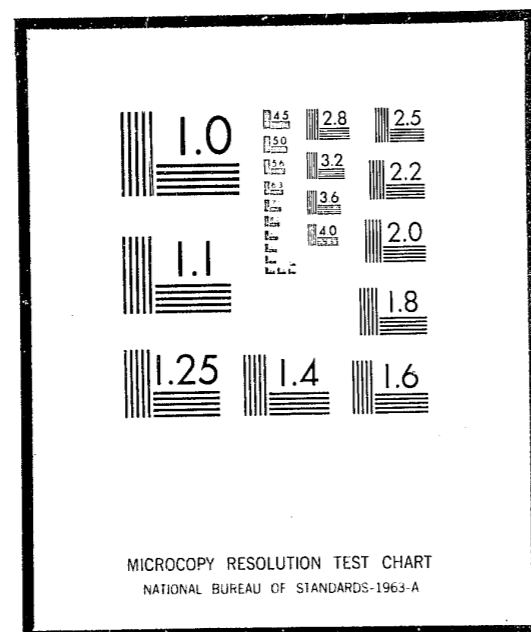


# NCJRS

This microfiche was produced from documents received for inclusion in the NCJRS data base. Since NCJRS cannot exercise control over the physical condition of the documents submitted, the individual frame quality will vary. The resolution chart on this frame may be used to evaluate the document quality.



Microfilming procedures used to create this fiche comply with the standards set forth in 41CFR 101-11.504

Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the author(s) and do not represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION  
NATIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFERENCE SERVICE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20531

Date filmed

6/30/76

## CRIMINAL JUSTICE MONOGRAPH

### Reintegration of the Offender into the Community

This monograph consists of papers on related topics presented at the Fourth National Symposium on Law Enforcement Science and Technology, May 1-3, 1972 conducted by:

THE INSTITUTE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE  
AND CRIMINOLOGY  
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

The Symposium was supported by Contract Number J-LEAA-021-72 awarded by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. Points of view or opinions stated in the papers are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official positions or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

June 1973

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration  
National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice

## SYMPOSIUM COMMITTEE

### The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration

Mary Ann Beck, Chairman

Michael Ash

W. Robert Burkhart

Thomas Clark

Philip Cheilik

Paul Estaver

Louis Mayo

John Pickett

Arne Schoeller

### The Institute of Criminal Justice and Criminology

#### University of Maryland

Dr. Peter Lejins

Dr. Charles Wellford

Arthur Halligan

James Edgar

## FOREWORD

This publication is one of a series of nine monographs extracted from the Proceedings of the Fourth National Symposium on Law Enforcement Science and Technology.

The principal Symposium theme of "Crime Prevention and Deterrence" was chosen by the National Institute as a reflection of LEAA's overall action goal - the reduction of crime and delinquency. Whereas previous Symposia examined methods of improving the operations of individual components of the criminal justice system, the Fourth Symposium was purposefully designed to look beyond these system components and focus on the goal of crime reduction.

A major conference subtheme was "The Management of Change: Putting Criminal Justice Innovations to Work." The Institute's overall mission is in the area of applied rather than basic research, with special attention being given to research that can be translated into operational terms within a relatively short period of time. We have therefore been interested in exploring the obstacles to the adoption of new technology by criminal justice agencies. Many of the Symposium papers identify these obstacles - attitudinal, organizational, and political - and discuss how they are being overcome in specific agency settings.

The titles of the nine Symposium monographs are: Deterrence of Crime in and Around Residences; Research on the Control of Street Crime; Reducing Court Delay; Prevention of Violence in Correctional Institutions; Re-integration of the Offender into the Community; New Approaches to Diversion and Treatment of Juvenile Offenders; The Change Process in Criminal Justice; Innovation in Law Enforcement, and Progress Report of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals.

This monograph assesses where we are in solving the problems of the offender returning to society. The development of reentry services from work release to halfway houses are described and evaluated. The papers also consider the effect of community pressures on reentry efforts and the means by which community support can be mobilized to aid the adjustment process.

Martin B. Danziger  
Assistant Administrator  
National Institute of Law Enforcement  
and Criminal Justice

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	vii
REINTEGRATION OF THE OFFENDER INTO THE COMMUNITY-- Milton Burdman, Deputy Director, California Department of Corrections. . . . .	1
REINTEGRATION: PRACTICE IN SEARCH OF A THEORY-- John Conrad, Operations Specialist, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. . . . .	10
OFFENDER TYPOLOGY AND FAMILY INTERACTION: AN EVAL- UATION OF PROBATION SUCCESS IN OKLAHOMA--Lewis H. Irving, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Sociology, Central State University and Harjit S. Sandhu, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sociology, Oklahoma State University . . . . .	29
REINTEGRATION FROM THE PAROLEE'S PERSPECTIVE-- Elliot Studt, Professor, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Los Angeles. . . . .	42

## INTRODUCTION

The Fourth National Symposium on Law Enforcement Science and Technology was held in Washington, D.C. on May 1-3, 1972. Like the three previous Symposia, it was sponsored by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The Fourth Symposium was conducted by the Institute of Criminal Justice and Criminology of the University of Maryland.

These Symposia are one of the means by which the National Institute strives to achieve the objective of strengthening criminal justice in this country through research and development. The Symposia bring into direct contact the research and development community with the operational personnel of the law enforcement systems. The most recent accomplishments of "science and technology" in the area of criminal justice are presented to operational agencies - law enforcement, courts, and corrections - in a series of workshops and plenary sessions. The give and take of the workshops, followed by informal discussions between the more formal gatherings, provide the scholar and researcher with the all important response and criticism of the practitioner, while the latter has the opportunity to hear the analyst and the planner present the newest suggestions, trends and prospects for the future. In the case of the Fourth Symposium, these opportunities were amply utilized by over 900 participants from across the country.

The specific theme of the Fourth Symposium was "Crime Prevention and Deterrence." The content and the work of the Symposium must be seen against the immediate background of the activities of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, which was appointed several months earlier and by the time of the Symposium was deeply involved in its mammoth task. Another major background factor was the National Conference on Corrections, held in Williamsburg shortly before. More generally, of course, the Symposium was one of many activities in the all-encompassing national effort to reduce crime embodied in the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, and the subsequently established Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

A twelve-member Symposium committee made up of representatives of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the Institute of Criminal Justice and Criminology of the University of Maryland was responsible for planning and arranging the Program. The program, extending over three days, was organized around three daily subthemes which were highlighted in morning plenary sessions. These

subthemes were further explored in papers and discussions grouped around more specific topics in the afternoon workshops.

The first day was one of taking stock of recent accomplishments. Richard A. McGee, President of the American Justice Institute, reviewed the progress of the last five years, and Arthur J. Bilek, Chairman of the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission, addressed himself to criminal justice as a system, the progress made toward coordination, and the ills of a non-system. The six afternoon workshops of the first day dealt with recent accomplishments in prevention and deterrence of crime around residences, violence in correctional institutions, control of street crime, court delay, community involvement in crime prevention, and the reintegration of offenders into the community.

The subtheme of the second day was formulated as "The Management of Change - Putting Innovations to Work." This is a reference to the frequently noted fact that the findings of many research projects all too often do not result in operational implementation, in spite of the funds, energy and competence invested in them. New methods that are adopted often prematurely die on the vine, with the old routines winning out and continuing on as before. The objective of the Symposium sessions was to identify the obstacles to change and to explore ways of overcoming them. Thus two papers given in the morning plenary session by Robert B. Duncan of Northwestern University and John Gardiner of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice dealt, respectively, with attitudinal and political obstacles to change. The five afternoon workshops developed this theme further by discussing the change process within specific law enforcement and correctional settings. From there attention shifted to the role that public service groups play in the process of change, the pilot cities experience, and the diversion of juvenile offenders from the criminal justice system.

The third day of the Symposium was turned over to the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. The daily subtheme was listed as "Future Priorities." More particularly, however, this was a series of progress reports on the all important activities of the Commission, presented by the Executive Director, Thomas J. Madden, and representatives of the Commission's four Operational Task Forces on standards and goals for police, the courts, corrections, and community crime prevention.

Finally, there was a presentation on the management of change within the eight "Impact Cities" - a major program of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration - by Gerald P. Emmer, Chairman

of LEAA's Office of Inspection and Review.

By reproducing the contributed papers of the Symposium, the Proceedings admirably reflect the current intellectual climate of the criminal justice system in this country. It should be kept in mind that the majority of these papers present the results of research and demonstration projects - many of them experimental and exploratory - which have been funded by State and/or Federal agencies and private functions. Thus these papers do not only reflect the opinions of their authors, but are also indicative of the total climate of action, thought, and quest for new solutions regarding the crime problem in this country.

No reproduction of the papers of a professional meeting can fully reflect the flavor and the total contribution of the event. The questions and remarks from the meeting floor, the discussions in the workshops, the remarks exchanged in the corridors, over meals, or in the rooms of the participants often represent the major accomplishment of such a gathering. New face-to-face contacts and awareness of things done by others - both individuals and agencies - is often the most important byproduct the participant takes home with him. This Symposium was rich in all of this. Close to one thousand persons from all over the country, representing all component elements of the criminal justice system mingled together for three days under the aegis of a major Federal effort to do something about crime and delinquency, which have risen to unprecedented prominence over the last decade. The Symposium provided the needed national forum for all those engaged in the crime prevention and control effort.

Peter P. Lejins, Director  
Institute of Criminal Justice and  
Criminology  
University of Maryland

REINTEGRATION OF THE OFFENDER INTO THE COMMUNITY

Milton Burdman  
Deputy Director  
California Department of Corrections

Introduction: Identification of the Problems and Issues

That there has been increasing attention to the offender in his relationship to community life is self-evident. Whatever the words used--reintegration, reentry, socialization, there has been growing concern with the need to develop more effective ways of having the community accept juvenile delinquents and adult offenders into the mainstream. There are three global concepts which provide the rational support for recognizing the problem and working with it. They are as follows:

1. The disabling character of institutional life and offender status.--For reasons associated with tradition, the need for control and some legal requirements, the country has built and operates a large number of sizeable facilities which have some common characteristics: single sex communities, control perimeters with small areas, residents under almost constant observation, and under controlled decision process for most of life' choices. The inmates, therefore, have a very explicit assigned status, with little opportunity for privacy or anonymity. They are absented from meaningful persons in their non-criminal life, if there are any such. They are placed within a limited occupational world.

Most of the persons who initially have marginal social, economic or vocational capacities; perhaps, they have other personal impairments. Yet, there is an implicit public assumption that somehow with the passage of time, perhaps with some vocational, employment, or counseling exposure, and with some personal reflection on the punishment imposed, there will occur some regeneration of will and habit patterns to allow for non-criminal life to occur.

The controlled aspects of institutions are working with some success-- though currently with increasing internal disorder. Despite these successes, there is increasing recognition that traditional institutions are not well suited to prepare most people for return to the community with necessary skills, social adaptations, and habit patterns to serve them constructively.

2. Increasing Complexity of Contemporary Life.-- The problems of modern living have introduced complexities and tensions which perhaps have made it more difficult than in former years for all people to find a satisfying niche in the mainstream of society. These characteristics pose even greater obstacles to people with special individual difficulties.

Among the more recognizable issues are:

- (a) unstable economic conditions with increasing technological and geographical displacement and vast housing problems of the poor;
- (b) urban congestion and the negative reinforcement of the large distressed ghetto communities;
- (c) disenchantment with and separation from the establishment by many sub-groups, including fast-growing suspicion and distrust of government and particularly of law enforcement agencies;

- (d) public awareness of the inadequacy of medical and mental health programs. Probably health conditions are better than in former years, but there is still the anger regarding reality being slow to catch up with expectations;
- (e) educational system deficiencies with general physical plant inadequacy and program starving of education in general, and the particular vacuum of weak attention to adult education;
- (f) racial - cultural minority group problems with major development of militancy in prisoner rights groups;
- (g) ineffectiveness of present governmental systems with overlap and poor coordination among local, state, and Federal responsibilities to criminal justice practice; also, poorly organized sub-division of the functional components of criminal justice with inadequate linkages among law enforcement, courts, and corrections.

3. Attitudes and Biases of the Established Community.-- From the outset there are some legal status barriers placed around many or most offenders either at the point of arrest or at the point of commitment to an institution. These legal restrictions take the form of civil rights deprivations, employment restrictions by vocational boards, bonding restrictions.

In addition to the legal or quasi-legal restrictions, there are a large number of attitudinal "acts" which operate constantly to pre-judge the convicted offender in his efforts to re-establish himself within the community. These biases may restrict employment, residence, and a general acceptance into full membership within the community.

Given that the foregoing framework will be part of reality for some time, offender reintegration efforts aim to minimize the disabling

factors and optimize supportive activities. To help accomplish those goals, it is useful to sub-divide the problem in two ways: by categories of clientele, and by indicating the largest dimensions of activity involved.

#### Clientele Dimensions

Four types of offense groups would seem to suggest themselves as requiring somewhat different community integration efforts:

1. Direct Probation with no Local Jail Condition.-- Those whose arrest, prosecution, and disposition result in immediate replacement in the community with no confinement time after judgment, comprise a distinct group. We might contend that there is no reentry problem here because there is no separation from the community. I would argue otherwise. First, for many there is the long period of pre-trial confinement. Most certainly there are the disabling effects of the arrest, prosecution, and adjudication process.
2. Jail Inmates.--Mainly, this represents a group in local confinement less than one year, often less than three or four months. While in the main, this group comprises persons with less serious offenses; the jail itself is probably the most benighted social institution on the American scene. There are obvious exceptions, but on the whole the jail term period with its enforced idleness and other negative attributes produces severe blocks for normal human routines. Beyond that, the mainstream of inmates who are repetitive jail residents are persons whose demoralization introduces serious problems for constructive participation in normal community life.
3. Longer-Term Offenders.--Reintegration efforts for those sentenced to prison include problems of one group confined for moderately lengthy terms, perhaps up to two or two and half years; and the special reentry needs for the convicts removed for

long years of close prison confinement. The specific legal handicaps and the "heavier" community attitudes as well as the more serious offense categories for both groups are all relevant factors.

4. Juvenile Offenders.--The young boy or girl in confinement introduce special considerations for community integration with significant aspects of parental problems and implications for special education programs.

#### Major Activities in the Reintegration Process

The four items of most relevance for community reintegration programs are:

1. More realistic adaptation of institutional life to free community realities.--Jails, juvenile institutions, and prisons need to introduce changes which will make them more adaptable to community reality. This means that there will be constant conflict between institutional control and reentry processes. This seems unavoidable.
2. Link to Other Community Agencies.--There are a large number of organizations, public and private, offering services to a wide variety of distressed people. Examples are vocational rehabilitation, mental health, family counseling, drug user programs. One of the major requirements for correctional personnel is to make more successful links to these service agencies.
3. Civic Engagement and Participation.--Both in formal organizations and in individual efforts, there is increasing recognition that volunteer citizen participation offers tremendous strengths in working with offender reintegration problems. Traditionally, this civic participation has come from established religious, trade union, and employer groups. More recently, the self-help movement within distressed communities has added a new feature. One of the needs for the correctional field is to learn more effective methods of engagement of the citizen help movement.



4. Dealing with Public Criticism.--One of the special problems and one special set of solutions needed is that of dealing with heavy public criticism from traditional sources for whom the concept of offenders in the community is foreign and upsetting. In building general public support, there is constant necessity to work successfully with the factors of public opposition.

Assessment of Present "State of the Art"

By now, the public and most officialdom has come to accept the idea that many offenders can be released to the community immediately, via probation or later by parole, without excessive danger and with reasonable expectation for success. For these people who easily or with only mild difficulty resume a predominantly law-abiding life, there is little problem. However, as the movement to extend non-institutional dispositions to larger proportions of the offender population increases, two problems emerge:

1. The correctional field and allied disciplines do not know enough about how to evoke positive response from difficult and socially marginal offenders.
2. Significant segments of the public register dismay about risky and experimental programs which don't always work well. This second factor becomes especially touchy if juvenile wards, probationers, or convicts get into serious difficulty while in community programs.

Yet, despite the big concerns about the problems of offender reintegration, there seems to be an inexorable evolution in this direction. Why? There are at least five big reasons:

- (1) The dramatization of big-bad institutions in western culture has had major impact. The stereotype of the massive fortress prison

staffed by sadistic keepers' has finally become a real political anathema to important segments of this nation's public. While theoretically it would be possible to redesign the country's prison apparatus to feature small living units, the cost and design factors are immense obstacles. Thus, the simpler appeal to many citizens and professionals is to consider by-passing or drastic shortening of institutional confinement and major modification of confinement conditions in order to deal more effectively with the problem.

- (2) The general trend in our society has been to move social problems away from mass institutionalization; e.g., disappearance of orphanages and almshouses, decline of the mass mental hospital, shortening of general hospital stays.
- (3) Heightened political awareness of minority groups focuses attention on criminal justice as a form of political repression, and that same awareness has forced some judicial, executive, and legislative reconsideration of the whole criminal justice process.
- (4) Other than to provide temporary restraint and delay in a criminal career, there is growing statistical evidence that institutional life may be an ineffective and inefficient means of dealing with crime control.
- (5) There is an emerging interest in the problem of crime and criminals in "middle America" citizens, along with desire by some to participate in the understanding and solution of the problem.

## State Prison System and Reintegration Considerations

The essence of the effort to relate prison and reintegration activities lies in the recognition that inmates and parolees are to be seen as people who can be productively engaged in the mainstream of free community life. In planning for a state correctional department responsibility for community reentry, five principles need emphasis. They are as follows:

1. Declaration and organizational recognition of the concept; establishment of a re-entry division or section within the departmental headquarters and within the headquarter's operation of the prison.
2. Prisons should be near and related to major population centers. In situations which make this impractical, terminal institution placement of inmates, for at least the last six months, should be nearest his parole area. Such a system would facilitate temporary leaves for a wide variety of purposes related to community life, (employment, education, recreation, civic participation, frequent and open family visiting, release planning with parole agents and members of other community agencies, neighborhood community involvement in the institutional pre-release life.
3. During these six months the program should focus top priority on release preparation. This programming should cover: refresher courses in trade training; work assignment akin to parole job plan, a daily work and living schedule based upon what he may likely experience while on parole, maximum exposure to the community factors parolees will encounter when released, and extensive development and use of work and educational furlough programs.
4. Optimal involvement with other public and private resources is needed to enhance the inmate's release preparation. Examples here may include vocational rehabilitation,

employment OEO programs, MDTA, business, and labor groups, civic organizations, offender and community self-help organizations.

5. A redefinition of the roles and responsibilities of institutional and parole staff toward the inmate-parolee during this phase of their wardship is necessary. This concept encompasses the notion of different responses more akin to free community reaction, to non-conforming behavior, and to a different method of managing moderate infractions of rules. Attention to this effort also requires much greater participation by parole staff during the offender's last six months in the institution.

Some aspects of the foregoing programs are in practice in many states. However, the development is fragmented and more evident in philosophical cliches than in reality. There is much opposition and misunderstanding because of departure from traditional modes of imprisonment and because experimentation within these concepts often brings about, at the least, temporary lapses in institution control. The development of strong standards which support the suggested model or variations of it, seems to be the action called for at the present time. What seems most needed now is the development of strong standards supportive of the model suggested here (or some variations of it). In conjunction with this support, administrative guidelines for the introduction of the concept into practice in ways which are less threatening to staff and public anxieties over loss of control are also necessary. One of the major needs is to engender the broadest base of community support for these efforts.

## REINTEGRATION: PRACTICE IN SEARCH OF A THEORY

John Conrad  
Research Operations Specialist  
National Institute of Law Enforcement  
and Criminal Justice

### Introduction

Sooner or later, correctional practitioners encounter thoughtful colleagues who profess a bewilderment over how we can hope to rehabilitate clients who have never been "habilitated." Behind this question is the notion that the offender is a sort of savage who has demonstrated by his offense his complete lack of socialization. It is thought that intervention must begin at the beginning.

I do not see this word play as a contribution to a better understanding of the task. Aside from the misapprehension of the nature of the offender and the world from which he comes, the pun assumes that the processes of rehabilitation are based on a conceptual precision which correctional practitioners do not possess. Whatever the word rehabilitation may mean in other contexts, in work with offenders, it covers a wide variety of programs administered to change him for the better. Any practice from formal psychotherapy to a good recreational experience has been subsumed under an all too flexible term.

Partly from our confusion about ends and means, partly from our inability to prove that we are accomplishing any identifiable objective, we have been increasingly dissatisfied with rehabilitation as

a term describing the process which offenders undergo after sentencing. A variety of alternatives has been proposed, usually with some attempt at a rationale. One of the most popular alternative terms is reintegration. So far as I know, it was first introduced by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice in The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society. It has been widely used in oral discourse since then, as though it were a more acceptable term than rehabilitation.

I am concerned about its lack of definition. Unless we can create a supporting theory, the practice of reintegration will eventually become the diffusely eclectic assortment of programs which have been headed by "rehabilitation." It is not difficult to foresee the perplexity that some observers will voice: "I don't see how you can reintegrate a client who has never been integrated."

Fortunately, help is at hand. In a thoughtful article addressed to the making of distinctions among correctional goals, O'Leary and Duffee (1971) have constructed a typology of policy models which significantly differentiates reintegration from three alternatives. I shall briefly recapitulate their conceptualization as a point of departure for further development of a theory of reintegration.

### Correctional Policy Models

Noting that one of the central dilemmas of correction is the balance between the protection of the community and the protection of the offender, O'Leary and Duffee suggest that the typology of policy models can be based on the relative emphasis placed on these concerns.

Assigning high and low values to these emphases, a sort of Latin square emerges: See Figure 1

Figure 1

MODELS OF CORRECTIONAL POLICIES

		Emphasis on the Community	
		Low	High
Emphasis on the Offender	High	Rehabilitation (Identification Focus)	Reintegration (Internalization Focus)
	Low	Restraint (Organizational Focus)	Reform (Compliance Focus)

The authors elaborate their typology with the assignment of specific influence structures to each model. Thus, in the case of rehabilitation, where the emphasis is high on the offender and low on the community, the basis of influence is the offender's identification with staff or peers. Where restraint is the model, the agency's concern is with the maintenance of the organization as a "comfortable" situation for both staff and offender, without regard for changing anyone. The reform model emphasizes compliance with the values of the community through the coercive measures available to an authoritarian administration. Finally, the reintegration model assumes that a high emphasis can be given to the welfare and goals

of the offender and to the protection of the community. Where this model is applied, the process will be the internalization of community standards.

The models of restraint, reform and rehabilitation, are easily identifiable. The traditional adult prison follows the restraint model, elements of which survive in all incarcerative facilities, regardless of explicit attempts to alter process. The reform model is particularly familiar in our attempts to use "residential" facilities for the juvenile offender. As to rehabilitation, O'Leary and Duffee contribute to the definition of the term and suggest that the dependency relationships it creates may account for its limited usefulness in corrections. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that in most probation and parole operations, the casework relationship closely follows the emphasis and focus of rehabilitation.

Reintegration is not so readily identifiable. It is not easy to point to a system which consciously bases its practice on reintegration as it is proposed here. Indeed, although O'Leary and Duffee suggest some of the necessary elements to a truly reintegrative system, the theoretical position appears to be inconsistent with its application by an official correctional agency. It is a little like the blank spaces which used to be seen in the Periodic Table of Elements. We have since learned that these spaces are occupied by unstable elements subject to radioactive decay. The space on our far simpler table, which is proposed for reintegration, appears prone to an analogous instability. The element of coercion is inseparable from the official disposition of offenders; only by disguising or underplaying it, can we expect that reintegration is even a temporarily achievable model.

## On Coercion

The coercive elements of corrections are ineradicable. Whatever the sentence of the court may be, it is enforced with all the power of the state. The offender who does not comply with its terms will have worse terms imposed on him. Implicit in terms of probation is the threat of incarceration in return for non-compliance. Most convicted offenders do as they are told, but duress confronts them regardless of intentions or behavior.

I do not argue that this is not as it should be. The human condition contains elements of compulsion which none of us can disregard. The offender has, in a pronounced sense, suffered from his disregard of basic requirements of social life. It is appropriate that the coercive effect of the sentence he serves should be explicit.

Nevertheless, as we concede the necessity of coercion we must consider its effects. For the present, we must lean heavily on this offender so that his control can be assured. The present we are talking about is a short time: a few months, sometimes a few years. We would like also to assure that during that time the offender's circumstances will change sufficiently so that the likelihood of his committing a new crime will be reduced. Can this good outcome be accomplished under the conditions of coercion?

There is a theoretical argument that coercion and positive change are incompatible. To the extent that we must accept this position, we must accept also the conclusion that correctional policy must accommodate itself to the inability of the system to bring about positive

change of offenders. We should, therefore, examine carefully the implications of the theory which imposes such a limit.

I will draw on the writing of Amitai Etzioni who, in his recent book, The Active Society, (1970) makes the argument explicit. Etzioni classifies authority under three headings: coercive, utilitarian, and normative. As authority means nothing unless it evokes compliance, Etzioni considers the social characteristics of compliance to the three modes of authority. He theorizes that the response to authority can be differentiated on a continuum of alienation. It is important that we should be clear about the meaning of this term. Alienation is the resistance to the exercise of power generated in its subjects. The resistance may vary from active, overt hostility to psychological disturbances, alcoholism, and drug addiction. Etzioni uses a variety of evidence to arrive at the conclusion that alienation is closely correlated with coercion: where coercion is highest alienation is most pronounced. Where coercion is absent, alienation will not be found.

Etzioni suggests that the opposite extreme to coercive power is the normative exercise of authority in which persuasion replaces force. Values are internalized and the response to normative authority is commitment. Etzioni also suggests that there is evidence that the two forms of power do not co-exist for long simply because commitment and alienation are contradictory responses to authority.

To round out Etzioni's classification of authority and compliance structures, the utilitarian structure is based on some kind of system of incentives, usually economic. The response to a utilitarian authority is calculation: is the boss making it worth our

while to work for him? We all live in a structure of this kind. We know that there is an element of coercion: we will starve if we don't work, but there is nothing in this structure which is incompatible with a normative orientation. Many of us find that the rewards of work are both economic and satisfying to other value requirements, too. We may want to alleviate suffering, improve society, or increase knowledge; and we often find that we can work toward such ends and be well rewarded for doing so.

The theory of compliance which I have recapitulated looks bleak for corrections as we now know it. If coercion is incompatible with positive change in values, how can we account for the correctional successes which can be demonstrated, at least, anecdotally? It is possible that these successes show that a flaw exists in the theory.

There is no certain answer to these questions. I suspect that we know too little about the correctional success to construct a theory about the phenomenon. This is not surprising; most of our research has been directed to the study of recidivism. Out of these studies, we can make a sad list of programs that don't work, obstacles that can occur in spite of the best laid plans, and conditions that obstruct the social restoration of offenders. Lacking analytic studies of correctional success, I must resort to a sort of a priori argument, enlightened by unsystematic observation.

Leaving aside the uncaught recidivists who will be counted as statistical successes, it is reasonable to distribute the true non-recidivists along a continuum extending from the apathy of the

derelict to the successfully socialized citizen. I suggest that the derelict has been produced by intimidation. The intimidation was a factor with the true success, too, but other factors were also present. If we understand these factors and their connections with the coercive compliance structure, we may be able to conceptualize reintegration as a system which can function.

In human affairs, opportunity is the potential outcome of action within the capability of the actor. The special case of the offender presents all sorts of constraints on this definition. He must desire the outcome, believe in his capability to achieve it, and know of its potential existence. A man who is convinced that he can't make the system work for him will deny that opportunity exists; he will often be right. If the coercive processes of corrections push him around so infallibly that he never has an occasion for choice, it is not realistic to say that he has opportunities. It cannot be said too often to correctional administrators and reformers that choice and volition have to be built into the experience of the offenders under our control. A man must be able to choose to do nothing; he must also see from the experience of others as well as his own that action upon choice does produce consequences which he can accept. It is indeed true that we cannot eliminate coercion from the correctional experience, but we can make systematic efforts to reduce its pervasiveness.

Human systems are always complicated by human interactions. Coercion is a reality and so is alienation, but they are not processes like magnetism or the force of gravity in physical science. An offender may be subject to unsparing coercion, but that will not be the

totality of his experience. Anyone who has worked in corrections has seen the influence of an understanding work supervisor, a friendly guard, or a perceptive probation officer. They are all involved in the implicit processes of coercion, but attitudes and characteristic relationships introduce normative elements to the experience.

The tragedy of corrections as we administer it now is that opportunity is usually unreal or seen as unreal, which is the same thing and in the impersonality of our operations, the dilution of coercion is accidental rather than a natural feature of the system. To create a truly reintegrative corrections, we must coerce only to the extent that we must. To work within this vague constraint, we must reconsider what we are doing and why we are doing it.

#### The Changing of Criminals

We are all dissatisfied with the behavior of criminals and would like to change it. The question we have to re-open as we try to make reintegration a reality has to do with the definition of the change which has to take place. There are three co-existing definitions; each of them has attracted widespread allegiance, and each has flaws which, though obvious, seem to be easily ignored.

The first way of looking at the correctional task is to define it in terms of good and evil. The supposition here is that we can make good men out of bad, that goodness can be learned, perhaps, by punishing bad men until they become good, perhaps by other methods. At least, as far back as Plato, the difficulties of teaching goodness have been recognized. Most of those who have thought about the problem have seen the acquisition of virtue as a process, involving

the exposure of the individual in the family, in a church, or some other place in which it can be encountered. Goodness is hard to find in a prison; the assumption that everyone is bad is hard to offset, even when one can find examples of prisoners who are not. The punishment administered at best tells one what not to do; it does not suggest an affirmative kind of good behavior.

The second way of defining correctional process is to adopt the medical model and diagnose all offenders as sick. The theoretical fallacies in this notion are well known and need not be reviewed in detail. What is noticeable, however, is the influence of this idea on all our thinking, even when we reject the underlying assumption. If we organize to cure people of a sickness we call delinquency; control will be related to the progress of the cure. We begin by assuming the illness and by instituting a program to deal with it. If the program is resisted or is unsuccessful, we have no reason to believe that the illness is not persisting. Release from control is not necessarily deferred on that account, but the offender is still a sick man--sick with a mysterious malady which we cannot define for him. It happens in the case of offenders who have committed serious crimes that maintenance of control is justified by a lack of response to correctional programs. This is a rationalization and should be recognized for what it is. If we have reason to believe that society has something to fear from the offender we have in custody, we should maintain control. If we see no reason to fear him, his release should not be deferred because he has not been cured of what we think ailed him. None of us is completely well. Many sick people manage to live inoffensively, including

people whose problems closely resemble those which are thought to afflict offenders. Offenders should have the opportunity for treatment if they want it, but the evidence that compulsory treatment is effective is too scanty to justify their control for that purpose.

The third definition of correctional process is statistical. We evaluate our programs by the statistic of recidivism, and I will not argue that we should not. However, we should be wary of the notion that our task is to create a non-criminal, which is what a non-recidivist is. The outcome of our endeavors may be summarized statistically in terms of non-recidivism, although there are serious conceptual problems to be faced in any such table.

We do not create a non-recidivist by any program for such a general purpose. If we succeed at all, we enable an offender to change from his criminal career to some fairly specific conventional career, ordinarily with some economic base.

The sum of all such changes can be included under the heading of "non-recidivism," along with other, much less desirable changes, as for example the derelict, the mentally ill, and the deceased. The production of non-criminals is too vague a charge to accept as the object of the criminal justice system. We can never learn from the statistician whether we have succeeded or not by merely looking at an annual tabulation of recidivism. We can only learn something about the costs of the system and its fluctuations, and the usual analysis so conducted does not provide us with much guidance for the future.

#### From Criminal to Citizen

The three models of correctional process, which I have tried to rule out, have in common the notion that there is something wrong with the criminal which differentiates him from the rest of us. This differentiation, if it is real, is an obstacle to his return to the community. If it is unreal, it is still real in its consequences for both the offender and the community. These consequences are not hypothetical at all. They result in a vicious cycle of alienation from the rest of us. As I pointed out earlier, this alienation may be hostile, "acting-out" behavior; it may be passive withdrawal. What is needed is a way of returning the offender to the community with as little differentiation as possible. I suggest that this end may be achieved by stressing his similarities to us. To the extent that the criminal sees himself as different from us, he will play the obvious role of criminal. To the extent that he sees himself as more or less like anybody else, he will become part of that indefinable mass of people to which we all belong: the community.

If we think along this line, we will need a term to define the unit in the community. An old-fashioned noun is available and eminently suited to our purpose. I refer to the citizen, the member of the community whose rights and obligations define the structure of whole of which he is a part--the city, the state, the nation. In some countries, a citizen has precious few rights and an inordinate number of obligations. In a democracy, we stress our rights and tend to minimize the obligations.



This is not the place for an essay on the nature of citizenship. At this point, I wish to deal with the notion that the criminal is a citizen who has failed in some of his obligations. This failure may be attributed to many causes, and some of them are so serious, so ominous for the rest of us as to justify his confinement for an extended period of time. However, many of these causes may be found in the malfunction of the community. We must learn to see such an offender as a person who has been unable to exercise the rights and obligations of the citizen because of economic conditions, because of racial discrimination, because of educational deficiencies, or because of a host of other disqualifying circumstances. Our problem is to make it possible for him to function as a citizen by enabling him to exercise his rights and to meet his obligations. Nearly always, this will be best done in the community; nearly always, it will be true that the less we differentiate this offender from the rest of us, the easier it will be for him to become like the rest of us. When we hang a label around his neck, like the scarlet letter branded on the heroine of Hawthorne's novel, we make it impossible for him to be an ordinary citizen. To denounce him for his behavior may satisfy our need to disapprove of his crime, but it increases the probability that he cannot become a citizen in good standing.

There are many hesitant attempts to move in the direction of reintegration. We can classify the attempt to place offenders in new careers as probation aides as one such departure. Another is the experimental use of offenders in high-crime areas in some large

cities as poverty program advocates. In other cities, offenders are encouraged to involve themselves in community services in much the same way as any public-spirited citizen should. I think that perceptive probation and parole officers all over the country are intuitively adapting their practice to this kind of notion of the offender's relationship to the world about him. It is a practice which needs a supporting theory by which it can be developed and tested. If this intuitive practice is on the right track, the concept of reintegration will survive. It may, indeed, provide information for us about our social structure and the nature of citizenship which we don't know or understand at this troubled time in our history.

#### The Unchanged Criminal

We must take steps to minimize the difference between criminals and ourselves, but we must face the man so many of us know by reputation at least; and some of us know in person, the chronic offender who seems to choose the difference and maintains it. However, we may account for him; and I am one to concede that he has been sinned against by society; his outrageous and dangerous behavior requires that he be separated from us. The difficulty in bringing him back cannot be minimized, nor will it help to offer him the magnanimity which some of us may feel for him.

In this case, reintegration is not the answer. If we return to our Latin square, we must reluctantly select the restraint model. In

doing so, we do not foreclose the possibility of reintegration some day, but as to now, we must restrain with as much intelligence as we can, which is more than we see in any contemporary prison system. In this community of restraint, we need to develop the resources which will make citizenship realistic. In a society like ours, this means a prison in which self-respect is possible, in which choices are expected, in which a man is expected to live like a man rather than like the automatons which our prisons now value. This means that some wardens and prison staffs are going to work a great deal harder than they do now. Prisons will be even more disorderly than they are now in some ways, but a great deal less destructive to all concerned. In short, though we cannot think of the prison as an agency of reintegration; they should be operated within the context of a correctional apparatus which is reintegrative.

#### Implications for Research

If we survey the condition of correctional research today, the most significant feature we can see is our pre-occupation with evaluation. With a handful of outstanding exceptions, which I shall not enumerate here, there is little experimental research. We seem to take for granted that the correctional future will be much like the correctional past, only a little more cost-effective.

The citizenship paradigm for corrections might change all that. We need to experiment with programs which emphasize the rights and obligations of the offender rather than his disabilities. We have seen so much of the ineffectiveness of punishment that we may be jumping to premature conclusions about its uselessness. Moreover, we have not seen what could be done by the motivating force which

propels all of us as well as the whole American economy. I refer to the use of incentives in structuring behavior. I will not ask that the correctional apparatus be structured on the concepts of operant psychology, but I suspect that the future of corrections rests more heavily on the intelligent management of incentives for the offender than it does on negative reinforcement. Coercion not only alienates the subject; it also provides him with no guidance on acceptable choices. We all learn what we should do by a complex array of economic and social incentives. If offenders can see satisfying opportunities in their future and profit from them, they may indeed become like the rest of us. Whatever we are, we became because of opportunities which offered us some kind of reward.

We can also learn a good deal about the nature of citizenship if we are trying to make our charges into citizens rather than non-recidivists. We live in a world in which independence, individualism, rights, and obligations represent realities which are different by far from the concepts which our ancestors meant by these terms. As we study the success of our endeavors to transform offenders, we should gain new insights into the meaning of citizenship in twentieth-century America. We may wonder what it means to be a citizen receiving welfare in the inner city, or living on some of the other margins of our society. Let us find out, let us also find out how we can move from these margins to the vital center of the community. Let us learn how we can make the remarkable exceptions into the general rule.

A third area in which research might be conducted to make reintegration more meaningful is in the redefinition of sentencing policy. Clearly, if reintegration represents a different policy model, the whole structure of sentencing has to be re-designed. Diversion from the criminal justice system is recommended so often that the word itself is an old hat; it will be of the essence of reintegration, and many experiments must be attempted and completed before we know how it should work and what should be expected. Such ideas as restitution to the victim, or services to the community, or participation in philanthropic work are perfectly logical elements of a reintegrative approach to corrections. As we try them, we should be thinking of them as experiments from which we can learn how changes should be made.

A fourth area for research is the study of service roles in reintegrative corrections. We now are staffed on the assumptions of the punishment and medical models of corrections. What kinds of people will be needed for reintegration? We don't know, but a part of these experiments should be an effort to find out.

#### Conclusion

More than we like to admit, Americans are given to a muddling-through approach to problem-solving. Sometimes we succeed brilliantly with our muddles as we can see in the economic history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Our failures in other areas should not be taken to mean that we are always destined to fail in everything we try in those domains of our national life. If we plan according to a theory instead of muddling pragmatically as we have

consistently done in the criminal justice system, we may yet surprise ourselves with successes beyond our present reach. I think that reintegration as some of us have been trying to define it is such a surprise in prospect for us. It is our responsibility to try it and keep on trying.

Lewis H. Irving, Ph.D.  
Assistant Professor of Sociology  
Central State University

Harjit S. Sandhu, Ph.D.  
Associate Professor of Sociology  
Oklahoma State University

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Etzioni, Amitai. The Active Society. New York: Free Press,  
1970.

O'Leary and Duffee. Correctional Policy - A Classification of  
Goals Designed for Change, Crime and Delinquency, No. 17  
(October, 1971), pp. 373-386.

Task Force on Corrections. The President's Commission on  
Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.  
Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office,  
1967, pp. 7-9.

Introduction

The history of probation began in 1841 when a Boston cobbler decided to stand bail for a drunkard, who was subsequently entrusted to the cobbler's supervision. John Augustus, the cobbler, taught him the art of shoe making; and the drunkard started showing signs of reform. Encouraged by his success, Augustus extended this project and gave supervision to almost 2,000 persons during the following 18 years of his life. A note-worthy conclusion was that to ensure reasonable success, even Augustus found it necessary to conduct proper investigation into the background of the offender.

Since the days of Augustus, the use of probation has been greatly extended, and today more than half of the offenders sentenced to correctional treatment are placed on probation. According to the official statistics of 1965, 47 percent of the offenders were either detained in institutions or placed under parole supervision, while 53

\* The data for this paper was an outgrowth of the Special Community Supervision Project awarded to the Oklahoma Department of Corrections from the Oklahoma Crime Commission under Grant No. 72-f-1.

percent were undergoing probationary supervision. The projections for 1975 indicates that the offenders under probation are expected to rise to 58 percent; and it is quite reasonable to expect that in the future more and more offenders will be treated under probation, consequently, diverting them from prison (Task Force Report, 1967).

Diana (1960) has defined probation as a legal disposition which allows the offender his usual freedom during which he is expected to refrain from unlawful behavior. Operationally, probation has been primarily a process of verifying the behavior of an offender: (1) through periodic reports of the offender and members of his family to the probation officer, and (2) by the incidence or absence of advice and efforts from law enforcement personnel and/or other agencies. Secondarily, probation has been a process of guiding and directing the behavior by means of intensive interviewing utilizing all defined casework techniques.

To select the right type of offender for probation supervision has not been an easy task. The young, first-time offenders with misdemeanors are an easy selection for probation. However, there is a much larger variety of offender patterns for whom probation would be a most sensible disposition. A careful pre-sentence investigation by the probation officer has been established as vital in determining which offender should or should not be granted probationary supervision. The pre-sentence investigation report should not only report facts, but also should sense the feeling behind these facts. The surface findings have to be interpreted in the context of the total circumstances of the person under investigation. The report should be the diagnostic tool which

establishes the pattern for judicious disposition and proper guidance of the probationer.

Several researchers have attempted to investigate the criteria used by the probation officers in recommending cases for probation or imprisonment. Carter (1967) found that the information obtained during the pre-sentence investigation was of varying importance in making a recommendation. It appeared that present offense, past criminality, attitude to crime, and stability factors play a major role in the decision-making process. No doubt these are important indicators, but this may be an incomplete list. There may be a tendency on the part of the probation officers to depend on the easily available information or rely more heavily on objective information and neglect to probe areas of functional importance. The functional areas are the client's ability to maintain proper relationship with the significant others in his milieu: the family members, peers, employers, work-mates, and authoritarian figures. This kind of important information, being somewhat hidden to the probation officer, is likely to be ignored. Efforts have been made in the present research to make a deeper probe into the relationship of the probationers/parolees with other persons in their family milieu. Another area hitherto neglected in probationary research has been to identify typology of probationers and watch their reaction to supervision. An effort has been made in this project to distinguish different types of probationers/parolees, such as early, late, intermittent, and persistent offenders.

## Research Design

To define an offender typology and family interaction pattern of probationers and parolees, 170 subjects were randomly selected from the Oklahoma Department of Corrections District 1 supervision area. Each subject was interviewed in a controlled surrounding using the Adjustment Dynamic Questionnaire developed by the authors of this paper. This instrument contains 75 structured, closed ended, pre-coded questions investigating the subjects past criminal history, his reasons for crime involvement, an inquiry into familial, peer and work parameters, and his attitudes toward his future.

An indepth examination was made into each subjects criminal history and a typology developed according to the following format:

- (1) early offender--any subject involved in a single criminal act for which he was adjudicated prior to his 21st birthday
- (2) late offender--any subject involved in a single criminal act for which he was adjudicated after his 21st birthday
- (3) intermittent offender--any subject who had been involved in a series of criminal acts, for which he had been adjudicated with at least a one (1) year interim period between adjudications
- (4) persistent offender--any subject who had been involved in a series of criminal acts, for which he had been adjudicated with no lapse of noncriminal involvement

The data were developed around these categories, and analysis was performed with chi-square or students "t". The significance level was maintained at  $p = 0.05$  with a two tail distribution.

The second instrument used for testing was the Cattell Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire (16-PF) designed by Raymond S. Cattell (1954). This questionnaire contains 187 items which are

hand scored and adjusted to indicate the appropriate 16 single factor Standard Ten (STEN) scores and four (4) multiple factor STEN scores. The subject's battery of STEN scores was aligned with one of the aforementioned typologies and analyzed with a student "t" parametric statistic maintaining the same levels of significance as used with the Adjustment Dynamic Questionnaire.

## Results

For probationers and parolees, the personality factor undeniably plays an important role in their adjustment process. Intra-group comparisons of the Cattell 16-PF STEN scores for the four (4) offender typologies appear in Table 1. According to Cattell (1970), any score between stens of 5 and 6 are within normal ranges. "Consequently, only where we get to sten of 4 and 7 should we begin to think of a person as definitely 'departing from the average' ". By this standard the probationers and parolees, as a group, depart from the average in the following characteristics (Table 2). As one would expect, the probationers and parolees are less stable and have a weak superego. They are easily upset, disregard rules, and feel few obligations. In most other aspects of personality, they are quite normal. It is to be noted that, although probationers and parolees digress from the average, they do not do so extensively; and according to Cattell, about 15 percent of the normal population shows this extent of deviation. Let us now note the distinguishing characteristics of the four offender categories identified earlier (Table 3).

TABLE 1

CATTELL 16-PF MEAN STANDARD TEN (STEN) SCORES OF THE FOUR OFFENDER CATEGORIES  
OF SUBJECTS TESTED--OKLAHOMA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS  
SPECIAL COMMUNITY SUPERVISION PROJECT--1969-1972

Number	Description	Offender Category			
		Early N= 44	Late N= 55	Intermittent N= 50	Persistent N= 21
		Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean
1.	Reserved--Outgoing	5.0	5.7	5.7	5.3
2.	Less Intelligent--More Intelligent	6.1	6.0	5.3	5.1
3.	Affected by Feeling--Emotionally Stable	4.4	4.7	4.9	4.0
4.	Humble--Assertive	6.0	5.6	4.9	5.4
5.	Sober--Happy-Go-Lucky	5.7	5.5	5.3	5.3
6.	Expedient--Conscientious	4.5	4.9	4.6	3.8
7.	Shy--Venturesome	5.3	5.5	5.1	5.0
8.	Toughminded--Tenderminded	5.4	5.2	5.6	5.8
9.	Trusting--Suspicious	6.2	6.0	5.9	6.9
10.	Practical--Imaginative	6.3	5.0	6.0	6.3
11.	Forthright--Shrewd	4.7	5.0	4.7	4.8
12.	Self-Assured--Apprehensive	6.0	5.9	6.4	6.6
13.	Conservative--Experimenting	5.0	5.3	5.1	5.3
14.	Group Dependent--Self Sufficient	5.7	5.8	6.2	5.6
15.	Undisciplined Self Conflict--Controlled	5.2	5.2	6.0	5.1
16.	Relaxed--Tense	6.3	5.5	5.9	6.1
I.	Low Anxiety--High Anxiety	6.2	5.9	6.0	6.7
II.	Introvertive--Extrovertive	5.6	5.5	4.9	5.0
III.	Tendermindedly Emotionally--Alert Poise	5.4	5.4	4.9	4.6
IV.	Subduedness--Independent	6.1	5.5	5.6	6.0

34

CATTELL 16-PF (STEN) SCORE PERSONALITY FACTORS DEPARTING  
FROM THE NORM FOR MALE AND FEMALE PROBATIONERS AND  
PAROLEES TESTED--OKLAHOMA DEPARTMENT OF  
CORRECTIONS--SPECIAL COMMUNITY  
SUPERVISION PROJECT--1969-1972

TABLE 2

Personality Characteristic	Offender Category	
	Male N= 145	Female N= 25
Affected by Feelings--Emotionally Stable	4.6	4.3
Expedient--Conscientious	4.5	4.8
Trusting--Suspicious	-- <sup>α</sup>	6.7
Forthright--Shrewd	4.7	--

<sup>α</sup> Note: -- indicates scores falling within normal parameters.

35

TABLE 3

CATTELL 16-PF (STEN) SCORE PERSONALITY FACTORS DEPARTING FROM THE NORM FOR THE  
FOUR OFFENDER CATEGORIES OF SUBJECTS TESTED--OKLAHOMA DEPARTMENT OF  
CORRECTIONS--SPECIAL COMMUNITY SUPERVISION PROJECT--1969-1972

Personality Characteristic	Offender Category			
	Early N= 44	Late N= 55	Intermittent N= 50	Persistent N= 21
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean
Affected by Feeling--Emotionally Stable	4.4	4.7	-- <sup>α</sup>	4.0
Expedient--Conscientious	4.5	--	4.6	3.8
Trusting--Suspicious	--	--	--	6.9
Practical--Imaginative	6.3	--	--	6.3
Forthright--Shrewd	4.7	--	4.7	4.8
Self-Assured--Apprehensive	--	--	6.4	6.6
Relaxed--Tense	6.3	--	--	--
Low Anxiety--High Anxiety	--	--	--	6.7
Tendermindedly Emotionally--Alert Poise	--	--	--	4.6

<sup>α</sup> Note: -- indicates scores falling within normal parameters.

Early Offender.--This group though average in intelligence was more intelligent than the intermittent and persistent offenders ( $p = 0.022$  and  $0.048$  respectively). They were also more independent minded, unconventional, hostile, rebellious, and headstrong than the other two groups. They are bohemian in outlook, imaginative, careless of practical matters ( $p = 0.002$  and  $0.036$  respectively), somewhat frustrated and overwrought as compared to late offenders. The mean age of this category was 18.80 years of age which was the youngest of the four groups, and 95 percent of these offenders were single in marital status. Two noteworthy findings from the Adjustment Dynamic Questionnaire were the greater use of marijuana and their indifference to their family. This alienation from the family, bohemian outlook on life, use of drugs and detachment with practical matters reflects on the social disintegration and atomization of the present younger group of offenders. Efforts to reintegrate them in the family and in the community were indicated. Group therapy with some family involvement could be helpful. Their prognosis was good as these offenders had not developed the self-image of a criminal as yet.

Late Offender.--Their first criminal involvement was reported late in life at the age of 28.07 years, and their present age was 30.94 years. This group was comprised of 28.8 percent females and 34 percent Negroid members. Maritally, this group had more married persons (53.8%) and a large number of divorcees (25%). They perceived their relationship with their parents as unsatisfactory. Psychologically, this group was the most normal of all the groups,



with 15 out of 16 factors falling in the middle range of 5 to 6 STEN. This group was the least criminal in its attitudes and tendencies and was expected to do very well with minimal supervision.

Intermittent Offender.--These offenders committed offences intermittently and were the oldest of the four groups with a mean age of 30.11 years and with their onset of criminality at age 16.68 years. These offenders were artless and sentimental on the one hand and apprehensive, worrying, depressive, moody and brooding on the other hand. They had weaker superego strengths and were apt to disregard rules. When they were not employed, they felt greatly bothered, fearful, and worried. Showing neurotic tendencies, they needed psychiatric help. They appeared to have an equal chance of success or failure under probation or parole. Using Merton's typology, these offenders tended to make ritualistic adaptation (Merton, 1957). There was a good time lapse (4-5 years) between offenses, and it appeared that their offenses were periodic and episodic. They were law-abiding in most instances and only occasionally disregarded laws. They were "drifters" in Matza's terms (Matza, 1964).

Persistent Offender.--These offenders move in and out of prison. They are involved in burglary, auto theft, juvenile offenses, and probation or parole revocations. This group showed several deviations in their 16-PF profiles. They were easily upset, low in frustration tolerance, forceful, highly anti-social, deficient in superego strength with few obligations, suspicious, mistrusting, unconcerned about other people, wrapped up in inner

urgencies, dissatisfied, and maladjusted. All these characteristics put together indicate a psychopathic or sociopathic personality. They, however, do show some apprehension which does not fit in with the psychopathic characteristic. A majority of them (57 percent) perceived themselves as criminal. This self-concept and the psychopathic tendencies render them difficult cases for treatment and rehabilitation. They need intensive supervision, and every type of therapy should be tested, hoping for a positive response to one of them.

#### Conclusion

A random selection of 170 probationers and parolees was obtained from the Oklahoma Department of Corrections--District 1 probation and parole supervision area. Each subject was tested with the Adjustment Dynamic Questionnaire and the Cattell Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire.

The subjects were categorized into four offender typologies and analyzed accordingly. The instruments, though developed independently of each other, supported the following general dynamics: (1) early offenders were bohemian in outlook, imaginative, average in intelligence, and somewhat frustrated. Their prognosis was good, with group therapy and/or family involvement being indicated. They had not developed a criminal self-image as of that time; (2) late offenders were psychologically the most normal of all the categories; however, their marital stability was low and their relationship with their families was unsatisfactory. This group was the least criminal and would be expected to progress well with

minimal supervision; (3) intermittent offenders were the oldest of all categories. They had weak superego strength and were apt to disregard rules. They displayed neurotic characteristics and should seek psychiatric help. They were "ritualists" in Merton's terms or "drifters" in Matza's terms; (4) persistent offenders were continuously involved in crime and showed the most bizarre 16-PF profile. Even though their profiles defined them as psychopathic and/or sociopathic, they displayed characteristics which differed from normal psychopathic/sociopathic parameters. These people need maximum supervision with every type of therapy being tested.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Carter, Robert M., "The Pre-sentence Report and the Decision Making Process". Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency. Vol. 4, (July 1967), pp. 203-11.
- Cattell, Raymond B. Manual for Forms A and B, for the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire. Champaign, Illinois: Institute for Personality and Ability Testing, 1954.
- Cattell, Raymond B., Herbert W. Eber, and Maurice M. Tatsuoka. Handbook for the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire (16 PF). Champaign, Illinois: Institute for Personality and Ability Testing, 1970.
- Diana, Lewis, "What is Probation?". Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science. Vol. 51, (July-August, 1960), pp. 189-204.
- Matza, David. Delinquency and Drift. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964, pp. 181-191.
- Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press, 1957, pp. 149-153.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Task Force Report: Corrections, The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967, pp. 26-37.

## REINTEGRATION FROM THE PAROLEE'S PERSPECTIVE

Elliot Studt, Professor  
School of Social Welfare  
University of California, Los Angeles

### Introduction

The word "reintegration" tends to be used so frequently in parole work that its operational meanings tend to get lost. I would like to discuss reintegration of the offender in terms of the processes by which a man who is identified by himself and others as a criminal deviant comes to be accepted within himself and by others as just another normally contributing social unit--"one of us." Some social psychologists call this process "normalizing;" it involves not only the performance of acceptable behaviors by the individual, but also the achievement of a normal identity within both the individual personality and the social framework.

My task in this paper is to report what the parolee himself experiences in attempting to achieve such a normal identity, the problems he encounters, and the conditions that seem to him either supportive of his efforts or defeating to his goal. The points I shall be making are drawn from interviews with approximately 350 parolees who were respondents in one or another of the many related studies of parole conducted by the Parole Action Study between September, 1964, and

May, 1971 (1). Because of time and space limitations, I can report only certain highlights from the experiences of these parolees, emphasizing those points that were made by parolees in the most diverse circumstances with such frequency that they stand out as characteristics of the normalizing process with which most parolees must deal in some fashion.

### The Reentry Experience

One of the most important characteristics of the parolee's re-integrative process is that it begins with a crisis experience, often accompanied by severe biological and emotional reactions. In several of our studies, the interviewers followed parolees from just before release from prison through the first two to four months of living in the community. For most parolees, the move from the segregated, dependent, strictly managed life of the prison into the complex life of the outside requires a major readjustment that could tax the strengths of the most normal person among us. Almost every aspect of the individual's life requires some change--language; patterns of eating, sleeping, recreating, and managing time; and the accepted conventions of social relations. Important social skills from the past must be retrieved in learning once again how to manage money and transportation, how to schedule one's own use of time, and how to take on the pace of normal work. For many parolees, the reentry phase of reintegration is experienced as a period of confusion, filled with anxiety, missed cues, embarrassment, over-intense impulses, and excitement followed by depression (2).

At first, the staff of the Parole Action Study saw the parolee's reentry experience as one of a class of normal human role changes often called "status passages," experienced in such events as the return to civil life after military service, marriage, bereavement, or entering a professional school. In all such events both the concerned individual and his role partners must make important adjustments to the new behaviors and relationships required by the individual's changed social position. As we probed more deeply, however, we became increasingly impressed with the magnitude of the adaptive tasks undertaken by the parolee at the beginning of the normalizing process. Certain characteristics of the parolee's reentry process increase its difficulties considerably beyond those faced in more usual status passage experiences. These include the following:

1. The parolee can utilize very few, if any, of the behavior patterns that were appropriate in prison when making his adjustments as a free man. Consequently, rapid "un-learning" must occur while he is acquiring new patterns if he is to avoid a long period of incompetence in the normal world.
2. In most status passages, the role change may affect certain aspects of the individual's social experience drastically while having only a limited effect on other aspects, so that certain stabilities remain to support the individual in making changes. However, the parolee role which is assumed by the parolee as he steps out of prison is pervasive, affecting all his social roles in some respect. In consequence, difficulties in one area of the parolee's life can rapidly spread throughout his social experience; they are, accordingly, less easily managed and have a tendency to escalate beyond control.

3. The parolee's reentry is usually experienced under conditions of low social support and extremely limited resources. He moves into a world of free men where he is often subject to social rejection, and he usually lacks the social connections and economic resources that are necessary for the effective management of crisis.
4. Perhaps most important for the parolee's psychological experience, he undertakes reentry under conditions of severe jeopardy, knowing how easy it is for him to lose his liberty and be sent back to prison. Furthermore, this sense of jeopardy is continuous throughout his parole because, until his discharge, he can be revoked for much less serious misbehaviors than those that would cause the imprisonment of other "normal" men.

#### The Practical Problems of Reentry

In spite of the severe strains experienced during the reentry period, the parolee must immediately begin to deal with numerous practical problems in what amounts to a "bootstrap" operation. Examples from one recent study of 16 parolees during their first two months on parole will illustrate this point. The sample included parolees with a wide range of economic and social resources: one parolee had \$50,000 in savings and a stable family; several men had both viable work skills and some family support; while three of them had no work skills, and two of these had no support from family or friends.

Half of the sample had difficulties with their driver's licenses that might take as much as six months to resolve.

Two were harassed by police because of unpaid warrants acquired before commitment.

Two-thirds were expected to pay for child support beginning immediately, although half of these were not living with their children; and some were denied visiting rights.

Half of the sample had legal and economic complications because of debts accumulated before commitment.

Three-fourths of the sample were without automobile transportation, except as family members and friends could assist them.

Five men were released to stable living and work programs. The rest reported many efforts to obtain employment during the first two months, including one who reported filing as many as 60 applications for work before obtaining a job.

At the request of the interviewers, 12 of the 16 parolees kept complete records of their expenses during the first 60 days, most of them saving receipts to confirm their reports. Excluding the parolee with the \$50,000 in savings who bought a business during this period, five men in the sample reported spending \$1,000 to \$2,000 in the first two months (the costs of purchasing a car were included in each of these cases); four respondents reported expenses ranging from \$250 to \$725 (each of these men was receiving free board and room); and only two reported spending less than \$100 (both of these men were in jail for some part of the two-month period). During this same period, the maximum amount the parolee could receive from the state on release from prison was \$68. Thus, in most cases, the expenses necessary during the first two months of parole were provided by family members, supplemented by the man's earnings after he had

obtained work. The costs of reestablishment were confirmed in most of these cases by the family members who were interviewed independently. In several cases, families in marginal economic circumstances were severely strained in order to finance the costs of maintenance, clothing, time-piece, transportation, and work-related expenses such as union fees and required uniforms. In no case did the reported expenses include more than \$100 for recreation and gifts, although several of the men were released in time to spend Christmas with their families.

#### The Community's Part in Reintegration

Although we often talk in correctional circles as though the parolee is primarily responsible for the success of the reintegration process, it is important to remind ourselves that reintegration is a two-way relationship between the parolee and the community in which he seeks to become a functioning member. Integration does not occur unless the individual has access to the necessary social roles and is supported by his role partners in his efforts to perform. No one can reintegrate in a social vacuum, and positive action from both sides is required to normalize a legally identified criminal deviant.

As the Parole Action Study followed the parolees in its samples out into the community, it found that many special interests, each acting unilaterally in its own protection, had together created rather massive barriers against the reintegration of parolees, and that there exist in our communities extremely few positive provisions that actively support the reintegrative process.

The findings of the Parole Action Study, based on the examination of several different types of communities, suggested that the local community profile in relation to parolees tends to be something as follows:

1. In large part the burden of economic and personal support during the reentry period is left to a narrow circle of family members and friends, even when the situation is full of strain for both the parolee and the family.
2. Large segments of the employment market are effectively blocked from access by parolees, even when they have the requisite skills. These job areas include: most governmental positions, including civil service and the military; those professions and trades whose personnel are licensed by the state; businesses requiring security checks because they have contracts with the government; businesses with exclusionary personnel policies; and some unions.
3. Most social service agencies are largely unaware of parolee needs and tend to take it for granted that the parole agency will provide any services required by parolees. When personnel of such service agencies are asked about parolees as clients they speak of them as "unamenable for service," and suggest that, as wards of the state, parolees should somehow be served by the state correctional system.
4. Among all the various organized community groups, law enforcement officials seem most specifically aware of parolees; in certain cities and neighborhoods, law enforcement officials actively harass parolees in ways that interrupt their efforts toward reintegration.

Perhaps the community most clearly expresses its latent intention that parolees should not become fully reintegrated in those states that permanently exclude the once committed felon from exercising certain civil rights. From the moment of their release such

parolees know they are second-class citizens for the rest of their lives, no matter how much they seek to become reintegrated.

#### The Parole Agent's Role in Reintegration

When the Parole Action Study started interviewing parolees, many of our associates believed that we would hear little but gripes about agents. This prediction was not upheld in the Study's experience. In an intensive survey of 125 parolees and their agents, 85 percent of the parolees reported that they liked the way their agents dealt with them.

However, the parolees also reported that the agents were relatively ineffective in dealing with the practical problems of reintegration, while the agents' ubiquitous presence in their social relationships tended to spread stigma and to reduce the possibility that the parolees would be treated as "normal" by others. It may surprise some in my audience to learn that many agents tended to agree with the parolees that they lacked the tools, the technology, and the influence within normal social systems that would be necessary to make an effective contribution to the reintegration of parolees. In consequence, both parolees and agents tend to settle for "getting a man through his parole" as expeditiously as possible, with the vague hope that after his discharge the parolee will somehow manage to become normalized.

It is easier to understand this finding of the Parole Action Study when we outline the kinds of problems that are most frequently reported by parolees as interfering with the reintegration process.

As we list these problems, it becomes increasingly evident that major changes in a number of social systems would be required to diminish the problems and to provide genuine supports for the parolee's reintegrative efforts.

In general, parolees report the following difficulties as critical for successful integration:

1. Most parolees need some sort of economic support until a regular paycheck is available, something like unemployment compensation. In addition, they need access to some fund--loan or otherwise--for the large, one-time expenses such as union initiation fees or the initial costs for an automobile that are essential to commence living and working.
2. Many parolees need technical services of several kinds in order to straighten out the various encumbrances on their civil status that were incurred prior to their commitment.
3. Many parolees need some official protection of their rights during encounters with law enforcement. Fifty percent of the sample of 125 parolees reported at least one arrest during the current parole, and these reports were confirmed by their agents.
4. A good many parolees could qualify for better or more stable jobs if freer access to the actual job market were ensured.
5. Many parolees need access to an effective crisis service to help them deal with the emergencies that seem endemic in the parolees' lives, especially during the early period before relative stability has been achieved. The 40-hour operation of parole offices is not sufficient to prevent the destructive effects on the reintegration process of emergencies that are left too long unattended.
6. Many parolees express a need for a more dignified status within the parole agency

itself, including: increased opportunities to participate in those critical decisions affecting the individual's personal life and freedom, such as revocation decisions; a reevaluation of many strain-producing surveillance practices; and opportunities to organize for mutual assistance.

7. Most parolees report that the fact that civil rights cannot be fully restored, limits their ability to conceive of reintegration as a possible goal, and adds an element of discouragement to their efforts to become normal participants in the community.

Most of these problems and difficulties cannot be resolved by individual agents working with individual parolees. Rather, they inhere in the various social structures that set limiting conditions on the probability that parolees will become reintegrated members of our communities.

The parole model which we have used since the 1870's has emphasized the agent's work with individual parolees as the major tool to be used in assisting parolees to become integrated. Perhaps, the time has come to pay more attention to the social conditions for reintegration provided by our communities. A parole model for the 1970's might well place increased emphasis on helping the community to establish positive programs in support of reintegration. With such positive supports, many parolees will be able to achieve normal positions in society with little or no individual assistance, while the efforts of agents in behalf of those parolees who do need individual help will have a far greater chance of being effective.

Notes

1. More extensive reports of these and other findings from Parole Action Study can be found in Elliot Studt, People in the Parole Action System: Their Tasks and Dilemmas, 1971; and Surveillance and Service in Parole, 1972. Both monographs are published by the Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of California, Los Angeles, California 90024. The National Institute of Law Enforcement, LEAA, is also publishing Surveillance and Service in Parole, a detailed analysis of interaction between agents and parolees.
2. Detailed reports of the parolee's reentry experience can be found in John Irwin, The Felon, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970, paperback; and Elliot Studt, The Reentry of the Offender into the Community, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, No. 9002, 1967.

**END**