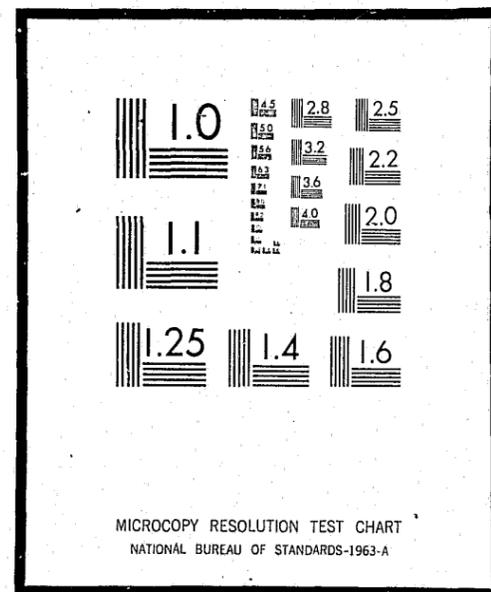


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THE JACKSONVILLE COMMUNITY  
CORRECTIONAL CENTER;  
A DESCRIPTIVE EVALUATION

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PREFACE

Like a moth emerging from a cocoon, corrections is undergoing the trauma of egressing from a relatively secure assigned role, which stressed custody of inmates, into the largely unknown role of effecting personal change, which involves awesome freedom and is attendant with challenges and risks.

The mandate for change is being thrust upon corrections by a citizenry which is becoming increasingly aware that the traditional role of corrections is not adequate to meet the challenge of the day.

The recent emphasis upon community based corrections, generally born of despair with existing institutional programs, seems grounded in the belief that man can be successfully socialized or reintegrated into his community with appropriate guidance and counsel.

At this point in time it becomes appropriate to ask, can community based corrections achieve the goal of socialization of clients or inmates? How should living units be organized to accomplish their stated objective of decreasing anti-social behavior? What is a therapeutic community? What are adequate measures of success? What criteria should be adopted for defining success so that agencies can communicate findings in an intelligible manner and contribute to the formulation of empirical generalizations?

Increasingly, attention is being focused upon means to assess or evaluate the impact of correctional programs. All too often

"success" has been defined idiosyncratically by the project director. Lacking adequate conceptualization of the process of change, traditionalists tend to rely upon "recidivism"--which, like a chameleon, has many shades of definition--as a negative criterion measure of success. Some students of the phenomena scrutinize the processes involved in effecting desired change. However, in almost every instance, the results were desired yesterday, although the planning necessary to effect desired change and the resources required to carry out the program have not been forthcoming.

Within this elusive context, this study is presented as an attempt to perform a post-hoc evaluation of a community based, half-way-out correctional program.

Evaluation of community based programs properly lies in the domain of policy research. Policy makers, aware of the public's fear of crime and sensitive to the political implications of community based institutions, often request proof of program effectiveness before sufficient time has elapsed, and generally without allowing adequate finances for the assignment. Frequently, funding agencies which wish the "biggest bang for the buck" only furnish enough funds to buy powder for a lady finger firecracker. Consequently, there are frequent turnovers in personnel--this project experienced three such turnovers. Moreover, available funds can only command the services of graduate students who frequently lack the maturity and experience to conceptualize and implement a significant evaluation. Each, however, contributed significantly to the process and merit praise for an indispensable contribution.

This report, then, should properly be viewed as a segment of

a larger whole in which an attempt is made to wrestle with the reality of the evaluation of a dynamic, changing, and ongoing program. Admittedly, it is limited in scope and intensity. Nevertheless, it is hoped that it will provide some light on the subject of program evaluation of community based correctional centers and will suggest lines of thought or areas of concern for future inquiry.

## I. INTRODUCTION

### Background

The Jacksonville Community Correctional Center received its first residents on August 28, 1970. This culminated an effort which was initiated May, 1969 when the first proposal to establish a Center was submitted to the Task Force On Corrections, Probation and Parole. The Center is housed in the old Air National Guard Building located at Imeson Airport and is leased from the Jacksonville Port Authority. Renovations of the facility presently permit accommodations for 100 residents, usually including 12 permanent party residents who operate the facility, 8 study release residents, and 80 work release residents. The latter category includes residents placed by recommendation of the Florida Parole and Probation Commission as pre-parole work releasees. If the resident performs satisfactorily he may be released upon parole, usually after an interval of from four to six months. Classification teams from the various institutions of the Division of Corrections also recommend residents for placement on work release if they are within the last twelve months of their sentence and meet minimum criteria including a subjective judgment that they can adjust and benefit from the work release program.

The opening of the Jacksonville Community Correctional Center represented an achievement in a long continuum of efforts to improve correctional programming. The concept of work release

was implemented in keeping with the following description which appears as Exhibit A describing agency activities for the Community Correctional Center program in the 1969-70 Budget Narrative:

Section 945.091, Florida Statutes authorized the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions to adopt regulations permitting the Division to extend the limits of the place of confinement of an inmate to leave the confines of that place, unaccompanied by a custodial agent, for a prescribed period of time to: (1) visit, for a period not to exceed twenty four (24) hours exclusive of travel time, a specifically designated place or places and return to the same or another Institution or facility; or (2) work at paid employment, participate in education or a training program, or voluntarily serve a public or non-public or non-profit agency in the community while continuing as an inmate of the Institution or facility in which he shall be confined. Chapter 190A-11, Rules of the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, was adopted June 9, 1968 giving the Division the power to extend the limits of confinement to selected inmates.

The concepts were further explained and defined as follows:

Community Work is the program which allows selected inmates to work at paid employment in the community. Community Study is the program which allows selected inmates to attend an educational facility or participate in a training program in the community. Community Volunteer Service is a program which allows selected inmates to voluntarily serve a public or non-profit agency in the community. Furlough is the program which will allow selected inmates to visit in the community under certain conditions. The purpose of these programs is to contribute to the total rehabilitation of the inmate by any of the following means: (1) ease the transition from prison into the community, (2) place the inmate in employment which he may retain after release from the Institution, (3) permit the inmate to contribute toward his own support and the support of his family thus reducing cost of public agencies, (4) help determine the inmate's readiness for parole, (5) preserve family and community ties, (6) permit the inmate to take advantage of educational and training opportunities in the community which are not available in the Institution, and (7) permit the inmate to develop or maintain occupational or other skills.

The practical rationale for CCC programs was presented as follows:

One of the major objectives in the Community Work Program is to place the inmate in a job in his home community to which he intends to return when he is released from prison. In utilizing existing Institutions, this has been impossible to accomplish in many cases since the Division does not have Institutions in the major urban areas of the state which contribute a large percentage of the inmate population. By establishing Community Correctional Centers in the urban areas of the state, the Division would be able to place an inmate back in his home community on a job which he could retain when released. Locating the inmate in the community would greatly facilitate the reestablishment of contact with family and friends which would help to be a stabilizing influence on his adjustment when released. The Center would also be able to utilize the many community resources available to assist in the rehabilitation programs and would be able to assist the inmate to identify with groups in the community prior to his release.

It was proposed that the staff would be able to devote more time to counseling residents. The Center would also permit greater flexibility in rules and regulations, thus serving as a bridge from the more rigid conventional institutional setting to the relative freedom of civilian status. From an economic point of view, advantages would accrue through contributions by the resident to the state for subsistence, through savings for use upon release, through support of incidental expenses for each person, and for support of families where applicable.

The specific expectations for the Jacksonville CCC were restated in a Division of Corrections' progress report as follows:

. . . The project goal is to take inmates in our penal institutions who are in their last year of incarceration and place them in positions of economic productivity,

even prior to release, through the use of Community Correctional Centers where all of the supportive services and helpful community involvement can be focused upon the individual. This process has been designed to cut the cost of corrections, effect rehabilitation, reduce the populations of our primary penal institutions, restore the dignity of the individual prior to release, reduce recidivism, and generally give the taxpayer more for his corrections dollar.

#### Theoretical Considerations

As is often the case, practical considerations provided the major support for developing the CCC program concept. A growing discontent with the limitations of larger institutions and frustration in trying to bring about change in a setting which supports lethargy have resulted in pious statements about public good being served by alternate correctional strategies. The position of reformists, however, finds support, if not justification, in the theories advocated by respected leaders in the field.

In his theory of differential association, Edwin Sutherland hypothesizes that people become delinquent to the extent that they participate in groups and live in neighborhoods where delinquent ideas and techniques are highly valued. Sutherland further opines that the earlier, the longer, the more frequently, and the more intensely people participate in such social settings, the greater the possibility of their becoming delinquent. This position reflects the common practice of using measures of association to support a broad theoretical viewpoint.

The theory of differential opportunity is supported by

Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin who assert that much delinquency results from an inability to gain access to legitimate opportunities in society coupled with the ready availability of illegitimate opportunities that are quickly seized by frustrated persons as viable alternatives. Thus a relevant treatment program should be directed toward increasing the legitimate opportunities for the offender while reducing his contacts with the criminal world.

A larger perspective is reflected in the Report of the Corrections Task Force of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice when it states:

The general underlying premise for the new directions in corrections is that crime and delinquency are symptoms of failure and disorganization of the community as well as the individual offender. In particular, these failures are seen as depriving offenders of contact with the institutions that are basically responsible for assuming development of law abiding conduct ... The task of corrections, therefore, includes building or rebuilding solid ties between offender and community.

#### Evaluation

The continuity of the evaluation effort has been interrupted by a three-fold change in supervision and administration of the evaluation component. A review of the intent, previous efforts, and the present effort is in order.

A proposal submitted in 1971 proposed an evaluation based upon a variety of methods and points for review. (1) Information about job placement, etc. to be sought from the counselor

provided by Division of Vocational Rehabilitation. (2) Community involvement to be studied in terms of frequency of contacts. (3) Subsistence payments to be measured as one economic indicator. (4) Relations with family members to be assessed using a specially devised questionnaire. (5) A partial cost-benefit analysis to be projected but to be limited due to the one year follow-up period. (6) Recidivism to be used as a basis for determining correctional costs to the community.

The proposed evaluation was carried out in part and is reflected in a report prepared by Stephen Brieger in 1972. In addition, progress reports, such as the one submitted by Chief Correctional Counselor Jerry Vaughn dated September 5, 1972, reflect basic information about participants, staff, programs and reactions to the program.

Additional information concerning population movement for work and study releases is contained in periodic reports issued by the Research and Statistics Section of the Division of Corrections.

This evaluation, therefore, is part of an on-going effort to assess the work release program with respect to a selected number of variables. Moreover, it is limited in scope, as will be described later.

#### Problems in Evaluation

Efforts to perform an evaluation are fraught with frustration

and inadequacies. Using one of the categories suggested by Suchman and adopted by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (Chapter 15), many evaluative reports have focused on a measure of effort. Other evaluations have been performed using assumptions concerning the anticipated impact of certain programs only to conclude that because the measurements showed no effect that the program was ineffective.

The apparent weakness in the total process of evaluation is an inability to properly conceptualize the total situation and then devise not only the steps necessary to operationalize the concepts but also devise sufficient measures to assess whether objectives have been obtained.

A proper distinction is made by Suchman et al between program review and systems evaluation. Reflecting the prevailing trend in corrections, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals adopted the viewpoint that recidivism should be a necessary if not sufficient indicator of systems effectiveness. Although the recommendation is made that recidivism should be based on recommitment within a three year period to a correctional institution for a felony count involving a person who was formerly incarcerated, there are obvious weaknesses which argue against this approach as being a valid one. (1) It assumes that the correctional experience weighs so heavily in the offender's experience that it will counteract and offset the totality of all other forces impinging upon the offender subsequent to release. These other forces might include

discrimination in terms of jobs, housing, social contacts, police harassment, discrimination by state attorneys, parole officers and judges, family conditions, community environment, social conditions, etc. Therefore, to claim that experience in "prison" is sufficient to counteract the totality of other social forces in the free world is inadequate if not absurd. Rather, recidivism may more rightly be regarded as an indicator of the effectiveness or lack of effectiveness of all social forces which impinge upon an individual, but especially the elements of the criminal justice system which have potential influence upon a person who has violated a social norm by committing a crime.

(2) Moreover, there is a time problem involved. Whereas the recommended measure is a three year period following release, most projects are not funded for sufficiently long periods to provide continuity in measurement and evaluation. Funding agencies perhaps constrained by statutes, assume that a grantee can develop a proposal and haggle it through to acceptance, develop a program, hire a staff, implement the program, derive an evaluation, and prepare a summary--all within a year's time. To expect an agency to do this is highly unrealistic; is probably wasteful of the taxpayers dollar, and is methodologically absurd.

From a practical point of view, if recidivism is used as the dependent variable in an evaluation, it requires that sufficient time elapse to permit its utilization with any validity. If the three year limit is used, provision has to be made to develop a

program, secure appropriate measures, and conduct the evaluation during the fourth year of the project, or at least three years after release from a program. A pragmatic limitation can be interposed in that measures can be taken for intermediate time periods which can yield relative results.

(3) An additional problem exists regarding securing recidivism data. Increasingly, state criminal justice information systems may be able to provide relatively accurate arrest and conviction information. For the present, this information is admittedly incomplete. Moreover, if a person is transient and moves out of the state where he was originally incarcerated, there are limited means for accessing information about subsequent conviction information. The task of polling each state jurisdiction for information is too time consuming. Moreover, many states are not adequately staffed or situated to provide accurate information.

The use of data which is national in scope, such as NCIC and its CCH component, is likewise fraught with limitations. For instance, the NCIC/CCH system has a relatively small number of records--reportedly in the three to four hundred thousand range. Moreover, its accuracy is dependent upon reporting agencies supplying disposition information.

The most comprehensive source of information is the FBI "rap" sheet which must in most cases be accessed by manual means. It, too, is dependent upon the accuracy of reporting agencies for disposition information. Moreover, the data is only available to

responsible agencies and as staff time permits.

Given existing limitations, a restricted approach to evaluation may be utilized which will nevertheless assist policy makers and management in their functions.

#### Scope of Evaluative Effort

This report is a descriptive study of the inmates released from the Jacksonville Community Correctional Center during the calendar year 1971 and is submitted as one in a series of ongoing evaluative reports concerning the work release program.

This study presents information about several aspects of the CCC work release program.

(1) It presents basic demographic data about the subjects included in the study.

(2) It describes the occupational background of the subjects, identifies participation in educational and vocational training programs, and attempts to correlate background, training and job experience at initial placement in the CCC program and upon release.

(3) It presents basic economic indicators concerning the participants in the work release program in terms of:

- a. Personal savings at time of release.
- b. Average hourly wage/salary at time of release.
- c. Estimated contributions to subsistence while at the CCC.

d. Estimates of taxes paid, including Federal, state and local.

e. An awareness of potential contributions to family support.

(4) It presents an interim report concerning assumed successful readjustment to the community, utilizing a negative indicator--a rearrest rate.

## II. METHODOLOGY

Between January 1, 1971 and December 31, 1971, one hundred nineteen (119) inmates were released from the Jacksonville Community Correctional Center and constitute the subjects for the evaluation. This study, a largely descriptive one, presents information based upon data currently available concerning the individuals included in the cohort of releases. The data was obtained from the inmate record file in the Central Office of the Florida Division of Corrections in Tallahassee, the records office at the Jacksonville CCC, the records of the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation in Jacksonville, the rearrest information derived from the criminal history files maintained by the Florida Department of Law Enforcement and the F.B.I.

Data generated by this study was processed at the Florida State University Computer Center in the Love Building using programs which are components of the Statistics1 Package for the Social Sciences.

The data is presented in descriptive form with explanatory narrative to assist in interpreting the data. Due to the specified limitations of the data, a brief analysis is performed which focuses upon the recidivistic tendency of the subjects as revealed through rearrest rates for an eighteen month (18) period following release.

### III. FINDINGS

Information in this section is presented in narrative form.

#### Demographic Data

The median age at release was in the 26-30 year old bracket. The largest number of releases (34 or 28.8%) were in the 21-25 age bracket. (See Table 1) Sixty percent (60%) of the releasees were age 30 and under. Five percent (5%) were 51 years of age or older.

In terms of alcoholic or narcotic usage at the time of admission, 64% reported alcohol use, with 27.8% reporting heavy alcohol use. In contrast to the current population, only 5.3% reported narcotic use at time of admission as compared to 39.37% for Fiscal Year 1972-73. (See Table 2)

In keeping with the announced intention to place residents in centers near their home to encourage the redevelopment of families and provide them opportunity to secure jobs which they can continue upon release, 73 or 61% of the residents were recorded as claiming Duval County (Jacksonville) as their legal residence at time of admission. (See Table 3)

Although a total of 18 offenses were represented in the sample, 78% of the subjects were committed for five offenses. Breaking and entering (with 35 or 29%) and armed robbery (with 27 or 23%) topped the list. Grand larceny (with 11 or 9%) was joined by murder 1 with life sentence (both with 10 or 8.4%) to round

out the top five. (See Table 4)

Offenses recoded into five major categories reflect 60 or 50.4% who committed crimes against property and 47 or 35.3% who committed crimes against persons. Together they represent 85.7% of all offenses. (See Table 5)

The median length of maximum sentence was just a little under 4 years in length. An equal number (28 or 23.5%) had sentences of from 1 to 2 years and from 2 to 3 years. The next highest frequency was 22 (18.5%) for the range of from 5 to 10 years. A total of 79 or 67% had sentences of 5 years or less, and 101 or 85.5% had sentences of 10 years or less. (See Table 6)

Racially, there were 57 blacks (48%) and 62 whites (52%). (See Table 7)

In terms of placement in the CCC program, 34 (28.6%) were placed by the Florida Parole and Probation Commission as pre-parole work releasees, with 85 (71.4%) flowing into the program upon recommendation of the classification teams of the Division of Corrections and because the residents qualified as being in the last 12 months of their sentence. (See Table 8)

Information about the institution from which they were transferred to the CCC is presented in Table 9. Heading the list was Florida State Prison with 45 or 37.8%. Three other major institutions (Reception and Medical Center, Avon Park Correctional Institution, and Appalachee Correctional Institution) contributed 34 or 28%, with the other major institutions contributing 22 or 18.5%.

There was a fairly even distribution among the subjects in terms of types of releases. Expiration of sentence releasees led the group with 43 (36%), followed by paroles with 40 (33.6%) and Mandatory Conditional Release with 36 (30.3%). (See Table 10)

The vast majority of the releasees (117 or 98.4%) had spent more than 180 days in the Florida Division of Corrections prior to release. (See Table 11) The median length of stay in the CCC program was approximately 110 days. Sixty percent (60%) had spent 120 days or less in the CCC prior to release, with 89% (108) having spent 180 days or less in the program. (See Table 12)

#### Educational, Vocational, Occupational Information

Since one of the avowed objectives of the CCC program is to provide a channel for employment, it is appropriate to track the record of occupational skills, training, placement, and continuance in jobs upon release. Since, however, the vocational training program in the Division of Corrections was only in its embryonic state at the time the residents were placed in the CCC work release program, it is probably unfair to evaluate the program in terms of continuity among these several variables. However, it may be relevant to present this phase of the report to establish some baseline data for future comparisons.

Educationally, the median grade claimed was the 7th grade, with less than 3% claiming 12th grade or higher education. (See Table 3) The median average tested grade, however, was

approximately 5.5--a full 1½ grade lower than the average grade claimed. (See Table 14) The vast majority, however, reported no academic training while in the Division of Corrections (83 or 70%). The remainder, 36 or 30%, participated in classes ranging from ABE grade 1 to junior college. The highest frequency was 15 or 12.6% who completed requirements for Grade 12 and qualified for a GED. (See Table 15)

Prior to commitment to the Division of Corrections 74 or 62% reported an occupation in the areas of structural-general labor categories. Only 11 or 9.2% reported skills in the clerical, sales, professional, technical or managerial categories. (See Table 16) Only 24 or 20% reported receiving vocational training in the Division, with 95 or 80% reporting no vocational training. (See Table 17) The largest number reported training in the structural trades (13 or 11%).

In terms of prior occupation and type of job placement in the CCC work release program, 44 or 37% reported placement at the same level, and 75 or 63% reported placement at a different level. (See Table 18) A very low correlation exists between both prior occupation and vocational training and type of vocational training in the Division of Corrections and the type of job placement in the CCC program. (See Tables 19 and 20) A marked majority, 91 or 76.4%, were placed in jobs classified as structural or general laborers. Next was the professional, technical and managerial category with 10 or 8.4% and then the service area with

9 or 7.6%. (See Table 21)

In terms of job stability, 100 or 84% had no job change while at the CCC. Upward mobility was reflected for 4 or 3.3% who received more pay. (See Table 22)

Since the objective of the program is to provide entry into a job which can be followed at the time of release, it is important to focus on job stability at release and subsequent to release. Data for this analysis was secured through the cooperation of the regional representatives of the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation in Jacksonville.

Of those for whom records were available, 78 or 71.6% left their job immediately at the time of release. Over twenty percent (24 releases), however, continued in their jobs 6 months or more after release. (See Table 23) Of those for whom information was available about job levels subsequent to release, 26 or 22% reported no change. More pay with less skill was reported by 6 or 5% and more pay for more skill was reported by 22 or 18%. Thus, 28 or 23% reported more pay. (See Table 24)

#### Economic Indicators

Since the current manual record keeping system did not accumulate information for each person released during the period under study, this report has resorted to an estimate for determining some of the economic impact of the participation of residents in the work release program.

Estimating that the men were employed on the average of 75% of the time, and that they contributed \$4.00 per day to the state for subsistence and transportation, it is estimated that the men released during calendar 1971 contributed \$136,530 to the state during their time of incarceration at the Jacksonville CCC. (See Table 25)

Contributions for subsistence were derived from employment. In keeping with the observation that a marked majority were involved in a labor or structural type of job, it is to be expected that 74 or 85% of those from whom this information is available earned between \$1.51 and \$2.00 per hour. There were 13 men or 15% who reported an hourly wage at time of release of more than \$2.00 an hour with one man reporting an hourly wage that exceeded \$5.00 an hour. (See Table 26)

Not only did the residents pay subsistence, take care of incidental expenses and provide some support for families, they also were able to save money for use upon release. Of those for whom records are available, 12 or 11% reported savings of \$50.00 or less, which means that 89% exceeded what they might have expected to be given by the state upon release. One man had more than \$1,200.00 saved, with 54 or 48.6% reporting savings of \$200.00 or more. (See Table 27)

Since records for individuals were not reported in terms of amount of taxes paid, this information is not readily available. It can readily be imagined, however, that if the men contributed

over \$136,000 for subsistence and transportation at \$4.00 per week, that the amount of Federal taxes alone probably exceeded that amount several times over, and that local and state taxes represented a more modest but not insignificant amount.

Post-Release Performance--Rearrest Data

Although this report reflects skepticism concerning the validity and appropriateness of using a rate of recidivism as an indicator of success for systems evaluation, because of prevailing convention such an assessment will be made. However, since there are mitigating factors which potentially bias the data, instead of using a recommitment rate and thus deriving a comparative true recidivism rate, this report uses the time to rearrest for both misdemeanors and felonies in an attempt to measure the time between release and rearrest and the seriousness of the offense with which the person is charged.

Let it be noted, however, that the potential bias of the discretionary function throughout the criminal justice system is fully recognized. Moreover, it is readily acknowledged that many will be arrested who will not be convicted or committed. However, if the recommitment rate is used solely, biased data would result in that there may be a number of people who have been arrested but whose cases will not have been processed through the judicial pipeline at the time the data is recorded.

By recording information over a period of time, it is hoped that experience will suggest a model for estimating the number of

"comparative" recidivists which may result as the outcome of rearrest of the category of ex-offenders who have been released from custody through a CCC program. It is also acknowledged that release upon parole may be a mitigating factor. Since, however, this project is more exploratory, it should be considered as a pilot project to develop a model for more extensive use rather than be considered as a final product in itself. In addition, it is not methodologically correct to attempt to generalize from a limited sample of 119 to a much larger population, unless, of course, it may be conjectured that this study focuses upon a random sample of what might be construed to be a larger homogeneous population.

With the foregoing caveat in mind, attention is directed to the data generated for this report.

Table 28 presents information concerning time to first arrest since release, for all arrests, for first felony arrest and for first misdemeanor arrest. Column I presents information about all first arrests. Out of 119 total cases, 75 or 63% are reported as having been arrested within 18 months after release. Sixty five (65) percent of the first arrests were effected within 9 months after release, with 54% being effected within 6 months after release.

Releasees charged with felony counts totaled 63 or 53%. Of this number, 37% were rearrested within 6 months, 49% within 9 months, 57% within 12 months, and 95% within a two year period.

For releasees charged with misdemeanor charges, 60 (count) or 50% were rearrested within the report period. Of the releasees rearrested for misdemeanor charges, 52% were arrested within 6 months, 55% within 9 months, 65% within 12 months, and 95% within 24 months.

The overall rearrest pattern seems to follow the rate reported in the Uniform Crime Reports for 1971 which indicates that 68% of a cohort were rearrested.

Within correctional circles, interest has focused on whether the correctional authorities or the parole authorities do the better job of screening clients for parole placement. This study potentially provides a mechanism for determining if the criteria used by the Parole Commission are significantly better in selecting candidates for successful post-release performance.

Recall that CCC clients can be placed in the work release program either upon recommendation of the Parole and Probation Commission for pre-parole placement or by the Division of Corrections if the client is within the last 12 months of his sentence and meets other criteria.

Of those placed by the Parole Commission, 53% were rearrested. The rearrest rate for those placed by the Division of Corrections was 61%. (See Table 29)

In both instances, however, interest focuses upon the possible impact of participation in the work release program as a potentially constructive means for alleviating incidents of crime and rearrests.

Further, the persons placed by the Division of Corrections have been or could have been screened and possibly rejected as parole candidates by the Parole Commission. Viewed from this perspective, the parole selection criteria used by the Parole Commission apparently results in only a very small discernible difference in distinguishing potentially successful candidates for early release into the community.

To set the matter in clearer perspective, however, it should be recalled that many of the correctional clients placed by the Division of Corrections would customarily reenter the civilian community within a span of several months regardless of placement in the work release program. Consequently, society would probably have been subjected to the same or higher rate of rearrests, but doubtless at a slightly later date.

Closely related to the concept of selection criteria for participation in the program are the variables of type of placement and type of release.

The sample by chance is fairly evenly distributed among the types of release--34.5% by parole, 29.2% by MCR and 36.3% by expiration of sentence. (See Table 30)

Viewing non-rearrest as a negative indicator of successful readjustment to the community, the assumed success rates are 46.2% for paroles, 12.1% for MCRs, and 31.7% for expirations.

When the underlying factors associated with these types of releases are fully understood, these results are not too surprising. Parolees constitute the "cream of the crop" whereas MCR

releasees are perhaps lowest in terms of a base expectancy rate for success. Generally, MCR releasees have also been passed over in the parole consideration process, and reflect more serious crimes or more pronounced antisocial backgrounds, especially if the releasees were committed for crimes against property. Although MCR releasees are nominally under the supervision of the Parole Commission, a status imposed by law, they obviously do not constitute desirable parole risks.

Several other factors also may be considered as relevant. Even among persons under supervision of the Parole Commission, there seems to be several apparent absconders--persons for whom there is a reported outstanding warrant for arrest. Were these warrants served, the negative success rate for parolees would doubtless be somewhat less favorable.

Rearrest appears to be highly associated with age at release. For those in the 21 to 30 age bracket at time of release, 64% were rearrested. Of all rearrests, 59% were reported in this age bracket. (See Table 31)

The CCC program is also designed to place clients in their home communities where feasible. As more Centers are opened, this objective can be more readily achieved. It is presumed that proximity will facilitate development of family, work and community ties.

Sixty nine (69%) percent of the clients placed in the Jacksonville CCC listed Duval County as their place of legal residence. Seventy eight (78%) claimed legal residence within 50 miles of Jacksonville. (See Table 32)

For those with usable data, 23% from Jacksonville showed no rearrests. While the size of the sample may be too small to justify the drawing of broadly applicable generalizations, it appears that placement in a home community in and of itself is not apparently effective in deterring rearrests or facilitating successful adjustment for 77% of the clients from the Jacksonville area.

Although other variables doubtless influence the situation, it may be relevant to study more carefully the matter of placement within the home community. Some observers have suggested that it may be too easy for releasees to slip back into former habits involving deviant behavior by associating with former companions. This may be especially true for users of alcohol and narcotics who either are influenced toward or gravitate toward situations which nurture their use of drugs.

Perhaps an experimental placement program is indicated to test the notion that helping clients establish new careers in alien community settings may be necessary to break the apparent lock-grip of peer influence upon deviance.

Further analysis indicates that rearrests among the sample studied is highly associated with reported drug use. (See Table 33) Among those reporting alcohol use at the time of admission, 68% were rearrested. Analyzing all rearrests, 77% were reported alcohol users. Only 18% of those rearrested reported no alcohol/narcotic use at the time of admission to the Division of Corrections. Anecdotal data indicates that "booze" and "broads" are, not suprisingly, prime

focuses of attention of the men in Centers and upon release. The release from the nominal restraints placed by the CCC program doubtless leads inevitably to the abuse of alcohol by many men. The result may be a lowering of inhibitions accompanied by an attempt to "smooth out" real or fancied injustices, but also may open up susceptibility to peer influence and invoke opportunity to re-engage in crime or be arrested for alcohol related offenses.

Using traditional criteria for calculating "recidivism," an analysis of releaseses from the Jacksonville CCC during calendar year 1971 indicates the following frequencies for recommitments to the custody of the Division of Corrections.

Recommitments to the Division of Corrections

Months Since Release	Cumulative Number	Cumulative Percentage
18	13	10%
24	15	12%
To April 1, 1974	22	18%

In addition, there were 9 persons returned for parole violations, some of whom were subsequently reinstated on parole. Thus the sum total of returnees was 31, which constitutes a 26% return rate. This rate is well below the approximately 40%-50% recommitment rate cited by some "authorities."

Summary

This is a descriptive study which is also a pilot attempt to conduct a post-hoc evaluation of the incarceration experience and post-release performance of 119 inmates released from the Jacksonville Community Correctional Center during calendar year 1971. The intervening time period permits study of rearrest activity during at least an 18 month time period.

The study presents demographic data which indicates that the sample group is very similar to the general inmate population with the exception that 78% of the participants claimed a legal residence in Duval County or within a 50 mile radius of Jacksonville.

A majority of the participants reported working in jobs that did not require skill training prior to incarceration, and were not trained for skill related jobs prior to CCC placement. This situation reflects the fact that the vocational training program of the Division of Corrections was in its developmental stage. Subsequently, the Legislature appropriated additional sums to provide the desired type of training. Consequently, a majority of the participants were placed in labor intensive jobs at entry level wages.

Economically, one of the prime contributions of the program was the alleviation of the need for more space or the avoidance of the expenditure of some two to three millions of dollars (\$2-3,000,000) for building a conventional institution--with building costs estimated to be \$25,000 to \$30,000 per bed space.

More tangible and of equal importance is the positive contribution to the participants' morale and self image because the program permits him to work productively, contribute to his own personal support, provide for daily personal needs, and contribute in some instances to the support and well being of his family. From societies larger point of view, social gains are enhanced by the contributions of the participants through both state and federal taxes.

Information based upon negative measures--rearrests and recommitments--indicate that the program is making a positive contribution to a plaguing social problem. Although the time span is too short to be completely acceptable, the data permits an interim analysis which indicates that both measures (rearrest and recommitment) are a little lower than comparable commonly cited national averages for each category. Moreover, the recommitment rate is about the same as the rate for all inmates received by the Division of Corrections who are being admitted to an institution for a felony charge which carries a sentence of one year or more.

Clearly, additional study is indicated. Thorny methodological problems must be alleviated and resolved if possible. Acceptable definitions and adequate models must be devised. The age of accountability demands no less, but must also accommodate the problems encountered by administrators and evaluators in seeking to devise relevant, adequate, and acceptable means for carrying out their respective tasks.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

Age At Release

Age Group	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
Under 21	7	5.9	5.9
21 - 25	34	28.8	34.7
26 - 30	30	25.4	60.1
31 - 35	10	8.5	68.6
36 - 40	13	11.0	79.6
41 - 50	18	15.3	94.9
51 and up	6	5.1	100.0
TOTAL	118	100.0	

TABLE 2

Alcohol/Narcotic Use At Time of Admission  
(Self Report)

Type Use	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
Light Alcohol	42	36.5	36.5
Heavy Alcohol	32	27.8	64.3
No Alcohol/ No Narcotic	23	20.0	84.3
Light Narcotic Heavy Narcotic	6	5.3	89.6
Unknown	12	10.4	100.0
TOTAL	115	100.0	

TABLE 3

County Of Legal Residence At Time Of Admission

County	Number	Percentage
Duval	73	61.3
Other	46	38.7

TABLE 4

Offense Category  
(In Decending Order)

Category	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
B&E	35	29.4%	29.4%
Armed Robbery	27	22.7%	52.1%
Grand Larceny	11	9.2%	61.3
Forgery	11	9.2%	70.5%
Murder 1 Life	10	8.4%	78.9%
Other	25	21.1%	100.0%
TOTAL	119	100.0%	

TABLE 6

Length Of Maximum Sentence

Length In Years	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
1 - 2	28	23.5	23.5
2 - 3	28	23.5	47.5
3 - 4	6	5.0	52.5
4 - 5	17	14.3	66.9
5 - 10	22	18.5	85.6
10 - 15	6	5.0	90.7
15 or more	11	9.2	100.0
Unknown	<u>1</u>	<u>0.8</u>	
TOTAL	119	100.0	

TABLE 5

Offense Recorded

Offense	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
Crimes Against Person	42	35.3	35.3
Crimes Against Property	60	50.4	85.7
Deviant Crimes	1	0.8	86.6
Narcotic Crimes	3	2.5	89.1
Other Crimes	13	10.9	100.0
Unknown	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	
TOTAL	119	100.0	

TABLE 7

Race

Category	Number	Percentage
Black	57	48
White	62	52
TOTAL	119	100

TABLE 8

Type Of Placement In CCC

Type	Number	Percentage
Pre-Parole W/R	34	28.6
DC Work Release	85	71.4
TOTAL	119	100.0

TABLE 9

Placement In CCC - Transfer Source

Transfer Source	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
Florida State Prison	45	37.8	37.8
Reception and Medical Center	15	12.6	50.4
Avon Park Correctional Inst.	10	8.4	58.8
Apalachee Correctional Inst.	9	7.6	66.4
East Palatka Road Prison	8	6.7	73.1
Other Major Institutions	22	18.5	91.6
Other Road Prisons	8	6.7	98.3
Unknown	2	1.7	100.0
TOTAL	119	100.0	

TABLE 10

Types Of Release

Type	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
Parole	40	33.6	33.6
NCR	36	30.3	63.9
Expiration	43	36.1	100.0
TOTAL	119	100.0	

TABLE 11

Time In Program Prior To Release  
(In Division of Corrections)

Time in Days	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
Less than 30	0	0.0	0.0
31 - 60	1	0.8	0.8
61 - 90	0	0.0	0.8
91 - 120	1	0.8	1.6
121 - 150	0	0.0	1.6
151 - 180	0	0.0	1.6
More than 180	117	98.4	100.0
Unknown	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	
TOTAL	119	100.0	

TABLE 12

Time In Program Prior To Release  
(In CCC)

Time In Days	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
Less than 30	5	4.2	4.2
31 - 60	11	9.2	13.4
61 - 90	20	16.8	30.2
91 - 120	36	30.2	60.4
121 - 150	24	20.2	80.6
151 - 180	10	8.4	89.0
More than 180	4	3.4	92.4
Unknown	<u>9</u>	<u>7.6</u>	100.0
TOTAL	119	100.0	

TABLE 13

Education Claimed At Time Of Admission

Grade	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
1 st	1	0.8	0.8
2 nd	4	3.4	4.2
3 rd	1	0.8	5.0
4 th	4	3.4	8.4
5 th	2	1.7	10.1
6 th	9	7.6	17.6
7 th	16	13.4	31.1
8 th	22	18.5	49.6
9 th	23	19.3	68.9
10 th	13	10.9	79.8
11 th	19	16.0	95.8
12 th	2	1.7	97.5
Higher Ed.	2	1.7	99.2
Unknown	1	0.8	100.0
TOTAL	119	100.0	

TABLE 14

Average Tested Grade At Commitment

Grade	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
Below 1st	7	5.9	5.9
1 st	3	2.5	8.4
2 nd	4	3.4	11.8
3 rd	12	10.1	21.9
4 th	11	9.2	31.1
5 th	12	10.1	41.2
6 th	16	13.4	54.6
7 th	10	8.4	63.0
8 th	19	16.0	79.0
9 th	13	10.9	89.9
10 th	2	1.7	91.6
11 th	3	2.5	94.1
12 th	2	1.7	95.8
Unknown	5	4.2	100.0
TOTAL	119	100.0	

TABLE 15

Grade Level Completed In Florida Division of Corrections

Grade	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
No Training	83	69.7	69.7
ABE Grade 1	3	2.5	72.7
ABE Grade 4	2	1.7	73.9
ABE Grade 5	3	2.5	76.5
ABE Grade 6	2	1.7	78.2
ABE Grade 7	1	0.8	79.0
ABE Grade 8	1	0.8	79.8
ABE Grade 9	1	0.8	80.7
ABE Grade 10	1	0.8	81.5
ABE Grade 11	2	1.7	83.2
ABE Grade 12	15	12.6	95.8
Junior College	4	3.4	99.2
Unknown	1	.8	100.0
TOTAL	119	100.0	

TABLE 16

Occupation Prior To Commitment

Occupation	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
Unemployed	2	1.7	1.7
Prof. Tech. Manag	5	2.5	4.2
Clerical or Sales	8	6.7	10.9
Service	18	15.1	26.1
Farming	1	0.8	26.9
Machine Trades	13	10.9	37.8
Structural	34	28.6	66.4
General Labor or Unknown	40	33.6	100.0
TOTAL	119	100.0	

TABLE 17

People Receiving Vocational Training

Receiving Training?	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
No	95	79.8%	79.8%
Yes	24	20.2%	100.0%
TOTAL	119	100.0%	

TABLE 18

Relation Between Prior Occupation And CCC Job

Level	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
Same	44	37.0	37.0
Different	75	63.0	63.0
TOTAL	119	100.0	100.0

TABLE 19

Relation Between Prior Occupation And  
Vocational Training

Level	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
Same	10	8.4%	8.4%
Different	109	91.6%	100.0%
TOTAL	119	100.0%	

TABLE 20

Relationship Between Vocational Training And CCC Job

Level	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
Same	12	10.1	10.1
Different	107	89.9	100.0
TOTAL	119	100.0	

TABLE 21  
Type Of Job Placement At CCC

Type Of Job	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
Prof. Tech. Manag.	10	8.4	8.4
Clerical and Sales	4	3.4	11.8
Service	9	7.6	19.3
Farming	1	0.8	20.2
Machine Trades	3	2.5	22.7
Bench Trades	1	0.8	23.5
Structural	21	17.6	41.2
General Labor	70	58.8	100.0
TOTAL	119	100.0	

TABLE 22  
Change In Employment Level While At CCC

Change	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
No Change	100	84.0	84.0
Less Pay Less Skill	3	2.5	86.5
Less Pay More Skill	2	1.8	88.3
More Pay Less Skill	1	0.8	89.1
More Pay More Skill	3	2.5	91.6
Study Release or Permanent Party	0	0.0	91.6
Unknown	10	8.4	100.0
Total	119	100.0	

TABLE 23

Employment Stability At Release

Stability	Number	Relative %	Adjusted %	Cumulative %
Left Job At Once	78	65.5%	71.6%	71.6%
Less Than 3 Mo.	4	3.4%	3.7%	75.2%
4 To 5 Mo.	3	2.5%	2.8%	78.0%
7 To 9 Mo.	12	10.1%	11.0%	89.0%
10 to 12 Mo.	11	9.2%	10.1%	99.1%
More Than 12 Mo.	1	0.8%	0.9%	100.0%
Study Release or Perm. Party	0	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Unknown	10	8.4%	0.0%	100.0%
TOTAL	119	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 24

Change In Employment Level After Release

Change	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
No Change	26	21.8	21.8
Less Pay More Skill	2	1.7	23.5
Less Pay More Skill	2	1.7	25.2
More Pay Less Skill	6	5.0	30.2
More Pay Less Skill	22	18.5	48.7
Study Release or Permanent Party	0	0.0	0.0
Unknown	<u>61</u>	<u>51.3</u>	<u>51.3</u>
TOTAL	119	100.0	100.0

TABLE 25

Estimate of Contribution to Florida Division of Corrections  
(75% of time at \$4.00 a day)

Time In Months	Number	Amount
1	5	\$ 450.00
2	11	\$ 1,980.00
3	20	\$ 5,400.00
4	36	\$12,960.00
5	24	\$10,800.00
6	10	\$ 5,400.00
		260.00
8	2	\$ 1,440.00
TOTAL	119	\$136,530.00

TABLE 26

Hourly Wage At CCC

Wage	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
\$1.51 to \$2.00	74	62.2	62.2
\$2.01 to \$2.50	4	3.4	65.6
\$2.51 to \$3.00	5	4.2	69.8
\$3.01 to \$3.50	3	2.5	72.3
\$5.00 and above	1	0.8	73.1
Unknown	32	26.9	100.0
TOTAL	119	100.0	

TABLE 27

Net Savings At Release

Amount Saved	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %
\$0 to \$50	12	10.1	10.1
\$51 to \$100	14	11.8	21.9
\$101 to \$200	31	26.1	48.0
\$201 to \$400	26	21.8	69.8
\$401 to \$600	15	12.6	82.4
\$601 to \$900	11	9.2	91.6
\$901 to \$1200	1	0.8	92.4
\$1200 or more	1	0.8	93.2
Study Release or Permanent Party	4	3.4	96.6
Unknown	4	3.4	100.0
TOTAL	119	100.0	

TABLE 28

Time To First Arrest

Time	For All 1st Arrests*	For 1st Felony Arrests	For 1st Misdemeanor Arrests
0-3 months	29	11	23
3-6 months	12	12	8
6-9 months	8	8	2
9-12 months	7	6	6
1-2 years	18	24	18
2 years or more	1	2	3
TOTAL	75	63	60

TABLE 29

Rearrest By Type Of Placement

Type of Placement	No Rearrest	Rearrest	TOTALS	
Pre-Parole Work-Rel.	16	18	34	
D.C. Work-Rel.	35	52	85	
TOTAL	49	70	119	

TABLE 30

Rearrest And Method Of Release

Method of Release	No Rearrest	Rearrest in Florida	Rearrest out of Florida	TOTAL
Parole	18	21	0	39
MCR	4	26	3	33
Expiration	13	26	2	41
TOTAL	35	73	5	113

TABLE 31

## Rearrest And Age At Release\*

Age at Release	No Rearrest	Rearrest	TOTAL
Below 21	6	1	7
21-30	23	41	64
31 or more	20	27	47
TOTAL	49	69	118

\*Recorded age was not available for one person.

TABLE 32

Rearrest And Distance To Home

Distance to Home	No Arrests	Arrests in Florida	Arrests Out of Florida	TOTAL
10 miles or less	16	53	2	71
11 to 25 miles	1	2	0	3
26 to 50 miles	0	6	0	6
51 miles or more	13	9	1	23
TOTAL	30	70	3	103

TABLE 33

Reported Drug Use

	No Rearrests	Rearrest	TOTAL	
No Use	11	12	23	
Alcohol Only	24	50	74	
Narcotic Only	4	2	6	
Both	3	1	4	
TOTAL	42	65	107	