseling impact population. The measure of counseling effectiveness used against the group was defined as:

- I. Exposure to counseling (i.e., group therapy) will have a cumulative effect on the criminal behavior of the inmates. Thus, as exposure increases, recidivism should decrease.

To test counseling effectiveness, a regression analysis was used on two measures of recidivism: arrests/all charges, and arrest quality (state charges accepted by the District Attorney, divided by the total sample, minus open cases).



B. Work Release Component: Inmate Group

Case files show that 142 persons were accepted into the component during 1975. Of the 142 inmates, 18 were scheduled for release after March 10, 1976, the cut-off date for the follow-up period. A record search of criminal histories was conducted for this group. Either as a result of the unavailability of records or records that were either incomplete or failed to reflect the known incarceration history of the inmate, or the intervention of legal action that prevented the opportunity for recidivism (including such activities as (1) the issuance of a warrant, (2) death, or (3) confinement for other reasons), the eligible group of 124 was pared to 77. These 77 inmates form the work release test population.

In order to assess the significance of work release as a causative (or contributing) factor in reduced rates of criminal behavior, the work release experimental group was compared against a comparison group of inmates who were eligible for the rehabilitation program but who did not participate.

The comparative analysis requires the use of certain assumptions. The objective in comparing the two groups is to establish a point of reference for the recidivism measures used against the work release inmates. The operative assumptions are:

- (a) Admission to work release is a de facto statement that the inmate is low risk; that is, the program is "betting" that the probability of rearrest, either during the work release phase or afterward, is lower for their client group relative to other prison inmates.<sup>48</sup>
- (b) The program excludes obvious high risk inmates, particularly those with histories of drug or alcohol use.

On the basis of the differential populations, we would expect work release to reinforce the tendency of low risk offenders to seek out life styles that do not include criminal activity. The measure of effectiveness of the work release program reflects this hypothesis.

II. Inmates participating in a work release program will exhibit rearrest rates significantly lower than a comparison group of inmates eligible for the rehabilitation program but who did not enter.<sup>49</sup>

Simple comparisons of the two groups will be done using two definitions of recidivism, rearrest and arrest quality.

(These measures are described earlier in this section.)

#### C. Education Component: Inmate Group

The program's records indicate that 155 were referred

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<sup>48</sup>Further studies will examine this question. Evidence of the difference in risks can be seen, however, in the percentage of work release requests denied by the program. In 1975, an estimate of the percentage of requests denied was 75% to 80%.

<sup>49</sup>Embedded in this expectation is the argument for work release programs that work release can serve a vital rehabilitative function while not endangering the community. See Ordering Time to Serve Prisoners: A Manual for the Planning and Administering of Work Release, LEAA, June, 1973, p. 18-23. The present test has no reference to work release as a humane procedure.

to either the General Education Degree (GED) or the Adult Basic Education (ABE) programs. Of these 155, 55 were enrolled in one of the two programs, and 55 complete classroom histories are available. Complete criminal history records for the 55 are available in 38 cases. This group received minimal services from the counseling component, and none of the inmates were admitted to work release.

Interest in the education experimental group is centered on the increase in educational accomplishment as a predictor of a change in life styles. It is hypothesized in the grant application that the acquiring of increased literacy is at least a symptom of motivation of behavioral change.

The hypothesis has been operationalized by the development of a standardized index of educational gain. The index is defined as the expected increase in grade level, divided by the number of total classroom hours, and is based on the expected gain of one grade level per every 24 classroom hours.

$$\text{Index of Educational Gain} = \frac{\text{Expected increase in grade level (1.00)}}{\text{Number of total classroom hours (24)}}$$

$$\text{Standard Expected Increment (per hour)} = .042$$

The logic of the gain index is based on the importance of the magnitude of educational achievement. Because there are significant variations in attendance patterns, the gain index is used to control the distortions introduced by the length of participation.

The standard expected increment (.042) was then multiplied against the classroom hours for each of the 38 inmate participants in order to obtain an expected grade increment for each person. The expected scores were arrayed in comparison to the observed grade increments and the differences noted.

The measure of effectiveness for the educational component is listed below.

III. Educational achievement is symptomatic of changes in underlying behavior. There should be an observable difference in the recidivism rate for those achieving the high educational gains, relative to those demonstrating little or no accomplishment.

In order to test the hypothesized relationship, a regression analysis was used on the two variables. The dependent variable was recidivism, defined by measures of simple arrest and arrest quality. The independent variable was the difference score (expected minus observed grade increment).

Additionally, the recidivism percentages for each of the three measures will be shown so that the reader can compare them to the outcomes for the other components and the comparison group.

## Summary

The measurement of program impact focuses on three populations: the counseling group, the work release group, and the education group. Recidivism rates are discussed in separate contexts, and the scores will not be aggregated.

The follow-up periods (within which recidivism is examined) are not standardized, and vary considerably. The minimum follow-up period was 5 months. The median follow-up time was 13 months, and the range was from 6 months to 22 months. Descriptive statistics for the follow up periods are presented in the text (Tables IX; XI a, b, c; and Table XIV). Raw scores are included in Appendix B.

The problem in interpretation of these figures may lie in the time allocated for recidivism. Kassebaum and Ward contend that even 12 months is not a long enough period with which to measure behavioral change.

"Even at 12 months, only 35% of our study sample had reports of either major arrests or return to prison; that figure at 24 months was 54%.<sup>50</sup>

Therefore, the rearrest rate reported in the analysis may be an under-estimation of the percentage of inmates that return to criminal behavior. The use of the present follow-up periods is dictated, however, by the end of the Target Area funding.

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<sup>50</sup>Kassebaum and Ward, op. cit., p. 307.

## DATA COLLECTION

Information used in the report was taken either from project operations or was obtained through the New Orleans Police Department. Project generated data was furnished to the evaluator after a two-week review of the inmate case files revealed considerable amounts of missing data. Section heads in the areas of counseling, work release, and education supplied the most complete inmate information that they had maintained. In one instance, education, the records are fragmentary; and the analysis of both service delivery and impact will be conducted on a sample of 55 of the 125 inmates who participated in the program.

The reader should be aware that the data is self-reported by the unit. Nevertheless, and despite gaps in the data, the evaluator is satisfied of its reliability in terms of it reflecting actual events.

With regard to the criminal histories used to measure impact, these were obtained with the assistance of the New Orleans Police Department through the use of the police MOTION system.

## AN ANALYSIS OF SERVICE DELIVERY: MEASURES OF EFFICIENCY

The Gatekeeper Function

The analytic model identified earlier used the concept of the gatekeeper function as the governor of inmate participation. In short, the unit's level of service delivery was said to be substantially affected by the access to inmates. In the prison setting, access is controlled by security personnel who are charged with finding the men requested and bringing them to the unit. The upper limits of service delivery are set by the "success" of the guards in their performance of this task.

It was the feeling of both the program administration and line personnel that changes in guard assignments had brought to the unit men who were more sympathetic and conscientious and that these changes were reflected in the increased access to inmates. That is, the new guards not only had "rank" but they were willing to use this leverage to secure the removal of inmates from the tiers.

Unfortunately, the available data does not support the perceptions of the staff. Table I indicates that the percentage of inmates not brought to the unit has increased slightly during the period February through December, 1975. One possible explanation for the misperception by staff is the substantial increase in the numbers of inmates being

Table I

## ACCESSING INMATES: THE GATEKEEPER FUNCTION

	# Requests	# Brought Up	# Not Brought	% Not Brought
February	236	139	97	41
March	459	287	172	37
April	843	596	247	29
May	800	514	286	35
June	801	444	357	44
July	2,389	1,305	1,084	45
August	1,743	864	879	50
September	2,032	1,181	851	41
October	1,569	784	785	50
November	1,257	710	547	43
December	886	533	353	39

$\bar{X}$  Requests 1183

$\bar{X}$  Inmates Brought Up 668

$\bar{X}$  Percent Brought Up 43%



brought to the unit during the months of July through November (the December total is low, as a function of the diminished number of work days). During that five-month period, the number of requests for inmates increased by 235% over the previous five-month period. Reflecting this increase in requests was an increase in the number of men brought to the unit, an increase of 144%, but substantially less than the rise in requests.

In trying to assess the meaning of the figures, it is necessary to examine the reasons why men were not brought to the unit. Five categories of reasons have been identified for the non-delivery of inmates. These categories are summarized in Table II as sick, work (the man was assigned to a work detail and could not be excused), legal (any of four activities that were beyond the authority of the guard to change, e.g., a shift to maximum security, court appearance, sent to the state prison at Angola, or the tier was "locked down"), an outright refusal by the inmate, or a scheduling mix-up in which the inmate had previously left the prison (rolled-out).

A sixth category was one in which no reason was given by the guard for the failure to deliver the inmate. That residual category, although by no means homogenous, is an indication of guard success rates in dealing with the prison security system. It is also an indirect measure of guard commitment. The high rate of unexplained non-deliveries

Table II

REASONS FOR NON-DELIVERY OF INMATES

	# Not Brought	Sick	Work	Legal	Refusal	Roll Out	# Unexplained	% Unexplained
February	97	14	13	10	6	9	45	46
March	172	8	42	14	6	19	83	48
April	247	21	44	29	44	25	84	34
May	286	17	65	38	23	14	129	45
June	357	13	37	30	31	22	224	62
July	1,084	30	123	117	137	15	662	61
August	879	39	100	35	235	26	444	50
September	851	19	193	56	222	21	340	39
October	785	10	128	54	160	24	409	52
November	547	12	132	22	94	10	270	49
December	353	11	93	24	57	19	149	42

$\bar{X}$  Unexplained No Shows = 258

% Unexplained No-Shows = 50

(50%) infers that substantial problems still exist in the gatekeeper function. Moreover, the percentage of unexplained non-deliveries increased after May, 1975, from 42% to 51%.

These figures suggest that the limits of service delivery are still relatively circumscribed by the prison setting. The implications of these findings are two-fold. First, something is occurring in the inmate retrieval process that is detrimental to the program (even if the "real" reason is simply poor documentation). Second, these limitations may or may not be susceptible to solution. It is important, however, that a determination be made as to the major factors; and, if appropriate, changes be initiated in the existing procedures.

### Classification

The interviewing of inmates for purposes of classification is only indirectly related to the gatekeeper function. Because it is typically a single event and because it is related more to the number of sentenced inmates within the prison, the obtaining of interviews is not intimately related to access. (See Table III and Figure 1.)

The data on interviews does mirror what is already generally known, that activity in the unit increased radically in April, 1975. The number of requests were doubled, the number of inmates delivered also doubled, and classification interviews increased dramatically. Whereas the total

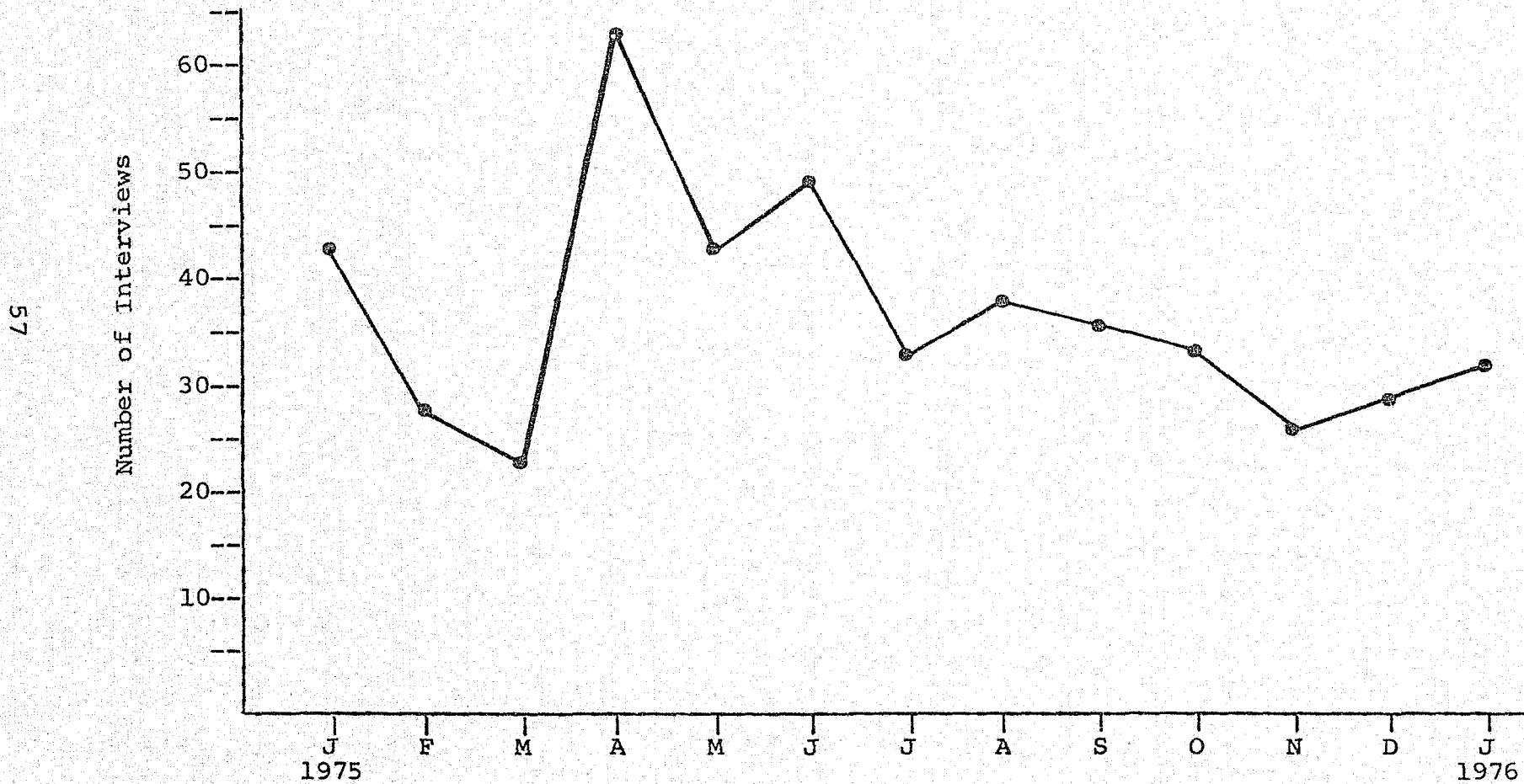
Table III

## DISTRIBUTION OF CLASSIFICATION INTERVIEWS

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	TOTAL
Interviews	42	27	22	61	43	50	32	37	35	34	26	27	28	464
Cumulative Total	-	69	91	152	195	245	277	314	349	383	409	436	464	464
Percent of Total	.09	.06	.05	.13	.09	.11	.07	.08	.07	.07	.06	.06	.06	100

Figure 1

GRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF CLASSIFICATION INTERVIEWS



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number of interviews for the first quarter was 91, the figure for quarter two was 154. As Figure 1 demonstrates, classification interviews decreased after June, but that is probably a result of the reduced pool of sentenced inmates. (Throughout most of the year, the unit did not deal with presentenced inmates, and the turnover in sentenced inmates is obviously slower.) Although evidence is not immediately available, it is probably the case that 80% of the eligible sentenced inmates had been interviewed by the end of the third quarter of 1975. The residual interviews were largely the result of changes in inmate status (presentenced to sentenced), or new admissions to the prison. As no definitive information has been collected, these last remarks are speculative.

The number of classification interviews indicated in Table III is 464 for the 13-month period. That is a conservative measure. It is estimated that approximately 100 completed interviews, conducted during the first quarter of 1975, have been "lost" as a result of having been misfiled in one of the prison's major manual filing systems. In light of the costs of retrieval, the cases have been omitted from the study. A second source of under-counting was the processing of 60 municipal prisoners, for the most part charged with alcohol-related municipal violations. These interviews (and case files) have also been omitted, primarily because they are well outside the mandate or

purpose of the unit. Nevertheless, in assessing work load statistics, one could legitimately argue that the unit has classified in excess of 600 inmates during the 13 months, an average of close to 50 per month.

#### Measures of Service Delivery: Group Counseling

Two measures are of primary importance: the number of persons participating in the group sessions and the patterns of participation. Documentation available from case files shows that 140 persons attended one or more group therapy sessions. Table IV arrays the distribution of attendance. Note that two-thirds of the group participated less than 5 times, and only 12% attended on more than 10 occasions.

One explanation for the low level of repeat attendance at counseling sessions is the length of sentence, where the amount of time available for attendance (from date of sentence to release) is short. In order to assess this factor, a sample (40) of the 140 cases was tracked from date of sentence to date of release. The sample should be viewed with extreme caution because no controls were attached to the selection procedure other than the immediate availability of the inmate files.

Table V is a display of sentence to release days for the sample and, in addition, an arbitrary 30 day reduction for purposes of prison processing, classification and interview, and ultimate assignment into a group. The sample

Table IV

PATTERN OF ATTENDANCE AT GROUP THERAPY SESSIONS

Attendance	Number of Inmates	
Once	45	(32%)
Twice	14	(10%)
Three occasions	23	(16%)
Four occasions	13	( 9%)
Five to nine occasions	28	(20%)
Ten to twenty occasions	11	( 8%)
Twenty-one plus	6	( 4%)
TOTAL	140	(99%) <sup>1</sup>

$$\bar{X} = 5.27$$

$$\text{Median} = 3.00$$

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<sup>1</sup> Rounding error



Table V

INMATE AVAILABILITY - SENTENCE TO RELEASE  
 A Sample of Inmates in Group Counseling

Days	Inmates	- 30 Days Processing
Less than 30	2	8
31-60	5	11
61-90	11	2
91-120	2	8
121-150	7	3
151+	13	8
TOTAL	40	40

of 40 was reduced from 50 because all cases originating prior to November, 1974, were purged so that the final sample does not suffer a time bias exaggeration. The results, in an aggregate sense, indicate that nearly 50% of the sample were "available" for a period of 91 days or more, a minimum equivalency of 12 weeks. These figures conflict with both the distribution of attendance and the median attendance figure (see Table IV).

The problem of availability, however, is not as clear-cut as was inferred earlier. Three factors reduce availability: work details, inmate refusals, and unexplained non-deliveries. To what extent they reduce actual availability is not known, but the combined impact of the factors (acknowledging that 50% of the sample were available less than 90 days) results in a low level of repeat attendance.

The low attendance figure casts some doubt on the role and objective of the counseling. The unit describes group counseling, its primary modality, as consisting of techniques of Transactional Analysis (TA). Within the fields of psychiatry and social work, TA is considered to be an intensive psychotherapy, a mode distinct from what has been labeled "crisis counseling" or at a more time-extended level, "supportive therapy".<sup>51</sup> The objective of psychotherapy is

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<sup>51</sup>For definitions of these terms, see A Psychiatric Glossary, The American Psychiatric Association (New York: Basic Books, 1975), p. 144 and 147. For a description of the objectives of supportive therapy, see Drs. Freedman, Kaplan and Sodock, A Modern Synopsis of Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry (Baltimore: The William and Williams Company, 1972), pp. 507-508.

self-analysis within a regular setting, at least once a week, over a one to three year period.<sup>52</sup> This distribution of inmate repeat attendance, with a median of three, and only six inmates participating 21 or more times, precludes the effective implementation of the TA mode. A second problem, and one of some controversy, is the appropriateness of professional training for the role of the therapist. The position of the American Psychiatric Association is that both medical and psychiatric training are necessary, that the role of the psychiatric social worker is important, but ancillary.<sup>53</sup> Increasingly, schools of social work have disputed this requirement and argued that the legitimate role of the psychiatric social worker is as a therapist.<sup>54</sup>

The Rehabilitation Unit worked toward the social work definition of professional requirements by hiring persons with Bachelor's Degrees and Masters in Social Work for counseling positions. The LEAA would seem to support the social work position on appropriate training, based on the recommendations of the Commission on Standards and Goals (Standard 11.9, #3) and also support the qualifications for

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<sup>52</sup>Freedman, et. al., Ibid., pp. 504-507.

<sup>53</sup>A.P.A., op. cit., p. 148. See also Hinsie and Campbell, Psychiatric Dictionary, 4th Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) p. 785.

<sup>54</sup>Helen Harris Perlman, "Social Work in Psychiatric Settings," in American Handbook of Psychiatry, edited by Silvano Ariete (New York: Basic Books, 1975), pp. 668-682.

counselor as listed in the grant application for the program.<sup>55</sup>

It appears, however, that the objectives of counseling as defined within Standard 11.9 are directed toward a non-psychotherapeutic modality--although this is not entirely clear.<sup>56</sup>

The problem that LEAA standards and goals may have created for itself is that it associated non-psychotherapeutic modalities (i.e., supportive therapy) with major behavioral change.<sup>57</sup> It appears that the Parish Prison Rehabilitation Unit may have made the same error, that is, expecting behavioral change from short-term counseling. They compounded the error, however, by describing the counseling as Transactional Analysis--when the context prevented the implementation of TA. Implementation, to repeat, was made impossible by the lack of consistent access to inmates, the low frequency of attendance, the coercive setting of the prison, and the questionable professional experience of the counselors.

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<sup>55</sup>The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals: Task Force on Corrections, LEAA (Washington, D.C., 1973) p. 385.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 385.

<sup>57</sup>This confusion may be a product of the vague language often used by writers in the area.

### Measures of Service Delivery: Work Release

Vocational training and job placement were subsumed by the work release program, a distinct organization working in conjunction with the social services unit. The procedure is different from that specified in the original grant, in that work release personnel are largely responsible for the assignment of inmates to on-the-job training and job placement. Moreover, because a variety of problems have developed with respect to the services available from vocational training agencies, the unit has been unable to develop the in-prison courses that were indicated in the original grant.

During the course of the year, the unit gradually took over the function of screening all work release requests. Generally, these requests were recorded by the counselors performing the initial intake interview. All serious requests for work release were forwarded to the component for further investigation and processing.<sup>58</sup> Decisions regarding the issuance of work release status were not a responsibility of the rehabilitation unit.

Due to problems in record keeping, the number of persons successfully placed in the work release program is inexact. Documentation for 120 inmates exists, although

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<sup>58</sup>Certain minimum criteria common to work release programs were used as a guide including residence, family, nature of the arrest record, etc.

it is probable that perhaps as many as 30 other inmates were referred to work release from the rehabilitation unit.

The larger figure (150) is still short of the 50% objective specified in the grant application. (Fifty percent of the 436 inmates classified during the calendar year 1975 is 218 inmates; 150 is 69% of that figure.)

Another related vocational service offered by the unit is the testing of inmates in order to aid placement. During the 13-month period, January, 1975 through January, 1976, 125 inmates were tested by the General Abilities Test Battery (GATB).<sup>59</sup>

#### Measures of Service Delivery: Education

The education component is divided into three general areas of concentration. As a result of the low literacy level of most inmates, a major emphasis has been placed on remedial course work. This is accomplished through Adult Basic Education Courses (ABE) and encompasses such subjects as reading, mathematics, and communication skills. In addition, ABE prepares inmates for the second area of educational concentration, the General Equivalency Diploma Test (GED). Those inmates successfully completing the GED are awarded a high school equivalency diploma. Thirdly, and most recently, college level courses are being provided for those prisoners who qualify. They are sponsored by a

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<sup>59</sup>This figure is approximate, but is correct  $\pm$  10.

local community college and are held in the classrooms of the Rehabilitation Unit.

During the 12 month period of study, 135 inmates were recommended to the educational component. Although most were given the California Achievement Test (CAT), less than 60 of the test sheet results were retrieved by the evaluator. It is difficult to generalize from the "sample" of test results because there is no indication of their relationship to the other test results; program administrators take the position that the available results are fairly typical of the education population. Assuming this to be the case, the level of education for inmates, as expected, is relatively low. I will examine the performance of the sample in the following pages.

As a result of the major literacy deficiencies, fully 50% of the 135 inmates were adjudged incapable of enrolling in a program that would prepare them for the GED high school equivalency test. These inmates, with grade level scores between the fourth and sixth, were assigned to the ABE program, a schedule designed to prepare the inmate to enter the GED program. The effect of the low level of literacy is to reduce the number of GED graduates. This objective is limited both by the literacy deficiencies of the inmate population and the amount of time in which the teachers have access to the inmates. Using 24 classroom hours as the average amount of time required to increase

one grade level, six to eight weeks would be expected per one grade increased. The "average" inmate, with a CAT score of 8.11, would need at least eight months--and probably more--to reach twelfth grade competency. Most sentences are far shorter.

Of the 135 inmates recommended to education, it is estimated that 125 entered the program. Estimation is required because a segment of the attendance records were lost in processing by the program. Because of the record loss, the pattern of participation must also be estimated--using partial records and test results as guides. The test results are the best guide to assessment. Of the approximately 70 inmates that entered the GED program, 31 completed it and subsequently took the test. The average length of time in the program for those that took the test was two months, three weeks, with attendance required five days a week, one and one-half hours per session. Of the 31 inmates taking the GED test, 27 passed.

I have taken a sample of 55 inmates who participated significantly (defined as a minimum of 21 hours) in either the GED or ABE programs. As was discussed earlier, the sample is non-random and represents roughly 45% of those inmates participating in the educational components. I have no direct measures of the extent to which the sample reflects the population. However, the sample will be used for explanatory purposes (in order to use the best information available). Based on discussions with program



personnel, there is no reason to expect the sample to be significantly different from the entire population.

The average inmate enrolled in the education program has completed only nine years of school. Of some surprise in view of the overall performance of students in New Orleans public schools,<sup>60</sup> the California Achievement Test scores given to the inmates prior to the course show the average grade level to be less than one year lower than the highest grade completed. Sixty-one percent of the sample never attended high school, although nearly all attended at least two years of junior high (89%). Table VI presents the data. (See Appendix B.)

With respect to grade level improvement, the results are mixed. Although nearly one-half of the sample exceeded the project objective, the average standardized grade increment was only .17. These outcomes underline the importance of inmate motivation with regard to performance. Each of the 55 men were "exposed" to roughly the same classroom conditions, yet there was a considerable disparity in grade increment. Perhaps the best indication of the importance of motivation are the measures of standard deviation for the three scores. For the expected outcomes,  $S=1.3$ ; for actual observed scores,  $S=1.7$ ; for the difference--

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<sup>60</sup> Perhaps the best indicator of student performance in Orleans Parish schools is a publication of the Research and Development Division of the New Orleans Public School System, 1974, titled Student Achievement Scores and Related Data. The report shows that the city compares unfavorably with national scores and with other urban school systems.

which is the measure of relative performance--S=2.0. Thus, variation in performance increases as we progress from a distribution of expected achievement to a distribution of actual achievement.

Any assessment of service delivery is, of course, very tentative, due in part to the state of the records and in part to the mixed results manifested by inmate performance. The inadequacy in record keeping has limited the present analysis. Despite the appearance of teacher skill and concern, the absence of documentation must limit the objective validation of the component's delivery of services. Improvements in the recording of attendance, the filing of test scores, and the initiation of a regular CAT testing schedule would go a long way toward confirming the tentative conclusion of this report: that the education program is operating effectively and fulfilling the conditions of the grant.

#### A Note Concerning Other Services

The unit provides a wide range of services that in many instances go beyond the scope of the grant. These services would otherwise not be available within the prison, and the absence of these services would tend to decrease the stability of the inmate population and thus affect the level of security required. The most important of these services are the medical/psychological referrals, the recreation programs, and the art classes. The latter activity

is moving toward a self-supporting status, as the products of the classes are sold and the monies returned to the inmates and the unit (to cover materials). Because these services are not easily aggregated, it is difficult to gauge the magnitude of their usefulness. It would appear that if these services can be provided in addition to the primary services, the value of the unit increases substantially, although that value cannot be assessed within the context of the present report. In sum, the prison requires the services to be available, and the Rehabilitation Unit has fulfilled that function.

VII  
IMPACT

A. Counseling

Table VII arrays recidivism percentages for each of the three measures. Note that the figure drops dramatically as the rigor of the measure increases. We would expect that a recidivism standard based solely on convictions would show a percentage figure between 20%-25%. In this instance, only 30% of the members of the counseling client group had cases accepted by the District Attorney (that were by definition, state charges).

The follow-up period used for the testing of recidivism was not standardized, although a minimum of six months following release was required. In order to test for equivalency, the follow-up periods for members of both groups were arrayed. Table VIII shows that the average times for both groups were similar, with the rearrested population having a slightly longer post-release test duration. It is estimated that length of follow-up did not bias the results, despite the non-standard nature of the post-release periods. The decision to use all the available cases was based on the desire to maximize the size of the comparison group at the risk of a loss of reliability.

The goal of the Counseling Unit was to expose inmates to group therapy sessions on the assumption that increased

Table VII

RECIDIVISM SCORES FOR INMATES  
 ATTENDING GROUP THERAPY SESSIONS  
 USING THREE MEASURES

Measures of Recidivism	Number	%*
Number Rearrested All Charges (State and Municipal)	52	66
Number Rearrested State Charges Only	32	41
Number With Charges Accepted by District Attorney	<u>23</u>	31
Total Cases - Open Cases	79-4	

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\*Of all cases, N=79.

Summary  
Table VIII

A REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF RECIDIVISM  
FOR THE COUNSELING GROUP

Counseling Sessions	Rearrest <sup>1</sup>	Rearrest <sup>2</sup>
R <sup>2</sup>	.019	.014

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<sup>1</sup>All arrests, state and municipal. N = 79

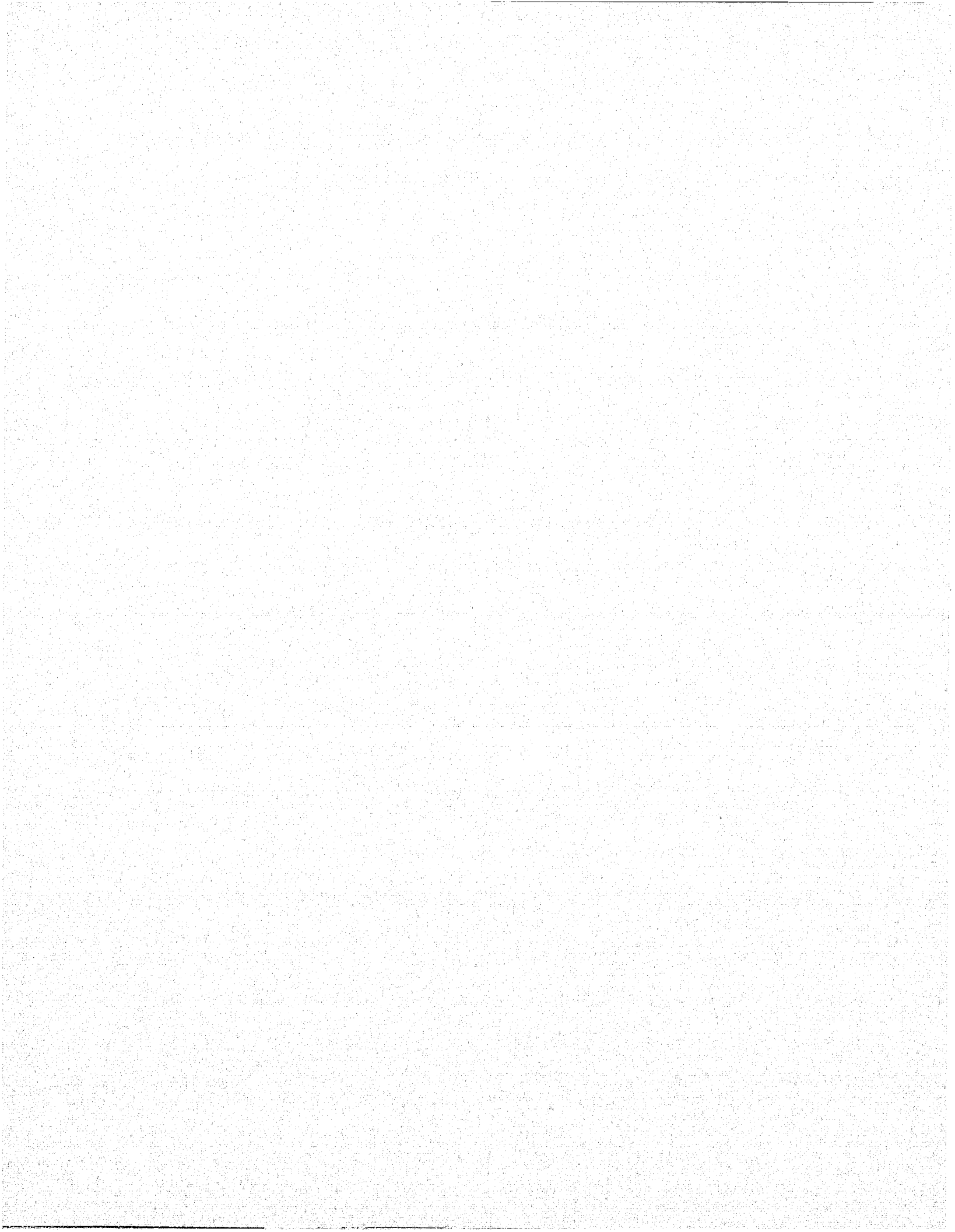
<sup>2</sup>Arrests accepted by the District Attorney. N = 77

exposure would affect their self-analysis and indirectly result in changes in behavior, including a (statistical) decrease in recidivism for the group. To test this assumption, I formed the hypothesis that as exposure increased, recidivism would decrease. Recidivism, the dependent variable, was operationalized according to the definitions presented in the design section for measures one and three.

- (1) The number of persons rearrested either on state or municipal charges.
- (2) The number of persons arrested on state charges whose cases were accepted by the District Attorney.

In both cases, the dependent variable was dichotomous. The independent variable, counseling sessions attended, was a straight-forward representation.

If a relationship existed between the number of counseling sessions and either of the two measures of recidivism, the regression score (the coefficient of determination =  $R^2$ ) would show a strong positive relationship. As Table VIII indicates, the  $R^2$  for simple rearrest (measure number 1) was .014. I have concluded that there is no basis for the assumption that increased exposure to counseling will, in the aggregate, reduce the incidence of recidivism. (The observations and their values are presented in Appendix B.) Descriptive statistics for the follow up periods are shown in Table IX.





**CONTINUED**

**1 OF 2**

Summary  
Table IX

A WITHIN GROUP COMPARISON OF FOLLOW-UP  
PERIODS FOR THE COUNSELING GROUP

Persons Rearrested With:		
	Municipal Charges Or State Charges Not Accepted By District Attorney <sup>1</sup>	State Charges Accepted By District Attorney For Prosecution <sup>2</sup>
$\bar{X}$ Follow Up Period	12.8 Months	13.8 Months
Median Follow Up Period	13.5 Months	14.0 Months
Standard Deviation	3.9	4.6

<sup>1</sup>N = 53

<sup>2</sup>N = 23

## B. Work Release

A point made earlier should be repeated. Due to the scope of the rehabilitation program and the time available, certain areas are under-reported in this study. One of these areas is work release. Because of the peripheral nature of the Rehabilitation Unit to work release (the unit performs the initial screening function for work release), the activities of the latter are outside the framework of the study. Nevertheless, I have reported the outcomes of a sample of those inmates who entered work release after being screened through the Rehabilitation Unit because work release has become the primary mechanism by which the vocational training-job placement component has been implemented. Future reports will examine in far greater depth the activities, rules, and procedures of the program.

For the present study, I will treat the organization and activity of work release as a given: assuming that the selection of inmates follows acceptable procedures and that the goal of work release is in substantial part the development of work-based mechanisms for assisting the inmate in the reduction of repeated criminal acts.

The work release sample was tested on three measures of recidivism, as was the comparison group. I had hypothesized a substantial difference would exist for the two groups based on the risk factor assumed to be higher for the comparison group. Table X displays the recidivism

Table X

MEASURES OF RECIDIVISM FOR THE  
COMPARISON AND WORK RELEASE GROUPS<sup>1</sup>

Recidivist Measure	Work Release Group	Comparison Group
Number Re-Arrested: All Charges	(49) 63%	(52) 67%
Number Re-Arrested: State Charges Only <sup>2</sup>	(34) 44%	(31) 40%
Arrest Quality <sup>3</sup>	19/72 26%	23/73 32%

<sup>1</sup> Work release, N=77; Comparison, N=77.

<sup>2</sup> Municipal arrests excluded.

<sup>3</sup> The number of state arrests accepted by the District Attorney, divided by the total sample, minus open cases.

outcomes for both groups. Surprisingly, no differences are present, although as in the case of the counseling group, the recidivism rates drop off dramatically as the definition of recidivism becomes more rigorous.

In order to increase confidence in the reliability of the comparison, the follow-up period (the months from the date of release from prison to the data collection cut-off) for each inmate in the two groups was calculated, arrayed, and aggregated. Tables XIa, b and c report the following comparisons respectively: between groups, within groups (persons rearrested versus those not arrested), and a subset of those cases which were accepted for prosecution by the District Attorney. Descriptive statistics are shown for each table, including the mean, median, and standard deviation. (The actual scores are included in Appendix B.)

The findings are important because they cast some doubt on the function of work release and the role of the program as a correctional unit. Work release programs are intended to provide both a therapeutic and an economic benefit to the inmate, while at the same time, risk to the community is said to be minimized. Risk, in the context of work release, has two distinct references. First, risk refers to the protection of the community from persons charged with serious crimes, most notably crimes of violence. Persons convicted on such charges are, in almost all instances, excluded from participation. With respect to crime seriousness, a major issue

Summary  
Table XI, a

A BETWEEN GROUPS COMPARISON OF  
FOLLOW-UP PERIODS FOR WORK RELEASE  
AND COMPARISON GROUP INMATES

	Work Release Group <sup>1</sup>	Comparison Group <sup>2</sup>
$\bar{X}$ Follow-Up Period	11.74	14.72
Median Follow-Up Period	12.00	15.00
Standard Deviation	3.37	2.45

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<sup>1</sup>N = 77

<sup>2</sup>N = 77

Summary  
Table XI, b

A WITHIN GROUPS COMPARISON OF  
FOLLOW-UP PERIODS FOR WORK RELEASE  
AND COMPARISON GROUP INMATES

	Work Release		Comparison	
	Rearrested	Not Rearrested	Rearrested	Not Rearrested
$\bar{X}$ Follow-Up Period	11.92	11.43	15.14	13.90
Median Follow-Up Period	12.00	11.50	15.00	14.00
N	49	28	51	25

Summary  
Table XI, c

A COMPARISON OF FOLLOW-UP PERIODS FOR  
INMATES IN WORK RELEASE AND THE COMPARISON GROUP  
WHOSE CASES WERE ACCEPTED FOR PROSECUTION  
BY THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY

	Work Release Group	Comparison Group
$\bar{X}$ Follow-Up Period	12.17 Months	14.86 Months
Median Follow-Up Period	14.00 Months	15.00 Months
Standard Deviation	4.74 Months	2.50 Months
N	20	23



has been the exclusive use of work release for persons convicted of misdemeanors, whereas advocates of the work release concept have stressed the appropriateness of the concept for lesser felonies, particularly persons convicted of property crimes.<sup>61</sup>

The second definition of risk has reference to the potential of the inmate for recidivating. Thus, it is common for programs to exclude automatically persons with drug histories, an extensive prior record, or one incident of escape. As a rule, programs try to minimize the amount of error with regard to inmate recidivism, particularly in the period during participation in the program.

Due to the emphasis on minimizing risk, work release populations are generally regarded as far less likely to recidivate than a cross-section of the prison population or even a sample of inmates eligible for the rehabilitation program.<sup>62</sup> Although the comparisons drawn in Table X are somewhat short of achieving scientific precision, they graphically illustrate the absence of any difference in the propensity to recidivate, irrespective of how the inmate population is defined. (I am aware that the failure to

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<sup>61</sup> Ordering Time to Serve Prisoners, op. cit., p. 22-23.

<sup>62</sup> Zalba reports that recidivism rates for four work release programs range from less than one percent to roughly twelve percent. See Serapio R. Zalba, "Work Release: A Two-Pronged Effort," in Corrections: Problems and Prospects, edited by David Peterson and Charles Thomas, p. 263.

test for the distribution of risk factors in all the populations leaves many questions unanswered.<sup>63</sup>) Because this work is in the preliminary stages, the outcomes raise more questions than they answer, and most of these questions have to do with the manner in which the program was operated and how inmates are selected.

For the present, however, it is difficult to see the therapeutic contribution of work release, or its relationship to reduced recidivism.

### C. Education

It was hypothesized earlier that inmate accomplishment in the educational program would be symptomatic of self-motivation with respect to overall behavioral change. That is, superior performance in the classroom should be reflected in a lower rate of recidivism.

To test the hypothesis, educational performance was operationalized by deriving an expected standardized score per classroom hour. The expected change in grade level was compared to the observed change and the differences noted. (A full explanation of the index is provided in the section,

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<sup>63</sup>See Babst, et. al., "Assessing Length of Institutionalization in Relation to Parole Outcome," in Criminology, Vol. 14, No. 1, May, 1976, p. 41-54.

Evaluation Design and Methodology: Impact.) The difference scores were arrayed and tested against two measures of recidivism, simple rearrest and state charges accepted by the District Attorney. The results of the regression analysis are displayed in Table XII. Note that in neither case is there any relationship between performance in the classroom and criminal behavior following release. (The raw scores are presented in Appendix B.)

The pattern of recidivism for the inmates in the educational group drops off sharply as the definition of recidivism becomes more rigorous. Table XIII shows the comparison of the recidivism rates. The pattern reflects the ones discussed earlier with regard to the work release and counseling components. (The descriptive statistics for the follow up periods are presented in Table XIV.)

Summary  
Table XII

A REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECT  
OF EDUCATION ON REARREST  
USING TWO DEFINITIONS OF RECIDIVISM

	Rearrests All Charges	State Charges Accepted By District Attorney For Prosecution
$R^2$	.014	.011

Table XIII

MEASURES OF RECIDIVISM RATES  
FOR THE EDUCATION GROUP<sup>1</sup>

Recidivist Measure	Education Group	
	N	%
Number Rearrested All Charges	28	74
Number Rearrested State Charges Only <sup>2</sup>	19	50
Arrest Quality <sup>3</sup>	15	42

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<sup>1</sup>N = 38

<sup>2</sup>Municipal charges excluded.

<sup>3</sup>The number of state charges accepted by the District Attorney, divided by the total sample minus open cases.

Table XIV

A WITHIN GROUP COMPARISON OF  
FOLLOW-UP PERIODS FOR THE  
EDUCATION GROUP

Rearrested		
	Municipal Charges Or State Charges Not Accepted By District Attorney <sup>1</sup>	State Charges Accepted By District Attorney <sup>2</sup> For Prosecution
$\bar{X}$ Follow Up Period	14.5	16.6
Median Follow Up Period	16.5	18.0
Standard Deviation	5.1	4.6

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<sup>1</sup>N = 21

<sup>2</sup>N = 15

## VIII

### FISCAL SUMMARY

The program was funded for \$732,966, of which \$527,341 were LEAA discretionary monies; the remainder consisting of local in-kind matching funds. See Table XV.

Four grant adjustments were requested and approved. Progress reports were submitted on schedule.

Table XV

## PARISH PRISON REHABILITATION PROGRAM FINANCIAL SUMMARY

Date: November 18, 1976

Period: 7/1/73 - 8/14/76

Item	TOTAL GRANT			LEAA CASH ONLY		
	Amount Budgeted	Total Expenditures	Balance	Amount Budgeted	Total Expenditures	Balance
Personnel	\$756,158	\$545,489*	\$210,669	\$387,767	\$389,509	-\$1,742
Fringe	\$ 44,558	\$ 19,286*	\$ 25,272	\$ 23,007	\$ 19,286	\$3,721
Equipment	\$ 47,941	\$ 39,561	\$ 8,380	\$ 47,941	\$ 39,561	\$8,380
Travel	\$ 2,400	\$ 1,639	\$ 761	\$ 2,400	\$ 1,639	\$ 761
Supplies	\$ 10,600	\$ 12,237	\$- 1,637	\$ 10,600	\$ 12,237	-\$1,637
Renovation, Construction	\$ 83,626	\$ 83,626	-0-	\$ 83,626	\$ 83,626	-0-
Other Direct	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
Indirect	\$ 41,077	\$ 29,683*	\$ 11,394	-0-	-0-	-0-
TOTAL	\$986,360	\$731,521	\$254,839	\$555,341	\$545,858	\$9,483

\*All in-kind not included

Financial summary prepared by: Ruth de la Gueronniere, Grants Administrator



## IX

### SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Summary

In this evaluation, I have focused on both the delivery of services and the impact of those services on the goals of the program. Due to the structure of the program, i.e., quasi-autonomous service activities, the evaluation has covered a much larger sphere of concepts and measures than is normally the case in a research evaluation. To simplify the reader's task in assessing the performance of the program, the summary is segmented by objectives and goals.

#### Objective Number 1: Counseling

No objective for the counseling component was clearly identified in the Target Area Plan, and perhaps this has contributed to the delivery of services. Of the three components (counseling, work release, and education) examined in the evaluation, counseling is the least efficient; and the overall service delivery is not adequate.

This conclusion is based partly on the pattern of inmate participation in which the median number of group therapy sessions attended was three, and nearly 60% of the group attended four or less times. The low level of attendance made impossible the implementation of the Transactional Analysis mode of psychotherapy. A second problem

was the expectation that non-psychiatric trained personnel would be responsible for implementing the intensive psychotherapy. Thus, if access to prisoners was assured, there would still be substantial doubt that the counseling unit could adequately implement the objective of an intensive therapeutic psychotherapy.

Objective Number 2: Work Release

TO PLACE A MINIMUM OF 50% OF ALL PARTICIPANTS DIRECTLY INTO JOBS UPON RELEASE DURING THE FIRST FULL YEAR OF OPERATION.

As the project developed during 1975, a major shift was the incorporation of work release into the unit's activities. The unit screens all work release requests and forwards them to the work release program. During the year, approximately 150 inmates were successfully placed in work release, roughly 70% of the objective. Given the evolutionary nature of the program, this figure is adequate.

On the negative side, the unit has been unable to develop in-prison vocational training, an original element in the design of the unit. Further, the implementation of work release is not a direct function of the unit; it existed prior to the rehabilitation program and operates somewhat autonomously.

The failure to develop in-prison vocational training, and the failure of vocational training agencies to help the unit, has seriously weakened the service delivery of the

component, and, therefore, the performance of the "jobs" component is barely adequate.

### Objective Number 3: Education

TO INCREASE THE ACADEMIC LEVEL OF PARTICIPATING INMATES BY AN AVERAGE OF ONE GRADE LEVEL DURING THE FIRST FULL YEAR OF OPERATION.

For those inmates with educational records (55 of an estimated 125), nearly half exceeded the expected grade level improvement that was based on the standard increment of one grade improvement per 24 classroom hours. Moreover, the average grade level improvement for the 55 inmates was 2.34, far in excess of the objective; and nearly all participating inmates increased their CAT score by one grade level.

I am reluctant, however, to extrapolate from this sample to the entire population of 125 for reasons discussed earlier. Nevertheless, inmate performance is impressive, and it would appear that the education component has achieved its service delivery objective.

### Program Objectives: Conclusion

There is ample evidence that the staff has worked toward developing many of the services identified in the original grant and expanding into areas not mentioned, including arts and crafts and work release.

In the three components under examination, the results are mixed. Education is a successful component. Vocational training/work release is barely adequate. Counseling is conceptually confused and ineffectively implemented. The operation of each of these components is affected by the prison context, its rules, regulations, and the behavior of security administrators and personnel. The general affect of the prison context in Orleans Parish Prison has been to reduce the efficiency of the Rehabilitation Unit, and one of the questions arising out of the study is whether such a program can operate under what is normally described as medium security conditions.

#### Program Goals

The program was unable to achieve any of the three program goals in the areas of education, counseling, and vocational training. Tests of recidivism show no differences for any of the inmate groups (see Table XVI) and specific regression analyses in the areas of counseling and education refute the hypotheses that as the delivery of these services increases, the (statistical) rate of recidivism will decrease. On the whole, there is no evidence that the delivery of the services has a relationship to the suspension of criminal behavior.

With regard to the meaning of recidivism as a measure, the use of different definitions raises several important

Table XVI

A COMPARISON OF RECIDIVISM RATES  
USING THREE MEASURES

	Education Group	Counseling Group	Work Release Group	Comparison Group
Number Rearrested All Charges	74%	66%	63%	67%
Number Rearrested <sup>1</sup> State Charges Only	50%	41%	44%	40%
Arrest Quality <sup>2</sup>	42%	31%	26%	32%

<sup>1</sup>Municipal charges excluded.

<sup>2</sup>The number of state charges accepted by the District Attorney, divided by the total sample, minus open cases.

questions about procedures within the criminal justice system. Were a fourth definition of recidivism--conviction--to be used, the gap between arrest and conviction would approach 45 percentage points. There appears to be a need for clarification and reconciliation of the enforcement and judicial functions of the system.

### Recommendations

The absence of programmatic impact, coupled with the inconsistent attempts at service delivery, raises serious questions about the role of a rehabilitation program as a mechanism for behavioral change. Results to date seem to indicate no significant changes in criminal behavior by program participants.

The findings are susceptible to three forms of explanation. First, it might be argued that flaws in the implementation of the program contributed heavily to the absence of impact. It is common to find the operation of a program contradicting its concept, and a case might be made particularly in the area of counseling. This would not, however, explain the behavioral outcomes for the education group.

A second explanation is that the prison setting and the security personnel diluted the impact of the rehabilitation concept by imposing constraints on the operation of the program. To some extent, this explanation is correct, as was shown in Chapter V. It is problematic, however,

whether these constraints were the major factors in the program's failure to impact its goals.

Of a more general cast is the explanation that behavioral change is not as readily modified by treatment programs as has been advertised. It may well be that the provision of services has no causal connection with behavioral change and that the source of change lies in the individual. If this were to prove correct, then the basic correctional paradigm would need to be revised.

In the case of New Orleans, the impetus for the program was a federal court order in 1972. The findings of this study present some problems for local decision makers, who are obligated to continue the operation of the unit. One of the questions still to be answered is whether social service programs should be funded with the expectation of reducing recidivism, or if the presence of these services is mandated by basic human concerns. New Orleans officials will be debating this question in the coming months.

The principal recommendation arising from this study goes beyond the data to the system of criminal justice. It is impossible to isolate a rehabilitation program from the processes and logic of the larger system. Claims for the potential of rehabilitation will remain moot until certain issues and practices, among them "good time", probation, and parole, are clarified or changed, given their inherent contradictions with other aspects of the legal system.

Certain specific recommendations, with respect to the operation of the program, can be extended.

- A. The program should emphasize that which it does best: education. Programs should be enlarged so that the amount of time in class (per inmate) can be increased. This may require a reorganization of classroom use and a revision of rules for inmates participating successfully in the education programs.
- B. Re-evaluate the possibilities of an in-prison vocational training program. Such a re-evaluation should include an assessment of the function and purpose of work release.
- C. Revise the objectives of the program, in part by changing the language used by the unit to describe its activities, and in part by revising downward expectations of behavioral change. This will involve the discarding of terms such as treatment, rehabilitation, and therapeutic.
- D. Review the problems of access to inmates and seek partial solutions to the inevitable conflicts between the requirements of security and the provision of social services.



There need be no inherent relationship between the provision of social services and the expectation that such services will "reform" significant numbers of offenders. We have too easily forgotten that the linkage was initially proposed as an hypothesis, to be tested, replicated, redefined, and judged. Thus, the argument for social services is not necessarily the argument for rehabilitation, and certainly an impressive case can be made for the need of a broad range of services to inmates.

APPENDIX A

A FORMAL ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS OF  
THE PARISH PRISON REHABILITATION PROGRAM  
(TA-1)

Introduction

The present report is intended to serve as an analytic monitoring narrative. It is neither an evaluation of program performance, a discussion of service delivery, or a study of program impact. The purpose of this report is to trace the development of the rehabilitation program to its present stage and to arrive at some tentative conclusions with regard to the capacity of the program and program personnel to implement a rehabilitation unit as originally described in the TARGET AREA plan and subsequently revised.

The reader should be aware of the limitations of this report. First, the report is not an evaluation because the measures used and the data collected are insufficient to justify the title evaluation. Second, statements in this report have no reference to the sum total of project performance during the grant period or to the success of the program. Both topics are beyond the scope of the present report.

The objective of the study is to provide the Dallas regional office with a means of assessing (1) the level of professional organization and performance in the program, and (2) changes in the character of the organization and its personnel.

## Methodology

Because the present study is a formal organizational analysis, three measures are to be used. This type of analysis does not focus on actual behavior or performance of the staff, nor does it examine program outcomes. The emphasis in this approach is placed on the logic of the organizational structure and the relationship of positions within the organization to persons selected to fill those positions. The three operational measures are:

1. The definition and function of the organization, with primary emphasis upon the relationship among positions and the logic of task allocation (by position).
2. A comparison of the level of education among staff persons, relative to the education identified in the planning document and grant adjustment.
3. A comparison of the level of relevant work experience among staff persons, relative to the experience identified in the planning document and grant adjustment.

The method of analysis to be used is a comparison of the rehabilitation unit as it was originally constituted in January, 1975, ( $T_1$ ) to its composition and organization as of January, 1976, ( $T_2$ ). During that period, three types of changes have occurred. First, the structure of the unit has been modified. Some components have been eliminated; others have been merged. Second, new personnel have entered the program. Third, existing staff have either switched positions or taken on new functions. Each of these changes will be discussed and assessed.

## Background

The reader may find it useful to know the setting for the rehabilitation program, inasmuch as it has been a primary factor in the determination of program development. In the state of Louisiana, the Criminal Sheriff in each parish is the director of the parish prison. An elective position, the present sheriff defeated the incumbent in November of 1973 and took office in April, 1974. At that point, he assumed control of all federal grants that had previously been supervised by his predecessor. Additionally, he replaced the existing prison administrators with his own staff, and his choice of personnel was clearly based on the problems and exigencies of the prison: security and renovation. In previous years, prisoner escapes had been a regular occurrence, and the physical condition of the prison had deteriorated markedly. As a consequence, the supervision and staffing of the rehabilitation unit was a secondary consideration. Moreover, the operation of the unit was constrained by the emphasis on security and prison reorganization.

As the problems with security and organization were gradually reduced during the period of April, 1974 through July, 1975, and the structure of the rehabilitation program slowly changed. The present study will summarize the changes through a formal organizational analysis, to follow.

## Results

As it was originally established, the rehabilitation program consisted of seven component sections. Organizational

Chart #1 illustrates the overall structure as originally conceived.<sup>1</sup> One major and obvious problem in the original program was its ambitiousness, a flaw that is reflected in the number of sub-units. It appears that in adopting the framework set out by Criminal Justice Coordinating Council planners, the rehabilitation administrators failed to take into account (1) the newness of the sheriff, (2) the problems in the prison, and (3) the absence of any tradition of correctional work or personnel. Given those constraints, and the advantage of hindsight, it would seem that a more modest program might have been established as the goal. The use of a family services and volunteer sections at the outset of a major structural and programmatic innovation suggests a misreading of the level of difficulty in program implementation. Ideally, the program should have first established its credibility in the prison through a narrow range of tightly controlled activities, and only then expand services and open new sections.

The structural problems of the program (i.e., attempting a great number of functions in an uncertain, if not unfavorable, context) were reinforced by the pattern of staffing. The single most important factor was the almost total absence of administrative experience among those persons selected to head the program. (See Personnel Chart #1) The tenuous nature of demonstration programs has been shown to require leadership and

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<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that this chart was created after the fact by the evaluators. Neither the planning document in the TARGET AREA plan nor the grant application provides an overview of positions. The chart depicts the actual structure of the program at that point.

an understanding of program management. Neither the program director nor any of his major administrative staff had prior management experience. Moreover, many had no experience in corrections or rehabilitation. Although most met the educational criteria for their positions, the combined absence of administrative experience and/or rehabilitation experience was the most prominent characteristic of the initial staffing of the rehabilitation unit. (The one exception to this statement may be the assistant director, whose diverse work experience probably provided a minimal level of prior management activity.) The one staff member with both education and experience was newly hired and untested in the program.

By January of 1975, the structure of the program had been significantly changed. (See Organizational Chart #2) The seven original independent units had been merged into four units, all of which are responsible to the Director of Counseling and Classification. Family and volunteer services are now sub-units of the counseling division. The number of teachers has been increased and the vocational education instructors have been reduced.

The most significant changes in the structure of the program have been (1) the shifts in personnel and (2) the development of new authority among certain administrators. Both types of change have occurred gradually, and it is difficult to establish a precise date. The two events of importance are the appointment of a new director and the program's use of the Director of Counseling as a member of the program management team. (See Personnel Chart #2)

The new director possesses many of the requisite skills required in the original grant application. He has a background in sociology and social work and work experience. The Director of Counseling and Classification has been working in that capacity for a year and has, both by qualifications and experience, raised the level of potential performance for the program.

Other changes in personnel reflect the shift toward greater professionalism in the unit. Nearly all employees have the appropriate training, and many have prior experience (some have accumulated that experience on the job). Although two of the present staff seem inappropriate, that figure represents a substantial reduction from one year earlier.

### Conclusion

A formal organizational analysis leaves many important questions unanswered. The usefulness of such an approach is limited to an assessment of the logic of the structure of the program as identified in the grant or planning document, and as a comparison of education and experience required by the grant for positions in the program to the actual histories of persons hired.

It appears that the program has, during the course of the grant, improved its organization and upgraded the quality of personnel in administrative positions. Judged on the basis of organizational charts and staff histories, the program is taking an increasingly professional orientation.

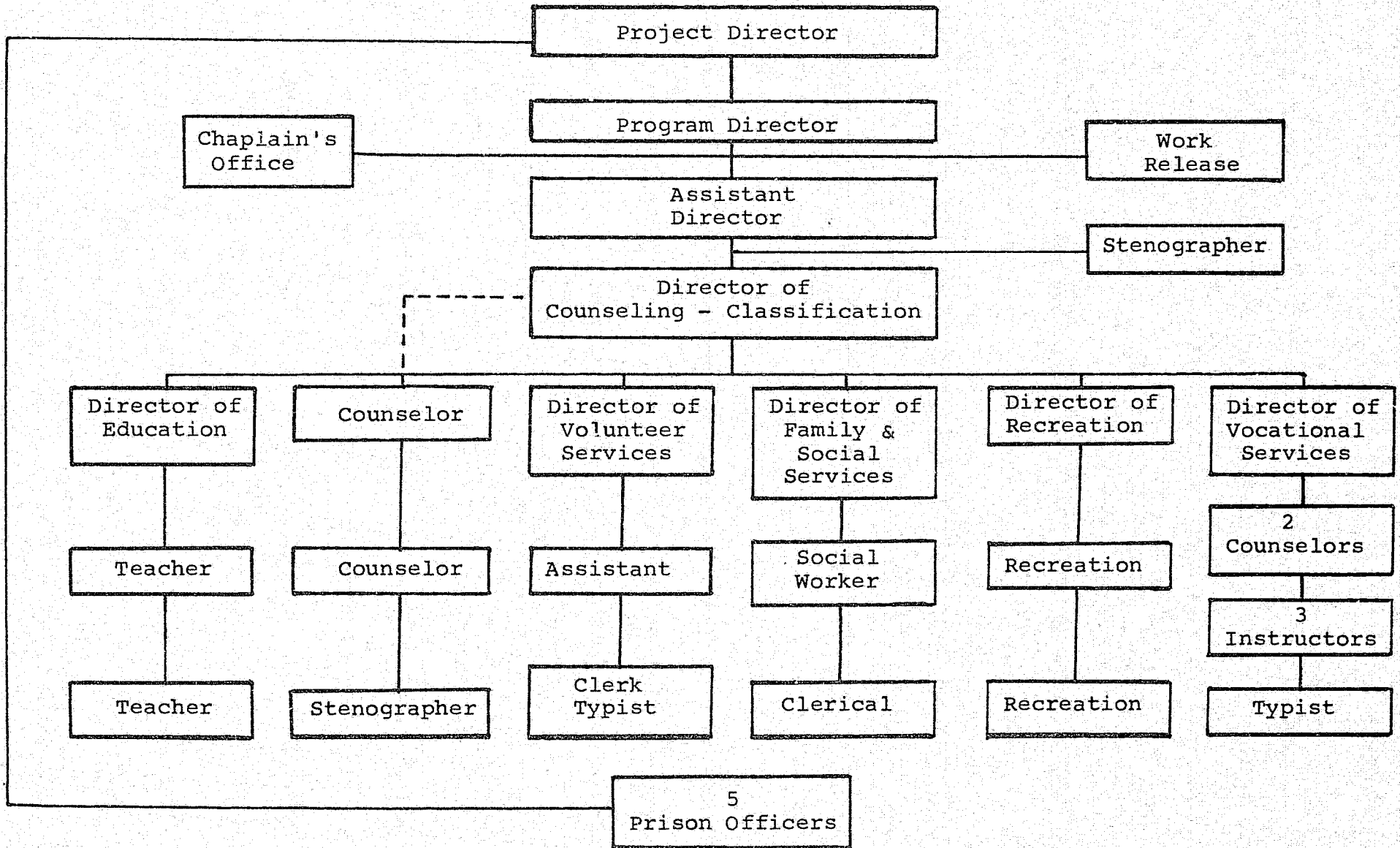


The present analysis, although favorable, has limited implications for the actual performance of the unit or for the impact of the unit on the goals identified in the planning document. Both of these aspects must await an evaluation of the unit, scheduled to be released in June, 1976.

As an aid to the reader, we have included self-reported statistics by the program of service delivery and client throughput as of January, 1976.

PARISH PRISON REHABILITATION PROGRAM

Organizational Chart #1



PERSONNEL CHART #1

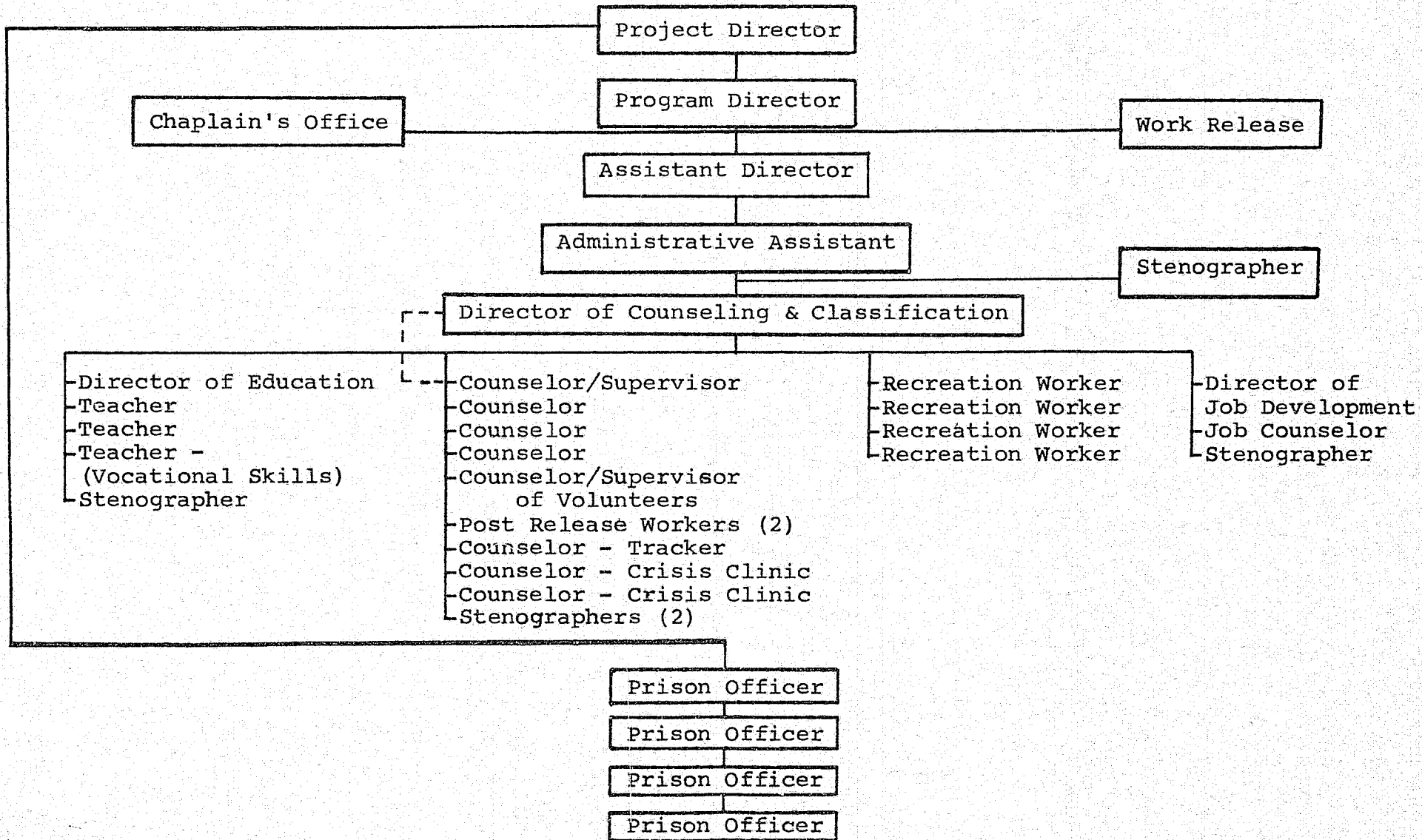
Job Title	Job Requirements	Person Hired	Education/Experience
Director	Administrative experience in a successful rehab at another institution. Degree related field (prefer grad).	A. J. Goubler	Pre-law, 3 yrs at UNO LLB - Loyola
Assistant Director	Degree in related field (prefer grad). Work experience in rehab.	Harold Montgomery	B.S. and related experience
Director of Counseling/Class	Clinical psychologist	Margaret De Blieux	M.E.D. and related experience Certified counselor
Counselor	College graduate	Gail Kelly	B.A. - Sociology Some training-Gestalt
Counselor	College graduate	Elaine Cunningham	M.S.W. Related experience
Director of Education	Most administrative experience of three certified teachers	Melinda Bravo	M.S.W. Related experience
Teacher	Certified teacher	Vacant	---
Teacher	Certified teacher	Vacant	---

<u>Job Title</u>	<u>Job Requirements</u>	<u>Person Hired</u>	<u>Education/Experience</u>
Director of Vocational Services (Job Placement Counselor)	Most experienced counselor	Terry Alarcon	M.S.W. Related experience
Job Placement Counselor	None listed	Samuel Cowart	B.S. and related experience
Counselor	None listed	William Frost	Related experience
Counselor	None listed	Charles Jones	B.S. - Business Administration
Counselor	None listed	Ernest Laurent	---
Director of Recreation	None listed	Anthony Washington	2 yrs college P.E. Related experience
Recreation worker	None listed	Vacant	---
Director of Family and Social Services	M.S.W.	Vacant	---
Social Worker	None listed	Phyllis Nabonne	B.A. - Social Work major

Job Title	Job Requirements	Person Hired	Education/Experience
Director of Volunteer Recruitment/Develop- ment	College degree Experience in vol.	Gail Terry	B.A. Related experience
Assistant	Experience with volunteers	Vacant	---

PARISH PRISON REHABILITATION PROGRAM

Organizational Chart #2



PERSONNEL CHART #2

Job Title	Job Requirements	Person Hired	Education/Experience
Director	Graduate degree preferred. Administrative experience elsewhere	Hillary Carrere	B.A. in Sociology/ Social Work Related administrative experience
Assistant Director	Degree in related field (graduate preferred) Experience in rehab	Harold Montgomery	M.S. in Recreation Substantial related experience
Administrative Assistant	Graduate degree Work experience in rehabilitation	Terry Alarcon	M.S.W. Related experience
Director of Counseling/ Classification	Clinical psychology	Margaret De Blieux	M.E.D. and related experience Certified counselor
Counselor/ Supervisor	M.S.W. or related field	A. J. Goubler	Pre-law, L.L.B.
Counselor	College graduate	Esther Hill	B.A. - Sociology
Counselor	College graduate	Phyllis Nabonne	B.A. - Sociology

<u>Job Title</u>	<u>Job Requirements</u>	<u>Person Hired</u>	<u>Education/Experience</u>
Counselor	College graduate	Gail Kelly	B.S. - Sociology Considerable volunteer experience
Counselor/Supervisor of Volunteer Services	College graduate Experience with volunteers	Terry Geer	B.A. - English Law school, related organizational experience
Counselor/Pre- Release Worker	College graduate	Fanny Harris	3 yrs college Training in Gestalt therapy and Trans- actional Analysis Substantial related experience
Counselor/ Crisis Clinic	College graduate	Kenneth Lombard	B.S. - Accounting Related experience
Counselor/ Crisis Clinic	College graduate	Not filled	---
Counselor/ Crisis Clinic	College graduate	Not filled	---
Director of Education	Certified teacher	Melinda Bravo	M.S.W. Related experience



Job Title	Job Requirements	Person Hired	Education/Experience
Teacher	Certified teacher	Diane Kelly	B.A., Certified La. teacher, special education, related experience
Teacher	Certified teacher	Adele Adler	M.S. - Education Certified La. teacher Teaching experience
Teacher (Vocational Skills)	Certified teacher	Sylvia Spears	B.S. - Art Education Certified La. teacher
Director of Job Development	None listed	Alfred Foster	75 hrs college J.P. Sheriff's Office Considerable related work experience
Job Counselor	None listed	Samuel Cowart	B.S. - Business Administration In Graduate School Related work experience
Recreation Worker	None listed	James Branche	Some college Related experience
Recreation Worker	None listed	Ray Worthy	College graduate Related work experience

APPENDIX B

Table VI

A COMPARISON OF HIGHEST GRADE  
COMPLETED WITH CAT SCORES \*

<u>Highest Grade Completed</u>	<u>CAT Score - T<sub>1</sub></u>
10	11.8
9	7.8
10	7.7
9	6.1
9	7.2
11	11.1
11	12.8
10	9.5
10	10.5
8	4.5
9	8.6
9	6.0
10	11.0
6	10.5
8	8.5
8	8.6
8	4.5
8	7.2
8	6.0
9	12.0
8	7.0

<u>Highest Grade Completed</u>	<u>CAT Score - T<sub>1</sub></u>
9	8.0
9	7.1
8	7.8
8	6.1
8	2.1
10	11.1
11	13.9
6	3.5
7	7.5
9	6.1
6	3.0
11	7.7
10	10.5
8	7.1
8	7.1
10	12.0
9	11.5
10	9.0
10	7.6
10	9.9
9	8.5
10	6.1
9	6.5
8	5.1
11	12.0

<u>Highest Grade Completed</u>	<u>CAT Score - T<sub>1</sub></u>
7	6.1
7	8.5
9	6.8
10	10.8
9	4.3
10	9.9
11	8.3
11	11.0
9	4.7

$\bar{X}$  Grade Completed = 9.0

$\bar{X}$  CAT Score T<sub>1</sub> = 8.11

N = 55

---

\*The California Achievement Test was administered prior to the beginning of classes.

Table VII

## INMATE GRADE LEVEL PERFORMANCE

<u>Expected Grade Increment *</u>	<u>Observed Grade Increment</u>	<u>Difference</u>
2.0	1.2	.8
1.6	1.0	.6
3.2	5.4	-2.2
1.9	2.8	-.9
2.1	1.3	.8
2.8	2.1	.7
2.6	1.1	1.5
3.3	.6	2.7
.9	2.7	-1.8
3.6	2.4	1.2
1.3	3.6	-2.3
1.7	2.4	-.7
2.0	2.6	-.6
3.2	1.1	2.1
1.6	4.5	-2.9
.9	1.0	-.1
1.3	1.4	-.1
1.8	1.5	.3
3.2	2.4	.8
1.1	1.1	0
.9	1.0	-.1

<u>Expected Grade Increment</u>	<u>Observed Grade Increment</u>	<u>Difference</u>
2.9	1.4	1.5
2.9	1.1	1.8
3.5	2.1	1.4
3.3	1.1	2.2
2.1	1.2	.9
4.3	1.1	3.2
4.0	1.0	3.0
6.2	2.1	4.1
3.0	1.0	2.0
1.0	3.6	-2.6
5.8	1.2	4.6
4.8	5.3	- .5
.6	1.1	- .5
4.4	5.9	-1.5
.5	1.0	- .5
.9	1.1	- .2
3.0	1.1	1.9
3.0	1.1	1.9
3.2	4.2	-1.0
4.0	3.1	.9
2.2	3.7	-1.5
3.6	7.1	-3.5
1.1	6.6	-5.5
1.5	2.5	-1.0
2.3	1.9	.4

<u>Expected Grade Increment</u>	<u>Observed Grade Increment</u>	<u>Difference</u>
3.0	1.1	1.9
4.0	1.4	2.6
2.5	4.1	-1.6
3.2	2.4	.8
3.0	6.2	-3.2
.9	1.4	-.5
1.1	4.8	-3.7
1.1	.5	.6
2.3	1.2	1.1

Standard Grade Increment = .17  
 X Observed Increment = 2.34  
 S for Observed Scores = 1.69  
 % Exceeding Expected Standard Increment = 45% (25)

---

\*Computed by multiplying the standard expected increment (.042) per classroom hour against total classroom hours. For an explanation of the standard increment, see the section, Evaluation Design: Service Delivery.



Raw Scores for Summary  
Table VIII

A REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF RECIDIVISM\*  
FOR INMATES PARTICIPATING IN COUNSELING

Observation	Sessions	Rearrests <sup>+</sup>
1	1	1
2	59	1
3	32	0
4	45	0
5	3	0
6	3	0
7	8	0
8	3	1
9	3	0
10	6	1
11	46	1
12	3	1
13	4	0
14	6	1
15	3	9
16	1	1
17	2	1
18	4	1
19	3	0
20	1	0

Observation	Sessions	Rearrests
21	5	0
22	6	1
23	10	1
24	6	1
25	1	1
26	6	1
27	1	0
28	11	0
29	2	1
30	3	1
31	6	1
32	2	1
33	2	1
34	2	1
35	1	1
36	3	1
37	4	0
38	2	1
39	11	1
40	2	1
41	9	0
42	1	1
43	9	1
44	11	1
45	4	0

Observation	Sessions	Rearrests
46	3	0
47	1	0
48	17	1
49	6	0
50	3	1
51	3	1
52	2	0
53	7	0
54	8	1
55	1	1
56	3	1
57	5	1
58	9	1
59	5	1
60	1	0
61	5	1
62	8	1
63	1	0
64	13	0
65	4	1
66	17	1
67	9	1
68	2	0
69	3	1
70	36	1

Observation	Sessions	Rearrests
71	4	1
72	2	0
73	7	1
74	3	1
75	3	1
76	1	1
77	1	0
78	1	1
79	1	1

Coefficient of Determination ( $R^2$ ) = .019

---

\*Using measure number 1 - simple rearrest, all charges.

+Rearrest = 1  
No Arrest = 0

Raw Scores for Summary  
Table IX

A WITHIN GROUPS COMPARISON OF  
FOLLOW UP PERIODS FOR THE  
COUNSELING SAMPLE

Rearrests All Charges	Rearrests State Charges Accepted By the District Attorney
6.5 Months	6.5 Months
7.0 "	7.0 "
7.0 "	7.0 "
7.0 "	8.5 "
7.0 "	9.0 "
7.5 "	9.0 "
7.5 "	9.0 "
7.5 "	10.5 "
8.0 "	12.5 "
8.0 "	13.5 "
8.0 "	14.0 "
8.0 "	14.0 "
9.0 "	14.0 "
9.0 "	15.5 "
10.0 "	15.5 "
10.0 "	17.0 "
10.0 "	17.5 "
10.5 "	18.0 "

Rearrests All Charges	Rearrests State Charges Accepted By the District Attorney
11.0 Months	18.0 Months
11.0 "	18.5 "
11.0 "	18.5 "
11.5 "	19.0 "
12.5 "	19.5 "
13.0 "	20.0 "
13.0 "	
13.0 "	
13.5 "	
13.5 "	
13.5 "	
13.5 "	
14.0 "	
14.5 "	
14.5 "	
14.5 "	
14.5 "	
15.0 "	
15.0 "	
15.0 "	
15.0 "	
15.0 "	
15.0 "	
15.5 "	

Rearrests All Charges	Rearrests State Charges Accepted By the District Attorney
16.0 Months	
16.0 "	
16.0 "	
16.5 "	
18.0 "	
18.5 "	
18.5 "	
18.5 "	
18.5 "	
19.0 "	
19.0 "	
20.0 "	

	Rearrests All Charges	Rearrests State Charges
$\bar{X}$ Follow Up Period	12.8 Months	13.8 Months
Median Follow Up Period	13.5 "	14.0 "
Standard Deviation	3.9	4.6

Raw Scores for Summary  
Table IX

A REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF RECIDIVISM\*  
FOR INMATES PARTICIPATING IN COUNSELING

Observation	Sessions	Rearrests <sup>+</sup>
1	3	0
2	36	0
3	4	1
4	2	0
5	7	0
6	3	0
7	3	1
8	1	0
9	1	0
10	1	1
11	1	0
12	59	0
13	32	0
14	45	0
15	3	0
16	3	0
17	8	0
18	3	0
19	3	0
20	6	0



Observation	Sessions	Rearrests
21	46	0
22	3	1
23	4	0
24	6	1
25	1	1
26	2	1
27	3	0
28	6	1
29	2	1
30	2	0
31	2	0
32	1	1
33	3	1
34	4	0
35	2	1
36	11	1
37	1	0
38	2	0
39	4	1
40	3	0
41	1	0
42	6	0
43	10	1
44	6	0
45	1	0

Observation	Sessions	Rearrests
46	6	1
47	1	0
48	11	0
49	2	1
50	9	0
51	1	1
52	9	0
53	11	0
54	4	0
55	3	0
56	1	0
57	17	1
58	6	0
59	3	1
60	3	0
61	2	0
62	7	0
63	8	0
64	1	0
65	3	0
66	5	1
67	9	0
68	5	1
69	1	0
70	1	0

Observation	Sessions	Rearrests
71	13	0
72	4	0
73	17	1
74	9	0
75	2	0
76	5	0
77	8	1

Coefficient of Determination ( $R^2$ ) = .014

---

\*Using measure number 3, arrests accepted by the District Attorney.

+Rearrest = 1  
 No Arrest = 0

Raw Scores for Summary  
Table XI(a)

A BETWEEN GROUPS COMPARISON OF FOLLOW-UP  
PERIODS FOR INMATES IN THE  
WORK RELEASE AND COMPARISON GROUPS

Observation	Work Release Group	Comparison Group
1	5.0	8.5
2	5.0	9.5
3	5.5	10.0
4	6.0	10.5
5	6.5	10.5
6	6.5	11.0
7	7.0	11.5
8	7.0	11.5
9	7.0	11.5
10	7.0	11.5
11	8.0	11.5
12	8.0	12.0
13	8.0	12.0
14	8.0	13.0
15	8.5	13.0
16	8.5	13.0
17	8.5	13.0
18	9.0	13.0
19	9.0	13.0

Observation	Work Release Group	Comparison Group
20	9.5	13.5
21	9.5	13.5
22	9.5	13.5
23	9.5	14.0
24	10.0	14.0
25	10.0	14.0
26	10.0	14.0
27	10.0	14.0
28	10.0	14.0
29	10.5	14.0
30	10.5	14.0
31	10.5	14.0
32	11.0	14.0
33	11.0	14.0
34	11.0	14.5
35	11.5	14.5
36	11.5	14.5
37	12.0	14.5
38	12.0	14.5
39	12.0	15.0
40	12.0	15.0
41	12.5	15.0
42	12.5	15.0
43	12.5	15.0
44	12.5	15.0

Observation	Work Release Group	Comparison Group
45	13.0	15.0
46	13.0	15.0
47	13.0	15.0
48	13.0	15.0
49	13.5	15.5
50	13.5	15.5
51	13.5	15.5
52	14.0	15.5
53	14.0	16.0
54	14.0	16.0
55	14.0	16.0
56	14.0	16.5
57	14.0	16.5
58	14.0	16.5
59	14.5	16.5
60	14.5	16.5
61	14.5	16.5
62	14.5	16.5
63	14.5	17.0
64	15.0	17.0
65	15.0	17.0
66	15.0	17.0
67	15.5	17.0
68	15.5	17.0
69	15.5	17.0

Observation	Work Release Group	Comparison Group
70	15.5	18.0
71	16.0	18.0
72	16.0	18.0
73	16.5	19.5
74	16.5	19.5
75	17.0	19.5
76	17.0	20.0
77	18.0	20.0

Work Release Group	Comparison Group
$\bar{X} = 11.74$	N = 77
Median = 12.00	$\bar{X} = 14.72$
S = 3.37	Median = 15.00
	S = 2.45

Raw Scores for Summary  
Table XI (b)

A WITHIN GROUP COMPARISON OF  
FOLLOW UP PERIODS FOR WORK RELEASE AND  
COMPARISON GROUP INMATES

Work Release		Comparison	
Arrested	Not Arrested	Arrested	Not Arrested
5.0	6.5	10.5	8.5
5.0	7.0	10.5	9.5
5.5	7.0	11.5	10.0
6.0	7.0	11.5	11.0
7.0	8.0	11.5	11.5
8.0	8.0	12.0	11.5
8.5	8.0	13.0	12.0
8.5	8.5	13.0	13.0
9.0	10.0	13.0	13.0
9.0	10.0	13.5	13.0
9.5	10.0	13.5	13.5
9.5	10.5	14.0	14.0
9.5	11.0	14.0	14.0
9.5	11.5	14.0	14.0
10.5	11.5	14.0	15.0
10.0	12.5	14.0	15.0
10.5	12.5	14.0	15.0
10.5	13.0	14.0	15.0



Work Release		Comparison	
Arrested	Not Arrested	Arrested	Not Arrested
11.0	13.0	14.0	15.5
11.0	13.0	14.5	15.5
12.0	13.5	14.5	16.0
12.0	14.0	14.5	16.0
12.0	14.0	14.5	16.5
12.0	14.5	14.5	17.0
12.5	15.0	15.0	17.0
12.5	15.0	15.0	19.5
13.0	16.0	15.0	
13.5	19.5	15.0	
13.5		15.0	
14.0		15.0	
14.0		15.5	
14.0		15.5	
14.0		16.0	
14.5		16.5	
14.5		16.5	
14.5		16.5	
14.5		16.5	
15.0		16.5	
15.5		16.5	
15.5		17.0	
15.5		17.0	
15.5		17.0	

Work Release		Comparison	
Arrested	Not Arrested	Arrested	Not Arrested
16.0		17.0	
16.5		17.0	
16.5		18.0	
17.0		18.0	
17.0		18.0	
18.0		19.5	
		19.5	
		20.0	
		20.0	

Work Release		Comparison	
Arrested	Not Arrested	Arrested	Not Arrested
N = 49	N = 28	N = 51	N = 26
$\bar{X}$ = 11.92	$\bar{X}$ = 11.43	$\bar{X}$ = 15.14	$\bar{X}$ = 13.90
Median = 12.00	Median = 11.50	Median = 15.00	Median = 14.00
S = 3.47	S = 3.23	S = 2.30	S = 2.58

Raw Scores for Summary  
Table XI(c)

FOLLOW UP PERIODS FOR INMATES REARRESTED  
WHOSE CASES WERE ACCEPTED BY  
THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY

WORK RELEASE AND COMPARISON GROUPS

Work Release <sup>1</sup>	Comparison <sup>2</sup>
Months	Months
5.0	10.5
5.5	10.5
7.0	11.5
8.0	12.0
9.0	13.0
10.5	13.0
12.0	13.0
13.0	14.0
14.0	14.0
14.0	14.0
14.5	14.5
14.5	15.0
14.5	15.0
15.0	15.5
15.5	16.5
15.5	16.5
16.0	16.5

Work Release	Comparison
Months	Months
17.0	17.0
17.0	17.0
18.0	17.0
	18.0
	18.0
	20.0

$\bar{X}$  = 12.17  
 Median = 14.00  
 S = 4.74

$\bar{X}$  = 14.86  
 Median = 15.00  
 S = 2.50

---

<sup>1</sup> Sample size is 20.

<sup>2</sup> Sample size is 23.

Raw Scores for Summary  
Table XII (a)

A REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF INMATES  
PARTICIPATING IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Observation	Educational Difference Score <sup>1</sup>	Simple Arrest <sup>2</sup> Recidivism
1	- .8	1.0
2	- .6	1.0
3	2.2	1.0
4	.9	.0
5	- .7	1.0
6	-1.5	.0
7	-1.2	.0
8	2.3	1.0
9	2.9	.0
10	.1	1.0
11	.1	1.0
12	- .8	1.0
13	.0	1.0
14	-1.9	1.0
15	1.0	.0
16	1.5	1.0
17	5.5	.0
18	1.0	1.0
19	-1.9	1.0
20	1.6	1.0

Observation	Education Difference Score	Simple Arrest Recidivism
21	- .8	1.0
22	3.2	1.0
23	.5	1.0
24	3.7	1.0
25	- .6	1.0
26	-1.1	1.0
27	- .9	.0
28	-1.5	1.0
29	-1.4	.0
30	-2.2	1.0
31	-3.2	1.0
32	-4.2	1.0
33	2.6	.0
34	-4.6	.0
35	.5	1.0
36	.2	1.0
37	- .9	1.0
38	-1.9	1.0

Coefficient of Determination ( $R^2$ ) = .014

<sup>1</sup>Expected score minus observed score. The differences were originally negatively skewed so that an inmate who performed better than expected would have a minus score. For clarity, the signs have been reversed. A positive score is to be equated with superior performance.

<sup>2</sup>Arrest, irrespective of charge.

Raw Scores for Summary  
Table XII(b)

A REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF INMATES  
PARTICIPATING IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Observation	Educational Difference Score	Rearrest <sup>1</sup> (Quality)
1	- .8	.0
2	- .6	.0
3	2.2	1.0
4	.9	.0
5	- .7	1.0
6	-1.5	.0
7	-1.2	.0
8	2.3	.0
9	2.9	.0
10	.1	1.0
11	.1	1.0
12	- .8	1.0
13	.0	.0
14	-1.9	1.0
15	1.0	.0
16	1.5	1.0
17	5.5	.0
18	1.0	.0
19	-1.9	1.0
20	1.6	1.0

Observation	Educational Difference Score	Rearrest (Quality)
21	- .8	.0
22	3.2	.0
23	.5	.0
24	3.7	1.0
25	- .6	.0
26	-1.1	1.0
27	- .9	.0
28	-1.5	.0
29	-1.4	.0
30	-2.2	.0
31	-3.2	1.0
32	-4.2	1.0
33	2.6	.0
34	-4.6	.0
35	.5	.0
36	.2	1.0
37	- .9	1.0
38	-1.9	.0

Coefficient of determination ( $R^2$ ) = .011

<sup>1</sup>State charges that were accepted for prosecution by the District Attorney.



Raw Scores for Summary  
Table XIV

A WITHIN GROUP COMPARISON OF FOLLOW UP  
PERIODS FOR THE EDUCATION SAMPLE

Rearrest All Charges (Months)	Rearrest State Charges Accepted By the District Attorney (Months)
5.0	9.0
5.5	11.0
6.0	12.0
9.5	12.0
9.5	12.0
11.0	12.5
12.5	17.5
13.0	18.0
14.0	19.0
16.0	20.0
16.5	20.0
17.0	21.0
17.0	21.0
17.0	21.0
17.5	22.5
18.0	

Rearrest All Charges (Months)	Rearrest State Charges Accepted By the District Attorney (Months)
19.0	
19.0	
19.5	
19.5	
22.5	

	Rearrest All Charges	Rearrest State Charges
$\bar{X}$ Follow Up Period	14.5	16.6
Median Follow Up Period	16.5	18.0
Standard Deviation	5.1	4.6

**END**