



GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION
ON CRIME PREVENTION
AND CONTROL

P.O.R.T. of CROW WING COUNTY

16593
C.6

PROJECT EVALUATION

Corrective

P . O . R . T . O F C R O W W I N G C O U N T Y

A Preliminary Evaluation Report

prepared by

Project Evaluation Unit

Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control

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NOTE

This report is based upon a comprehensive interview and questionnaire data, which covers the period May, 1973 through January, 1974. Any subsequent changes in the project will be examined and discussed in the next evaluation report.

I. DESCRIPTION

A. THE PROJECT

1. Background Information

P.O.R.T. of Crow Wing County, located in Brainerd, is one of several residential treatment programs for criminal offenders now receiving funds from the Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control. Currently the project is being used as an alternative to incarceration for youthful and adult offenders who have been convicted of misdemeanors and felonies. Offenders accepted into the program are to be those who, while representing no threat or danger to the safety of the community, are nonetheless individuals who, in the opinion of the court, need more supervision and control than can be realized through traditional probation. It is a primary goal of P.O.R.T. to provide the courts with a mediate dispositional option which can serve as an alternative to the traditional dispositional options of probation and commitment. It is also a project goal to be more effective than were either of the two traditional dispositions.

In the current fiscal year the project's budget is \$92,378.00, \$45,538.00 of which was awarded to the project by the Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control and \$6,092.00 of which was directly awarded by the state. Crow Wing County Welfare Board, which sponsors the project, has made a matching cash contribution of \$40,748.00, which the county received from the state's Department of Corrections through the Community Centers Act. In addition, the project receives a \$45 a month administrative fee from the Northern Pines Mental Health Center (NPMHC) for which it operates a four-bed

Receiving (Detoxification) Center. The Receiving Center is supervised by P.O.R.T. staff and is manned by its residents and counselors. While NPMHC directly pays \$2,000 a month in wages to the P.O.R.T. residents and counselors who operate the Center, the only revenue the project derives from it is the administrative fee and approximately \$20 a month for utilities.

The project was first awarded Commission funds in November, 1972, and at the time data was collected for this report it had been receiving funds for one year and had been in operation for eight months. The chronology of the project's development has been as follows. Between January, 1973, when awarded funds were first received, and April, 1973 P.O.R.T. hired its director, assistant director and staff. Final arrangements for the purchase and leasing of its residences were also completed in April and in May, the first six clients were admitted to the program. By August, 1973 the project had admitted twelve clients and in October, 1973 it reached its capacity of fifteen clients.

The project is uniquely situated on an attractive site, which affords it considerable privacy and yet which conveniently places it merely a few blocks from the heart of Brainerd. Seclusion for the project is afforded by its location on a bank of the Mississippi River where it is bounded from behind by a Division of Natural Resources equipment storage area and on its sides by streets. It adjoins no other residences and its nearest neighbor is actually an elementary school on the opposite side of one of the adjacent streets. Consequently, because the project is not highly visible to community residents, the project's clients are free to use its grounds without the

possibly inhibiting effects of public scrutiny. While the project's surroundings are not densely populated, the project is not situated in a remote area. It is actually within walking distance of most of the firms which employ project clientele and most of the institutions, organizations and agencies to which the project makes referrals.

The residences occupied by the project are two old, spacious and comfortable wood-frame buildings, once owned by the Burlington-Northern Railroad and at one time part of a railroad hospital. Formerly a nurses' quarters, the larger house of the two has been converted into the main dormitory while the small house, which had been a doctors' residence, has been primarily remodeled into offices. The county purchased the buildings from the railroad and rents them to the project.

P.O.R.T. has achieved a relatively high level of community support that has manifested itself through organizational endorsement of the project and citizen participation in its programs. It has, for example, received the endorsement, and in some cases, active cooperation of each of the following groups: every area civic organization such as the Lions Club and A.A.U.W.; the administrators of all the area's human services programs such as the director of the Social Service Center; the school counselors; the city councilmen; and the county commissioners.

The project also enjoys the support of many volunteers, including some of the community's most prominent citizens. Serving on the eighteen-member Board of Directors are people who occupy influential positions in business, government, education and the professions such as, for example, the State

Senator, county and district court judges, the police chief and the high school principal. Similarly, the various committees that administer and that assist the project also count amongst their members leading community figures. P.O.R.T.'s employment committee is chaired by a city councilman and has, as another of its members, the administrator of the local D.V.R. office. Other committee chairmen are a psychologist from Brainerd State Hospital who chairs the project's evaluation committee and a bank president who chairs the project's finance committee.

P.O.R.T.'s initial high level of acceptance in the community can be attributed to three major factors. First, for an entire year before it was funded, citizens of the community layed extensive groundwork for such a program. Interested individuals and organizations successively sought information about P.O.R.T. of Rochester and became convinced of the program's merits. They then organized a speakers' group which, during that year, informed others about P.O.R.T., discussed it with them and solicited their support for a similar program in Brainerd. Their speakers eventually held meetings with every civic group, service club, church and organization in the community.

A second reason for the project's acceptance, and one which is integrally related to the first, is that it is a grass roots organization founded through impetus from within the community. The genesis of the initial speakers' group into an advisory group and subsequently into a Board of Directors is an outgrowth of community concern, and it was the Board that formally established the project and hired its director. In this respect it is truly

a community enterprise. The third reason for community acceptance is that key leaders in the community power structure are project supporters and participants. Their backing effectively neutralized any potential organized opposition to the program.

The project itself took initiative to neutralize any fear or concern amongst its most immediate neighbors. Before the project's residences were purchased, its staff visited the twenty nearest homes in the vicinity to inform the neighbors about the impending purchase as well as to explain the project to them and to discuss with them any objections that they might have to it. Only one person, whose expressed concern was for public safety, was discovered to have objections to the project. The personnel of the project's closest neighbor, the elementary school, were immediately informed about the project. To establish good relations with the school, the project invited it to have one of its staff visit P.O.R.T. to become familiar with it and then serve as a member of the project's admission committee. One of the school's teachers, accepting this invitation, joined the committee and is the school's liaison with the project.

Public support for the project, however, was somewhat shaken when, on the same day, four residents fled the project and committed new offenses. It is the director's view that, until this incident occurred, the public's conception of the project was naive. Prior to the incident it was popularly believed that once an offender was admitted to P.O.R.T. all of his objectionable behavior would cease. It is now recognized that it is impossible for the project to be completely successful and that some of its clients will

engage in undesirable activities. Consequently the incident generated a more realistic appraisal of the project's capabilities, though its outspoken supporters have grown less voluble in their support. The incident also resulted in a temporary suspension of referrals by courts and corrections officials who had until then cooperated with the project. More will be said of this incident later.

Though some individuals have voiced their opposition to the project, organized opposition to it has not materialized. Those objecting to it are a few members of the police department, a county attorney and a private citizen. Given the few complaints that have been directed against the project despite the aforementioned incident, community opposition is apparently negligible while support appears to remain strong.

The community has several forums in which it has opportunities to provide advice and assistance to P.O.R.T. and opportunities to participate in its operation and administration. Representatives of the community continue to serve on P.O.R.T.'s Board of Directors and are also members of each of the following committees: the advisory committee, the evaluation committee, the finance committee, the employment committee and the admissions committee. Comprised of both professionals and very involved citizens, these committees are assisting the project in finding alternative sources of financial support, in assessing its impact and in securing employment opportunities for its clients.

Responsibility for representing the community's paramount interest, public safety, rests with the admissions committee. Its members, if they

believe a candidate poses a threat to the community, have the authority to deny him access to the program. The decision of the committee members is decisive because they hold three of a possible six votes and a candidate must receive a majority to be admitted. While they could veto a candidate, and while "no" votes have at times been cast, the committee has yet to exercise this authority.

People occupying the following positions currently sit on P.O.R.T.'s seven-member admissions committee:

1. Chairman of the P.O.R.T. Board of Directors (Chairman)
2. A Law Enforcement Officer from the city
3. A Law Enforcement Officer from the county
4. A School Teacher from the neighboring elementary school
5. An Official of Minnesota C.E.P.
6. - 7. Two Citizens who volunteered for this activity

A candidate for admission must select three committee members, one of whom must be from law enforcement, who will interview him, vote on his admission and, if he is accepted, make recommendations suggesting the things he need work on while in the project.

2. Project Goals

The project's goals, as formally stated in the 1973 grant application, are as follows.

1. Provide to the Juvenile and District Courts an effective alternative in disposition and sentencing.
2. Provide an effective treatment program consistent with public safety at less cost than that of traditional institutional care.
3. Reduce negative behavior by providing each resident a

positive environment, conducive to the development of improved social, vocational and educational skills, within a comprehensive treatment program which utilizes all available community resources.

4. Provide positive role models through the residential counselors.
5. Develop a longitudinal continuity of services by familiarizing the resident's family with the treatment principles employed in PORT and train them to actualize the same principles in the family's home environment.
6. Utilize the resident's family, friends', and contacts' knowledge in developing behavior objectives to be extinguished or encouraged.
7. Provide a wider range of behavior than that of traditional institution care, yet closely monitor the behavior with a contingency plan.

In the director's opinion there are other goals that, in addition to these formal goals, the project will fulfill. One such goal is to empirically demonstrate that a P.O.R.T. program can achieve its goals in a small, rural and conservative community. It is his view that the Crow Wing P.O.R.T. project is an experiment which, if successful, will provide demonstrable and practical justification for establishing such programs in similar rural communities. A related goal, again seeing the project as an experiment, is to contribute data to the correctional system's ever-growing body of information on community corrections.

Another goal is to have community corrections become an integral element of a consistent and overall human services delivery plan. The director has observed that while there is an area coordinating committee of human services, it has never considered corrections to fall within its purview. It is therefore his intention to have P.O.R.T. be considered such a service. Once this is accomplished, the goal is to then have P.O.R.T. establish cooperative and

coordinated relationships with other human services organizations already suited to meet some of its clients' needs. This cooperation, it is believed, should make it unnecessary for both the project and the other organizations to wastefully duplicate each other's services.

3. Staff and Staff Organization

P.O.R.T. of Crow Wing County currently employs three full-time paid staff members, one part-time paid staff member and four volunteer part-time live-in counselors who receive room and board. There is another volunteer counselor position, but its occupant neither lives in nor receives remuneration for his services.

Presented below are the titles and responsibilities for each of these positions, in their descending order of authority.

Executive Director. The executive director is primarily responsible for the overall administration of the project and for extra-project relations with the community. It is his responsibility to establish, develop and sustain relationships with all individuals and organizations within the community that are interested in the project or that can in any way serve it as a resource. Keeping the community informed about the project is similarly his responsibility. In these capacities he is the project's liaison with the court, advisory groups and community agencies. Additionally, the director recruits and trains volunteers. As the project is to receive funds from the Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control for no more than three years, it is also the director's responsibility to seek for the project additional and alternative sources of financial support.

Assistant Director. The assistant director is primarily responsible for the project's internal management and, in consultation with the director, its treatment and rehabilitation program. In discharging these responsibilities he is expected to run the group meetings, conduct individual counseling and assist the residents in dealing with their problems. Supervision of the counselors is also his duty, and he sees to it that they enforce the house rules and handles any personnel problems in which they are involved. In addition he supervises the operation and maintenance of the physical plant. Hierarchically he is responsible to the project director, whom he is expected to daily inform about project activities.

Secretary. The secretary is responsible for typing, shorthand, filing and other types of clerical work. She also serves as a receptionist and in this capacity receives visitors and answers the phone. In addition to these traditional secretarial tasks, the secretary is expected to interact with the clients in a role comparable to that of the counselor. The secretary is under the executive director's supervision.

Cook. The primary responsibility of the person in this position is to prepare meals. It is expected, however, that the cook will function in a capacity similar to that of a housemother and will develop very close interpersonal relationships with the project's clientele. The cook is under the executive director's supervision.

Counselors. Counselors are responsible for implementing the project's program, for monitoring the clients' activities and for enforcing the project's rules and regulations. It is expected that counselors, who have been

selected because of their competence and because of their adherence to conventional norms, will foster and maintain a positive value system. Furthermore, they are expected to live with the clients, to serve as role models with whom they can identify and to assist them in fulfilling their needs. Specific, additional tasks are assigned to counselors that are consonant with the individual's own experience, skills, knowledge and interests. For example, one counselor who has himself undergone treatment in chemical dependency programs, is in charge of the project's A.A. group and its morning counseling sessions.

4. Program Structure

P.O.R.T. of Crow Wing County has a highly structured treatment program, which is in most respects comparable to that of other P.O.R.T. projects. As stated in a brochure publicly circulated by the project, its program has five main elements: therapeutic environment, contract programming, behavior therapy, group counseling and community resources. Used in concert, the intended effects of these five elements is to help the individual develop a new "sense of identity, self-worth and personal responsibility."

Therapeutic Environment. It is both a conventional assumption and an empirically supported theoretical contention that the criminal offender's social environment is a factor that contributes to his transgressions. Competing theories of criminal behavior may, for example, emphasize such varied causal factors as interpersonal family conflict, anomie or peer cultural processes. Despite these differences, each explains criminal behavior in social contextual terms. Accepting this assumption, one of the project's

program objectives is to remove the offender "from the environments and interpersonal stresses which contribute to his illegal activities."

The new environment which the project has created to replace the clients' old milieu is a group living environment, governed by conventional mores and standards. All of the activities and relationships that are a part of group living, along with the other elements of the treatment program, are used to place compelling pressure on the group's individual members to conform to these conventions. In such an environment only responsible, law-abiding behavior is encouraged and rewarded, while criminal behavior is discouraged and negatively sanctioned. It is expected that in such an environment individuals will take responsibility for their own behavior and for the behavior of other residents, in an open, responsive and caring manner.

Within the group environment there are multiple pressures toward conformity. A brief example of one such pressure which will later receive greater elaboration is that afforded by the group and house meetings. If an individual is behaving responsibly and is consistently conforming to the group's and project's standards, the group will compliment him. However, rule infractions are received critically and the group can negatively sanction persistent violators by recommending that some of their privileges be rescinded.

The Contract. During a candidate's provisional three-week stay at the project, he is required, with the assistance of the other members of his counseling group, to develop a written contract defining the objectives he wishes to achieve as a project member. The provisional period gives the

staff, counselors and members of his counseling group an opportunity to become familiar with him and allows them to identify the types of changes he needs to make and objectives he needs to achieve. Thus, as the candidate formulates his objectives, project members can, according to the problem areas they detected, introduce additional ones. Typical of the objectives included in contracts are abstention from alcohol for a prescribed period, restitution, employment, skill development, working through a relationship problem, saving money, getting involved in the community and education.

The primary purpose of the contract is to serve as a standard against which the staff, counselors and members of the counseling group can objectively measure a client's progress through the project. Secondly, it affords the client an opportunity to identify and confront his problems and propose a tangible set of objectives that will realistically deal with them. Thirdly, fulfillment of the terms of the contract is the basis for the client's release and the contract specifies the duration within which this is to be accomplished. One primary objective is selected from the candidate's contract, because of its importance and because it is achievable within clearly defined dates. The release date is set as the time at which this primary objective is to be realized. Doing this makes emphatically clear in the minds of all concerned that the objectives can and will be achieved. While contracts are renegotiable, there is an understandable reluctance to do so. Frequent additions would make it appear to the client that the project's expectations are arbitrary and cannot be satisfied.

The contract thus is one of the focal elements of the program, and it

is for the above reasons that project clients, counselors and staff will reject contracts with easily achievable, insignificant and irrelevant objectives. No matter what objectives a client chooses to work on, the criteria for their inclusion in the contract is that they be meaningful and collectively, comprehensive. Were this not the case, an individual could easily select objectives which would not require any alteration in his present identity, manner or behavior and which would not require much exertion to accomplish in a brief period of time. The project will deny admission to candidates who insist on presenting contracts which would permit them to "slide through" the program.

Behavior Therapy. The project, having adopted a form of behavior modification, employs a point system. Daily each client's behavior is closely monitored and point values are assigned to the various tasks and activities in which he is involved. It is possible to earn both positive and negative points, which are scaled relative to the quality of task performance. Clients earn points by keeping their rooms orderly and clean, by performing their house jobs, by maintaining employment and by attending school. Every day school and work reports are solicited from employment supervisors and school counselors who rate various aspects of the clients' performance in each of these respective settings. Performance in selected house activities is monitored and scored by the counselors. Total point scores, which are tallied daily, are then prominently posted on a weekly point report. In this way clients are always aware of their peers and their own point gains and losses.

The point system, as does the contract, serves many functions. For one, it is a monitoring device giving a somewhat reliable record of all facets of a client's behavior. As a record it is used to discuss a person's behavior during the daily counseling sessions. The group, knowing what a person is doing, can reinforce positive behavior and seek to extinguish any undesirable behavior. While the contract is a standard against which to measure progress, the point scores are a relatively objective progress measure. It indicates to the staff, counselors and counseling group members what types of longitudinal behavioral changes a client has succeeded in making, what areas continue to cause problems and in what areas backsliding has occurred.

Perhaps the point system's most important function is its use to determine an individual's movement through the program steps or phases. Essentially the steps, which are outlined in great detail later in this section, entail a phased progression of increasing privileges and responsibilities. As an individual demonstrates his capacity to handle the privileges and responsibilities of one phase, he may with the unanimous vote of the house be allowed to progress to a higher phase. The accumulation of 2,272 points is one of the requirements for promotion from Phase I to Phase II and for promotion from Phase II to Phase III, while the accumulation of an equal number of additional points while an incumbent of Phase III frees a client from further participation in the point system.

a. The Step System. The project's program is structurally divided into a provisional period and five steps. The provisional period, which is three weeks in duration, occurs prior to a client's formal admission to the project.

During this time he prepares for admission while he is reviewed for admission by the project's admissions committee, staff and clients. The five steps, which are of variable duration, comprise the program's basic structure with a client entering Step I upon his admission to the program and with him graduating from the program upon his completion of Step V. Each step defines for the clients, during their membership in that particular phase, the privileges, restrictions and responsibilities to which the project expects them to adhere. Successively each ascending step provides for greater liberties and responsibilities and, concomitantly, fewer restrictions.

Primarily the step system has a dual purpose. By structuring the program in this fashion the project can allow an individual as much freedom and responsibility as he demonstrates he can handle. In this way, a client whose actions and behavior increasingly approximate those of society's law-abiding citizenry is progressively prepared for reintegration into the community. Conversely, the steps can be used to constrain and control a client's irresponsible behavior and his flagrant abuse of privileges.

In another sense the steps provide the rewards and sanctions which are to be earned through the point system. A client who aspires to achieve the increased freedom offered in the next step should be working to gain the number of points that are an objective requirement of promotion. A client who is losing points because of careless, immature and irresponsible behavior knows that a consequence of his losing points can be demotion to a lower step and loss of freedom.

To both staff and clients alike, the step system is another measure of

a client's progress and to the staff it is also a measure of program efficacy. Advancement to the higher steps is on one level indicative of a client's progress toward release, while on the other it is indicative of the project's effectiveness in changing his behavior. Similarly, a client's demotion to or lingering within the lower steps is indicative of his backsliding or his inability to profit from the program. For project staff it may also be indicative of a need to modify the program.

The following are the expectations, privileges, responsibilities and restrictions for the provisional period and each of the program's five steps. They are reproduced here as they appear in a handout entitled "P.O.R.T. Classification System" which, along with a package of other information about the program, is distributed to all provisional clients as part of a formal orientation to the project.

PROVISIONAL

1. May not leave the premises, except to be interviewed by an Admission Committee Member, or, under escort for emergency reasons.
2. Visitors only in the living room.
3. In room and lights out -- 10:30 p.m. weekdays, M, T, W, TH, 11:30 p.m. Fridays, at his own discretion Saturdays, and 10:30 p.m. Sundays.
4. Provisional period is three weeks (approximately).
5. Will be expected to maintain his living quarters, and job assignment in a satisfactory manner. He will be graded "satisfactory" or "unsatisfactory" daily.
6. Will be expected to attend and constructively utilize the 8:00 a.m. and 1:00 p.m. group sessions Monday through Friday, and the evening sessions Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.
7. Must construct, complete and present his contract at

the house meeting the third Tuesday after his admission to PORT.

8. Has full voting privileges if he feels he has been at PORT long enough to be familiar with the topic under consideration.
9. Must turn in money in excess of \$5.00. May draw up to \$5.00 drafts thereafter.

STEP I BEGINNING PHASE

1. On the point system when he begins full time employment, or begins school on a full time basis.
2. Needs unanimous approval of the evening group to look for work, or to enroll in school.
3. May not leave the premises other than work or school except when accompanied by a counselor, Step III, or Step IV resident.
4. Visitors may be received anywhere in the building except bedroom.
5. In house by 10:00 p.m. weekdays; and 11:30 p.m. weekends. In room and lights out -- 10:30 p.m. Monday through Thursday, 12:00 p.m. Fridays, at his discretion Saturdays, and 10:30 p.m. Sundays.
6. Daily work and school reports required.
7. May look for work provided he clearly states where he is going, and may look for work only at one place before he returns to PORT with the results. He may again leave under the same circumstances and conditions several times through the day, but in between group meetings.
8. Must turn in money in excess of \$5.00. May draw maximum of \$5.00 drafts thereafter.
9. May abort morning and afternoon group sessions if they conflict with work or school.

STEP II INTERMEDIATE PHASE

1. Must have accumulated an additional 2272 points to be eligible.
2. May leave premises alone three evenings per week, after group, (not on Tuesdays or Saturdays, but must sign in and out, being very explicit, with the duty counselor).

3. May sign out Saturday from Noon to curfew, and Sunday from 8:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.
4. All outside activities must be well defined.
5. In house 11:00 p.m. weekdays and 12:30 a.m. weekends. In room and lights out -- 11:30 p.m. weekdays; 1:00 a.m. weekends.
6. Visitors may be received any place in the building.
7. Daily work and school reports are required.
8. May manage his own money.
9. Attends only evening group sessions.

STEP III ADVANCED PHASE

1. Must have accumulated 2272 points in Step II to be eligible.
2. May leave premises alone three evenings per week, after group, (not on Tuesdays or Sundays, but must sign in and out, being very explicit, with the duty counselor).
3. May sign out for over night home visit from Noon Saturday to 5:30 p.m. Sunday with permission from his group. Special overnight requests at other times may be given with permission of the group and two-thirds of the house, but requests are limited to one per month.
4. In house 11:30 p.m. weekdays and 12:30 a.m. weekends. Bedtime at his discretion.
5. Visitors may be received any place in building.
6. May be granted overnight or weekend home visits.
7. Weekly school and work reports are required.
8. Off the point system when he accumulates an additional 2272 points.
9. Attends evening group sessions.

STEP IV RESIDENT - COUNSELOR PHASE

This individual will have the same freedoms as the other counselors, except he must sign in and out, and may not sign out Tuesday or Sunday evenings after 5:30 p.m. He must work counselor shifts in PORT a minimum of ten hours per week - he no longer pays resident fee. Attends

evening group sessions except when he's engaging in a constructive endeavor (the group shall decide what is constructive).

To be eligible, a resident must be off the point system for two weeks. At the time of his approval, a minimum time is set before he can request Step IV. If the individuals post-PORT plans include living at home, then his parents or wife must attend the house meeting when he requests Step IV.

STEP V COMMUNITY LIVING PHASE

This individual is residing at his placement in the community and is involved in the PORT Program as agreed upon at the final house meeting. This agreement will be put in writing and should clearly define PORT's and the individual's expectations. The individual's probation officer must attend this meeting, and if the individual's post-PORT plan includes living at home, then his parents or wife must also attend.

While the Step V client lives out of the program, he remains part of it. During this phase he is permitted to live at home, but he also returns to the project a couple of times a week to keep staff and clients informed about his progress. It is therefore theoretically a period in which the client can test his capacity to live a trouble-free life in the community, free from the project's constraints.

In addition to the Step V client's self reports, the project has a still better means of monitoring his activities. As the community is so small, the client's status with the project is public knowledge, his actions are highly

visible and there is little reluctance among the residents who observe him to discuss his behavior with project personnel. Furthermore, should the Step V client begin to become involved in trouble, the house could vote to have him again placed in residence. Their rationale would be that the individual has proved himself to be as yet incapable of leaving the project.

Step V as it is now organized may be changed or entirely eliminated because, in the director's opinion, it is not proving very effective. There are a number of alternatives being considered. Rather than having the client return to the project, for example, it may be required that he become involved in Y.M.C.A. or community activities.

b. Movement between Steps. Advancement into a higher step is contingent upon multiple factors. The minimum objective criterion for eligibility to advance is the accumulation of the prescribed number (2,272) of points. Most important as criteria for advancement, however, are the informal but no less exacting standards of the counseling group which demands more of a person than collecting points. The group primarily expects that an individual seeking advancement into a higher step is, in their judgment: (1) conforming to the house rules and to the requirements of the step he is in; (2) making progress toward contract fulfillment; (3) demonstrating initiative in maintaining the house; (4) assuming responsibility for the welfare and assistance of others; and (5) displaying increased self-control.

For example, the individual eligible for promotion must have, to the group's satisfaction, assumed a leadership role in counseling sessions. In these sessions he should be speaking up and attempting to help others. As

still another example, the group must find that he is taking initiative around the house to undertake extra non-point related tasks. Consequently, though an individual accumulates the required points, he is not assured of advancement. The group will recommend and vote against it if they believe that an individual is sliding through and that the program is having little effect upon him.

Requests for promotion are taken under consideration at house meetings, where an individual, in order to advance to a higher step, must obtain a unanimous vote of the project's clientele. Requiring unanimity in these decisions deliberately places a great deal of power in the hands of each individual. It forces every client, when considering a promotion, to recognize the significant and responsible position that he occupies within the house. Any decision to promote a client must have the final approval of the staff, which will generally ratify decisions that they consider responsible. When the project first started, however, the staff overruled many promotion decisions. It was discovered that the house was protecting some of its deviant members from the staff and promoted them solely on the basis of accumulated points. The staff has found that the number of decisions they have had to overrule has declined, and are now minimal. They attribute this decline to the development by the clients of their own norms that proscribe and preclude sliding through.

The project also has criteria and procedures for demotion. If it is discovered that a client is abusing his freedom or proves incapable of accommodating to it, he can then be placed back. Under most circumstances, a

person will be placed back one step at a time. The procedure begins with a recommendation for demotion that can be introduced by anyone at any house meeting. Following this, the person making the recommendation must explain his reasons for it, then the client being subjected to the recommendation has the right to offer a rebuttle. Finally, the matter is opened for discussion in which all staff and clients have a say. Discussion helps everyone to learn who amongst them is sliding, scapegoating or seeking revenge. A two-thirds majority vote is then needed to lower a client's step. When a resident is reduced in step he must meet all of the lower step's requirements before he is again eligible to request advancement.

A client's incumbancy in a step is not of fixed duration so that theoretically a client will remain in a step for as much time as he needs to make himself eligible for advancement and to be accepted for it. It is likely, however, that the clients will develop their own informal expectations as to what is a reasonable length of time for an individual to remain in each step. Should such norms develop, it will place still greater pressure upon an individual to actively and aggressively fulfill the eligibility requirements and standards for promotion in order to avoid the disdain and contempt of his peers. In addition, as the client is contractually obligated to fulfill his primary goals in a specified time, he must necessarily pace his progress through the steps if he is to meet this deadline.

c. Termination from the Project. There are a number of reasons for which a client may be terminated from the project before he completes its program. One reason may be the violation of the project's rule that a client may not

be absent from the project without permission for more than twenty-four hours. Currently it is the only formal rule which, if violated, will result in a client's automatic termination from the project. The twenty-four hours, it is believed, allows the client sufficient time to decide if he wishes to either remain in the project or to automatically sever his relations with it, and risk the consequence. Upon completion of this period, the director will write a letter to the probation officer or parole agent, informing him that the client is A.W.O.L. and that he is being officially removed from the project's roles.

Another reason for early termination from the project is a client's request to be withdrawn. Participation in P.O.R.T. is semi-voluntary and so a client, without absconding, can at any time choose to leave the project. In leaving before he completes the program, he remains accountable to the authority which first authorized his admission to the project. His subsequent status therefore is determined by the court, youth commission or adult corrections commission.

While the project does not automatically terminate clients who violate major project rules, persistent and flagrant rule violations can result in termination. Amongst the rules which, if violated persistently, can lead to first restriction, then detention and finally termination, are the following:

No fire arms in rooms, cars or in possession.

No drugs other than prescription.

No liquor in the house or on the grounds.

Behavior must conform to the guidelines of one's step.

Systematic failure to conform to project rules is considered indicative of

a client's unwillingness to cooperate with or to benefit from the program, and individuals have been terminated from the project because of such intransigence and incorrigibility.

A fourth reason for the early termination of a client is that he can be withdrawn by the committing authority because of his rearrest. The project itself will not necessarily terminate a client who commits a new felony. In considering termination, it is the director's opinion that the type of felony in which a client is involved is a far more important factor. This, however, is only the project's position and it is one which is not shared by the police or the county attorney. Most terminations because of a new felony arrest have, therefore, been initiated by the law enforcement authorities and the project defers to their decision. The director is willing to make a termination if a client admits to another felony and the project has been having difficulties in working with him. As when a client absconds, the rearrested client's probation officer or parole agent is notified. This official then notifies the appropriate authority, be it the court or the parole board, which is empowered to sever a client's relations with the project.

Early termination decisions are made by the staff, but the director is the sole final authority for such decisions. Once he decides to terminate a client, he removes the client's name from the project roles and notifies the appropriate authority that the project is taking this action. Clients are not consulted and have no power in the making of this decision.

In instances when a client deliberately provokes or unilaterally initiates his own termination from the project, the project recommends that he be committed to a correctional institution. Its rationale is that if a person is allowed to prematurely return to the community solely because this is his wish, then his negative behavior is being rewarded and will only be reinforced. Similarly, to allow this would also encourage other clients to ensure their release by pursuing the same undesirable tact.

Though it is recognized amongst project personnel that the client can and does contribute to his own premature termination, they nonetheless consider their project's program to be primarily at fault. Each client's failure stimulates a reexamination of the program and should they find it necessary to modify the program they will do so. It is the director's view that the project is not responsibly fulfilling its mission if the program has not been effectively designed so that clients can succeed in it.

d. Termination and Success. The project utilizes both formal and informal release criteria by which to assess a client's readiness to permanently terminate his contractual relationship with P.O.R.T. The sole formal criterion of release is fulfillment of the terms of his contract which, it should be remembered, enumerates measurable, specified goals that the client is to achieve within a specified time. Informally, it must be the observation of all concerned that the individual, in addition to fulfilling his contract, has significantly changed in other aspects of his behavior. It is expected that an individual who has earned his release is one who is responsible, self-controlled and self-reliant and one who, it is reasonable to believe,

can again function within the community without reverting to criminal behavior.

The release of a successful client requires the approval of all clients, counselors and staff who, upon a request by a client for release, set aside a house meeting to discuss and to decide upon his leaving the program. Specifically, formal release procedures commence upon the initiative of the client seeking it, who starts the process by having his release placed upon the house meeting's agenda. At the meeting he announces that he has completed his contract, he proclaims his readiness to leave and then, when he has finished his presentation, the matter is opened for discussion. The ensuing discussion covers a range of subjects such as his progress in the project, his future plans and the requisite contact with his probation officer whom he must inform of his impending release. If a consensus is reached that he has, to everyone's satisfaction, fulfilled all requirements for release and that he has made appropriate preparations for his resumption of residence in the community, a date is set for his official departure from the P.O.R.T. program.

Once released, the graduate has no further obligations to the program. He is obligated, however, to remain under the supervision of his probation officer or parole agent until he has fulfilled any residual conditions of probation or parole. P.O.R.T. does welcome voluntary assistance from its graduates because they are role models for the current clientele who, in being present amongst them, attest to the possibility of success.

Counseling. a. Group Counseling: Group counseling and individual counseling are integral elements of the project's program. Provisional clients and clients in the first step are required to attend group sessions three times per day for five days a week, and twice on one other day. Clients in the higher steps are only required to attend evening meetings five days per week. Each session will usually last an hour, but depending upon the problems being discussed and the staff member who is running the session, they have lasted as long as five hours. Until recently counseling sessions have been primarily conducted by the director and the assistant director. The project is currently changing this arrangement by replacing the director with counselors who have been trained in group techniques. These counselors, in addition to the assistant director, will also lead group sessions.

Group counseling sessions at P.O.R.T. of Crow Wing are not conducted along the lines of any single established treatment procedure such as Positive Peer Culture or Guided Group Interaction. There was an early attempt to use Positive Peer Culture, but the clients found it unacceptable. Instead, each group leader, based upon his understanding, synthesis and adaptation of traditional techniques, conducts the session according to his personal conception of therapy.

The counseling sessions, which are used for many purposes, are fundamentally used to encourage and to train the group's members to act responsibly. With responsibility as its central theme, this training involves discussions that closely examine client behavior. For example, problems are discussed in terms of responsible alternative courses of action and similarly, rule

infractions are discussed as irresponsible behavior. The counseling group, as part of the training, provides encouragement for responsible behavior, and it discourages irresponsible behavior. It rewards those who are progressing toward their goals by commending their actions, while it sanctions those who are in trouble by appraising their actions critically.

Discussions in counseling sessions also deal with the members' needs and instruction in meeting these needs. For example, those who never speak up learn to express themselves and those who talk too much learn to listen. Whatever the needs of a particular individual, it is likely that there are others who share them. Therefore, a discussion about one person is usually used as a point of departure to generate an exchange amongst those with similar difficulties.

Another function of the counseling group is the development of informal norms and standards by which clients in the project are expected to govern their behavior. These arise in the course of the group's discussions in which there develops, over time, a consensus as to what is responsible and what is irresponsible behavior. Conformity to these informal norms, as was noted earlier, are also criteria for step progression. It is in terms of adherence to its standards that counseling groups make recommendations for the promotion and demotion of their members.

As the project has determined that alcoholism is a principle problem amongst its clientele, one of the daytime counseling sessions meets as an Alcoholics Anonymous group. These sessions are conducted by a counselor who is himself a former alcoholic, and are used, in conjunction with the contract,

to generate the group support and control needed to extinguish an individual's drinking problem.

b. Individual Counseling. Individual counseling is offered on an equal plain with group counseling, but unlike the structured group sessions, individual counseling is usually conducted on an informal basis. Sessions occur when a client, depending upon when they feel comfortable with and the nature of their problem, seek out an individual staff member or counselor for assistance. This is encouraged by the project because their experience has been that one-to-one counseling is most effective when the client himself solicits it.

One-to-one sessions seem to primarily consist of a client's expressing feelings, which he did not initially feel comfortable expressing before his group. It has also been observed that some clients take this as an opportunity to test their thoughts privately before risking their public exposure. Once this is accomplished, however, clients are encouraged to bring matters that concern them to the group's attention. The project attempts to have the clients recognize that their problems are shared by others and effect everyone.

Referral Agencies. There are numerous social service agencies and organizations in the area to which the project refers its clientele. It is the director's belief that one of the project's functions is to serve as a referral service and he and the assistant director are most knowledgeable about the agencies in the area, the services they offer and how to contact them. P.O.R.T. makes use of these many community resources so that the

project need not duplicate their established, satisfactory services.

The following is a list of the primary agencies and organizations to which P.O.R.T. of Crow Wing has referred its clients and the type of service they have received from them.

1. BRAINERD STATE HOSPITAL has made its recreational facilities available to project clientele. Its staff has been consulted on the use of medication.
2. BRAINERD AREA VOCATIONAL TECHNICAL SCHOOL provides the clients with vocational counseling and vocational training.
3. BRAINERD SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL allows clients, many of whom were once expelled, to enroll in its classes.
4. BRAINERD COMMUNITY COLLEGE offers clients courses and educational counseling.
5. CROW WING COUNTY SOCIAL SERVICE CENTER chemical dependency counselors offer drug and alcohol abuse counseling to project clientele and counselors, and also aid in the operation of the Detoxification Center.
6. MINNESOTA RURAL CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM provides the clients with educational testing, vocational testing and counseling and vocational placement.

P.O.R.T. considers its three most important community resources to be C.E.P., the high school and the vocational school. C.E.P. has been important because of the employment opportunities that it has been able to secure for clients in the face of the reluctance of employers to hire former offenders. C.E.P. actually places an individual in a position and will pay his salary for as long as three months while they assist him in finding permanent employment. Employers incur little risk in this arrangement in that they receive an extra salaried employee at no expense to themselves. Should the ex-offender prove to be a reliable worker, it is expected that he will then

be hired as a regular employee. The C.E.P. program is a valuable resource in that it makes occupational placements for difficult-to-place clients, while it paves the way for increased acceptance of the former offender on the job market and in the community.

The high school is an important community resource for the project's youngest clients. Many of them, because of their young age, lack of education and lack of training, are in no position to obtain employment. Were they not attending school, the only alternative would be to allow them to idly remain at the project. In attending school they are purposefully and meaningfully occupied, while they are acquiring skills that will allow them to be more competitive when they again seek employment. Because of assurance from the project that its clients will present few department problems, the high school has willingly readmitted some students that it formerly expelled. Cooperatively, the school and project are affording these clients a second chance at an educational opportunity they would have otherwise been denied.

The vocational school is a valuable community resource for those clients who, because of their family and economic circumstances, must strive for early vocational training and economic independence. School personnel have been responsive to the clients' needs for, in addition to enrolling them in classes, its counselors have helped arrange financial support for clients who would otherwise be unable to attend. They have also assisted clients in preparing for and obtaining a G.E.D.

B. CLIENTELE

1. Admission and Orientation

Eligible for admission to P.O.R.T. of Crow Wing County are young men who meet the following set of admission criteria. They must be residents of Morrison, Crow Wing or Aiken Counties who are juvenile, youthful or adult offenders and who have been convicted of a misdemeanor or a felony. In terms of their legal status, they may be sentenced, sentenced and stayed, adjudicated, or committed to Y.C.C. jurisdiction in a state of commitment and then referred to the project. They are also to be individuals for whom institutionalization is inappropriate, but whose presence in the project would pose no threat to the safety of the community. Based upon their P.S.I.'s and the subjective assessment of their probation officer, their prognosis for success in the project must be favorable.

The actual admissions process entails an elaborate and lengthy screening, to ensure that a client's admission is somewhat congruent with his own interests and congruent with the interests of the project and the community. Before he will be accepted, his candidacy will have undergone a careful review by representatives of the court, law enforcement and the community and by the project's staff, counselors and clients. In the course of their deliberations they will examine records dealing with his past and will observe his behavior during a provisional stay at the project. It is only upon completion of this process that a prospective client will be admitted to the program.

The pivotal figure in the first stages of this process is usually the

probation officer, who initiates the process and then serves as a liaison between the offender, the project and the court until a decision is made to permanently admit the offender into the project. It is the probation officers in the counties serviced by P.O.R.T. who first make the referrals of prospective clients. Whenever they come across cases that they consider eligible for admission to the project, they contact project staff and consult with them on the candidate's prospects. If it is agreed that an individual is a likely prospect, the probation officer then also meets with the candidate and they have a thorough discussion about the project.

An individual who, in his discussion with the probation officer, expresses interest in the project is subsequently interviewed by project staff. Should he still express a desire to enter the program following the staff interview, the project will then decide whether or not to admit him on a provisional basis. The project's decision will be based upon the interview, his social history and discussions with his probation officer.

Upon an affirmative decision by the project, the probation officer returns to court and recommends to the judge that the person be provisionally placed in P.O.R.T. This recommendation is made prior to sentencing so that if the judge accepts it, he can defer sentencing or delay sentencing, place the person on probation to the project for a few weeks and stipulate that if he is not admitted to the program, he will be returned to court for institutionalization.

The second stage in the admissions process is, as was mentioned above,

a provisional period of approximately three weeks in duration. Such a period serves the project in several ways. For one, it provides an opportunity for all those associated with the project to learn more about the candidate's current behavior and outlook than they could possibly learn through a twenty minute interview or a reading of the P.S.I. Secondly, it allows the project to determine if the candidate is willing to remain there and to work within its program. Refraining from running away is seen by the project as a tacit indication of a candidate's commitment and desire to be at least minimally cooperative. The director believes that under these circumstances, the project, because of its strength, can apply sufficient pressure upon him to alter his character and behavior and simultaneously disallow his sliding through the program. Thirdly, during this period the candidate has an opportunity to prepare for admission. To be admitted he is required to submit a meaningful contract which, with the assistance of staff and clients, he is expected to develop during his provisional stay. It is also while a provisional member of the project that he must undergo interviews with at least three members of the admissions committee.

The third and final stage in the admissions process, which occurs at the end of the provisional period, is the decision on formal admission. This decision is reached on the basis of a six point voting procedure, with a specified number of votes being allotted to each of the following constituencies: clients, one vote; counselors, one vote; staff, one vote; and the admissions committee, three votes. Permanent admission is achieved if the candidate receives a simple majority, or four of six possible votes. When

the decision is in favor of admission, the court will place the new client on formal probation to the project. One of the conditions of the client's probation will be that he conform to P.O.R.T.'s rules and regulations.

While the admissions process outline above only describes the admission of probationed offenders who have not been committed, the admission process for paroled offenders leaving an institution differs in only a few details. In the case of an institutionalized offender, the referral comes from an institution caseworker, who arranges for the candidate's provisional placement. The candidate is then placed on provisional parole, and if formally admitted, he is placed on full parole to the project.

The only clients who have been exempted from this admission process are those who are accepted on a temporary basis and who are never considered for the P.O.R.T. program. These clients, who are often not even corrections cases, are accepted upon the request of other community organizations who need assistance in providing services that are not currently provided by the community. Frequently such clients are in the midst of a program or institutional transition and P.O.R.T. is called upon to provide them with temporary shelter and supervision until a more suitable placement is arranged.

The following are illustrations of the types of clients P.O.R.T. accepts on a temporary basis and the circumstances under which they are received. The project has accepted several clients from Brainerd State Hospital who, while they respectively completed programs for the mentally ill and the chemically dependent, had yet to reestablish themselves in the community.

Crow Wing County Social Services Center has used the project as a temporary children's foster home for as long as a few weeks, until it could make permanent foster home arrangements. The parole agent has on occasion placed a client in the project for a day or two because he was awaiting arrangements for transportation to another facility. Though these temporary clients are not usually enrolled in the program, they are nonetheless expected to conform to its rules and to attend group meetings for the length of their residence.

The offender entering P.O.R.T. receives two orientations, an informal orientation while he is being considered for provisional status and a formal orientation if he is provisionally accepted into the program. The informal orientation usually begins at the jail or the correctional institution where a staff member conducts the first interview of the prospective candidate and briefly explains the program to him. If at the interview he expresses an interest in joining the project, he is then usually given the opportunity to visit it. His visit will include a tour of the physical plant conducted by one of the counselors and whenever possible, a meeting with a client in order that he learn about the project from the client's point of view.

On the day he arrives to begin his provisional three-week stay, the candidate is subjected to a strict formal orientation conducted by the assistant director. The project uses the orientation to impress upon the candidate that his participation in it is voluntary, that its program is challenging and that its expectations for its clientele are high. For approximately an hour, the assistant director explains every facet of the program and what is expected of project clientele. Primarily, he does this by

reading a copy of the project's orientation packet to the candidate, which explains and outlines in detail the program, the rules, the contract, the point system and the step system. The new provisional client is given a copy of the orientation packet and after the assistant director reads it to him, he must initial every page. Oral presentation of the orientation is done for the benefit of the candidates who cannot read or might not be interested enough to read the orientation materials, while candidate's initialing of the packets discourages clients from later pleading ignorance when expectations are invoked and rules are enforced.

2. Client Characteristics

With the exception of two clients who were accepted after discharge from Brainerd State Hospital, an examination of the statistical data indicates the project has conformed to its selection criteria and has drawn its clientele from the target population as it was defined in the original grant.

Demographic Characteristics. Between May, 1973, when the project received its first clients, through January, 1974, when data on this project was collected, the project admitted a total of 21 clients. Of these 21, 12 have been terminated and 9 remain in the program. The 21 clients who have been admitted to the program are males, between the ages of 15 and 33 whose mean age is 20 years, 11 months. Juveniles, between the ages of 15 and 18 account for 24% of the clients admitted. Ethnically, 96% (20) of P.O.R.T.'s clients have been white and 4% (1) have been Indian. When they were admitted to the project, 67% of the clients were residents of Crow Wing County and 33% were residents of Morrison County. While Aitken County residents are

included in the project's target population, it has yet to admit anyone who resided there at the time of their last offense.

Educationally, no client had completed less than eight years of school not more than high school. The mean number of years of school completed at the time of admission was 10.3; 34% of the clients, however, had either completed high school or acquired a B.E.D. before they entered the project. Twenty-four per cent of the clients were attending classes of some type at the time they were admitted to the project.

The marital status of the clients at the time of the admission to the project was as follows: 86% of the clients had never been married; 5% were married and 10% were either divorced or separated. Among them, 90% had no dependents and 10% had two dependents.

Socio-Economic Characteristics. At the time of their last offense, 25% of the clients had been employed full-time, 25% had been employed part-time, 30% had been working irregularly, and 20% had been unemployed. All the clients who were admitted to the project, whatever their employment status may have been at intake, had a pre-conviction employment history. Looking at the last occupations clients ever held, the following table indicates the types of occupations in which they were employed and the proportion of clients employed in them. It should be noted that this table only grossly represents the classes of work in which the clients were employed. For the most part, their former jobs are actually the lower status positions of each of the divisions.

TABLE 1	
<u>OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF CLIENTS' LAST KNOWN JOBS</u>	
OCCUPATION	%
Professional, Technical and Managerial Positions.	19
Clerical and Sales Occupations	5
Service Occupations	10
Farming, Fishery, Forestry and Related Occupations	5
Machine Trades Occupations	5
Bench Work Occupations	5
Structural Work Occupations	10
Miscellaneous Occupations	43

The mean wage of the last occupation held was \$1.79 per hour.

Reported primary source of income at the time of a client's last offense was distributed proportionately, as follows: self, 53%; parents, 29%; government assistance, 10%; friends or relatives, 5%; spouse or partner, 5%.

A majority of clients are reported as having had financial problems at the time of their last offense. Five per cent are reported as having had no financial problems, while 38% are reported as having had minor financial problems and 57% are reported as having major financial problems.

Correctional History. The majority of the project's clientele have a record of juvenile arrests and adjudications. Of the 21 clients who had ever been admitted to the program 71% have a record of juvenile arrests. The mean number of juvenile arrests is four. Seventy-one per cent of the

clientele have also been adjudicated delinquent; 14% adjudicated delinquent for status offenses only; 33% adjudicated delinquent for status offenses and non-status offenses and 24% adjudicated delinquent for just non-status offenses. The mean age at first adjudication for clients adjudicated delinquent is 14 years, 10 months. Forty-eight per cent of the project's clientele had been held in juvenile institutions for more than a month and the mean number of months in juvenile institutions for this group of ten individuals was 14.3 months.

Looking exclusively at the five juveniles who had ever been admitted to the project, all have a record of arrests and convictions, with the mean number of arrests being seven. Twenty per cent (1) were adjudicated delinquent for status offenses only, 60% (3) were adjudicated delinquent for both status and non-status offenses and 20% (1) were adjudicated delinquent for just non-status offenses. The mean number of adjudications as delinquent amongst this group is six. Sixty per cent of the juveniles had been held in juvenile institutions for more than a month and the mean number of months held was 4.3.

All of the adults ever admitted to the project also have a history of adult arrests and convictions, with the mean number of arrests being four, the mean number of misdemeanor convictions being three and the mean number of gross misdemeanor and felony convictions being one. Twenty-five per cent (4) have conviction records for just misdemeanors; 50% (8) have conviction records for gross misdemeanors, felonies, and misdemeanors, and 25% (4) have conviction records for just gross misdemeanors and felonies. Thirty-one per cent of the adults ever admitted had conviction records for two or more gross misdemeanors and felonies.

Sixty-nine per cent of the adults admitted to the project had served time in county jails and workhouses, and amongst them their mean number of months served was eight. A smaller percentage (38%) had served time in adult facilities, but the mean number of months served was much higher (28).

Again looking at all clients who had ever been admitted to the project, 76% were on probation, 14% were on parole and 10% had been discharged from any custody or supervision. Only one of these clients was convicted of a violent offense (aggravated assault) for his last conviction prior to admission. Conversely, 95% of the clients had as the offense for their last conviction a property offense (72%), a status offense (14%), a traffic offense or miscellaneous misdemeanor (10%).

3. Client Activities

As one might infer from the description of the program, project clientele are expected to participate in many different activities during their tenure at P.O.R.T. Clients who have been formally admitted to the program will be engaged, for example, in at least one or more of the following extra-residential activities: attending school at a high school or junior college; attending vocational classes or G.E.D. classes at the vocational school; or seeking employment, holding down a part-time job or holding down a full-time job.

At the instigation and encouragement of the staff, project clientele are beginning to engage in voluntary service to the community. For example, two clients, as part of a delinquency prevention program conducted by the

Y.M.C.A. detached worker, participate in informal weekly discussions with pre-delinquent juveniles. To broaden the scope of such activities, the project is also attempting to involve clients in the activities of the community action council and in volunteer services at the senior citizens' home and the state hospital. Volunteer efforts of this nature, in the director's opinion, heighten the clients' awareness that there are others with still more serious problems than their own, militate against their tendency toward self-pity and self-indulgence and allow them to constructively serve the community.

There are also many activities in which the clients engage when at the project residence. All of the clients have daily house jobs involving house maintenance and upkeep, all are responsible for assuming a special house job each Saturday and all must attend to such personal chores as the cleaning of their rooms. Everyone, with extraordinary exception, also attends their daily group meeting and all attend the house meetings which are usually held weekly. In the late afternoon before dinner and in the evening, after group, clients can: receive visitors or, depending on the rules of their step, go visiting; attend to personal needs and matters; study; or engage in some recreational pursuit.

House meetings, which are also attended by counselors and staff, are a particularly important client activity. Primarily the meetings are a forum for the clients to raise and discuss general concerns and problems, vent emotions, argue and debate controversial matters and resolve conflicts. It is in this forum that grievances can be expressed and differences settled

through discussion instead of through aggressive, self-destructive and criminal action. Any decisions requiring the collective deliberation of the clientele are also made at house meetings. For example, it is here that admissions, promotions, demotions and terminations are discussed, and in the case of the first three of these status changes, voted upon.

Finally, house meetings are sometimes also used for general educational and training purposes. Individuals who want information about a particular matter of interest to them are requested to take the initiative on inviting a speaker to address a meeting devoted to this topic. It is believed that such a procedure not only provides the clientele with useful and interesting information, but also gives the individual arranging the meeting an opportunity to exercise leadership and to enhance his self-esteem. House meetings have been addressed by many speakers on diverse topics, for example: a bank representative has discussed banking, budgeting and the consequences of passing bad checks; a speaker for Planned Parenthood has discussed birth control; and, a marine representative has discussed career opportunities in the military. The house meeting, therefore, has many functions and is a significant and focal project activity.

At the project, there are a number of recreational activities in which clients can participate. Each of the project's houses has a recreation room, with a ping pong table and soon to be added weight lifting equipment in one room, and a pool table and dart board in the other. The project has also set up a horse shoe pitch and an archery range immediately adjacent to the houses. Access to the state hospital gym and other local indoor athletic

facilities has been arranged, but most of the clientele are out-of-door enthusiasts and are not interested in using them.

Interest in the out-of-doors is stimulated by the project's Brainerd location in the heart of Minnesota's lake resort region, within minutes of lakes, woods and campgrounds. Hunting and fishing are perhaps the clientele's most popular pastimes and many plan an annual furlough from the project to go deer hunting. Other activities in which they participate are hiking, horseback riding, skiing and swimming. The project also owns a snowmobile which is used on the many established routes in the Brainerd vicinity.

One of the project's unique activities is its operation of the four-bed receiving (detoxification) center for the Northern Pines Mental Health Center. Essentially, the center provides inebriates with physical assistance and supervision until they are sober and physically capable of leaving the project. It is supervised by the staff and actually run by the counselors and the clients, who are all reimbursed for their services. The center opened in August, 1973 and has served 55 cases, who each stayed an average of three days.

P.O.R.T.'s operation of the program has had both beneficial and detrimental aspects. On the negative side, there are those in the community who know of P.O.R.T. only as a detoxification center and so incidents involving center clientele can adversely reflect upon the project's community relations. It has also been an additional burden upon the time and energy of the staff, counselors and residents who run it. In the director's opinion the center has in several ways proved beneficial to the project. First, it is meeting

a community need. Second, it has served as a unifying force, bringing together all those involved in the program to work on a common goal. Thirdly, it has been an added source of income for counselors and residents.

II. AN EVALUATION OF PROJECT SERVICES

AS THEY HAVE RELATED TO PROJECT GOALS

A. CLIENTS SERVED

Since it first admitted clients in May of 1973, P.O.R.T. has admitted 21 clients, has terminated 12 and currently has 9 residing at the project. Of the 12 who have been terminated, 3 successfully completed its program while the remaining 9 were terminated for the following reasons. Five were terminated because they absconded, two were terminated because of lack of cooperation or poor adjustment, one was withdrawn by the committing agency and one was committed to a state hospital. While the project's graduates remained with the project an average of 28 weeks, the average number of weeks in the project for clients who were terminated early was 9.

The project, in eight months of operation, operated at its capacity of 15 clients for one month and between 50% - 90% of capacity for five months. Two reasons have been tendered to explain the project's subcapacity operation. For one, probation officers and parole agents, finding it difficult to break with traditional and accepted ways of dealing with offenders, have been reluctant to refer prospective clients. Secondly, the courts, officers and agents temporarily lost faith in the project's program because of the incident in which four clients absconded from the project. Rather than continuing the risk of using an unorthodox program, they ceased referring clients and again took refuge in routine procedures.

The project has been somewhat successful in altering this course of

events through two meetings with the justice system officials upon which they rely for referrals. Discussion of the matter resulted in the receipt of a half dozen new referrals. Should the ratio of graduates to failure be reversed, it is likely that confidence in the project will be restored and that the project will receive sufficient referrals to sustain a full complement of clientele.

As was noted in the section on admission, P.O.R.T. has also temporarily admitted clients who, because of their transient status, were unadmissible to any existing community program. The number of clients the project has received on what one might call this crisis basis is four. This group has included recently released state hospital patients, juveniles awaiting foster home placement and parolees in transit. To these people, the project provided food, shelter and supervision and, for as long as was necessary, ministered to their basic needs. Usually their stay was for no more than a few days, until a transfer or permanent residential placement could be made.

B. PROJECT STAFF

Presently the project employs three paid, full-time staff members, one paid, part-time staff member, four staff members who receive room and board and one volunteer. Amongst them are two women, two ex-offenders and one minority group member. The project, having filled nine positions, currently employs its full complement of staff members. (Table 2, a staff profile, is on the following page.)

TABLE 2
STAFF PROFILE

POSITION	NUMBER EMPLOYED	SEX		EX-OFFENDER		MINORITY GROUP	
		MALE	FEMALE	YES	NO	YES	NO
<u>PAID STAFF</u>							
Director	1	X			X		X
Asst. Director	1	X			X		X
Secretary	1		X		X		X
Cook	1		X		X		X
<u>STAFF RECEIVING ROOM AND BOARD</u>							
Resident Volunteer Counselors	4	XX		XX	XX	X	X
Volunteer Counselor	1	X			X		X
TOTAL	9	7	2	2	7	1	8

The one principle staff problem, which has militated against the project's efficiency, is the continuous turnover of volunteer counselors. Based upon the experience of P.O.R.T. of Rochester, that has been successful in recruiting counselors from the local junior college, P.O.R.T. has attempted to rely upon counselors recruited from Brainerd Community College. Unfortunately, no sooner have counselors learned their job and surmounted their naivete than they resign. They have either moved, become disenchanted, married or in some cases, because their actions have been considered detrimental to the program, been dismissed. With such factors as the cause, the project has been experiencing a complete turnover of counselors every few

months. Again this summer the project will lose all but one of its volunteer counselors.

Counselors are integral elements of the program and indispensable to its functioning, so that their continued turnover may well yet prove to have hindered not only program efficiency, but effectiveness. Given the persistent nature of this problem, the project might well consider at least supplementing, if not replacing, the volunteer counselors with paid personnel. The added cost of more paid staff would seem to be offset by the consistency, experience and stability that they could bring to the program.

Another staff problem, which has subsequently been remedied but which presented itself soon after the project opened, involved over-indulgent counselors who were a hindrance to this program. As one might expect among volunteers for any social service project, there will be those whose excessive compassion and sympathy for the people they profess to help precludes their capacity to be of effective assistance to them, and may even result in their causing them greater harm than good. P.O.R.T. had such an experience with the women volunteers in the first group of counselors who, naive and wishing to do well, were easily manipulated by a clientele whose experience has versed them in manipulation. They were soon doing client's house jobs and were catering to their whimsy; but they were not fulfilling the role of the mature, positive role model which the project expects of its counselors. The project's solution was to dismiss these women and to temporarily refrain from accepting other women volunteers.

These early bad experiences should not, however, become the pretext for excluding women from the treatment staff. More mature, professional women who are trained as counselors and who have not self-selected for a volunteer role should be considered the equal of any man with comparable qualifications. Not to do so would be a matter of sex discrimination and would deny from the project the services of talented and capable people.

G. PROJECT SERVICES

The following is a listing of clients' needs and the proportion of clients having such needs, in the order of their perceived immediacy. The needs were rank ordered for each client at intake by a member of the project staff on forms distributed by the Project Evaluation Unit. The most immediate needs among the clients were for group counseling (67%) followed by alcohol treatment (57%), personal support (57%), educational services (48%), job counseling/referral/placement (43%), financial counseling (33%), family counseling (29%), vocational training (29%), basic survival needs (19%), restitution (19%), drug treatment (19%), mental health treatment (19%), pre-vocational evaluation (14%), advocacy with other agencies (10%).

Assuming that this assessment of needs is an accurate one, then of the fourteen most immediate needs of this project's clientele, the project provides services to meet half of them. Table 3 rank orders the needs in terms of the proportion of clients having them, lists the services provided by the project to meet them and also lists the community agencies to which clients are referred to meet these needs. (Table 3 displayed on following page.)

TABLE 3

PROJECT SERVICES AND COMMUNITY REFERRAL AGENCIES MEETING CLIENTS' NEEDS

NEED	% IN NEED	PROJECT SERVICES TO MEET NEED	REFERRAL AGENCY
Group Counseling	67	Group Counseling	
Alcohol Treatment	57	Group Counseling (Alcoholics Anonymous Group)	Crow Wing County Social Service Center
Personal Support	57	Group Counseling; Individual Counseling; Volunteer Counselors	
Education Services	48		Brainerd Area Vocational Technical School; Brainerd Senior High School; Brainerd Community College
Job Counseling/Referral/Training	43		Minnesota Rural Concentrated Employment Program
Financial Counseling	33	House Meeting (Bank Representative)	
Family Counseling	29		

TABLE 3 CONTINUED

PROJECT SERVICES AND COMMUNITY REFERRAL AGENCIES MEETING CLIENTS' NEEDS

NEED	% IN NEED	PROJECT SERVICES TO MEET NEED	REFERRAL AGENCY
Vocational Training	29		Brainerd Area Vocational Technical School
Basic Survival Needs	19	Residential Program	
Restitution	19	Project Contract Voluntary Community Service	
Drug Treatment	19		Crow Wing County Social Service Center
Mental Health Treatment	19		Brainerd State Hospital; Northern Pines Mental Health Center
Pre-Vocational Evaluation	14		Minnesota Rural Concentrated Employment Program
Advocacy with Other Agencies	10	Director and Assistant Director make referrals and contacts	

III. COST ANALYSIS

While the issue of "cost per client" of community-based corrections projects has often been raised, there is as yet neither an agreed upon method for determining costs nor any set standards as to what constitutes a reasonable cost. The Project Evaluation Unit is presently attempting to develop such a standard, and the estimates presented in this section are a product of its early efforts in this direction. Consequently, the following estimate of cost is very rough.

The first cost per client estimate is based upon the project's expenditures for the last six months, August 1, 1973 through January 31, 1974. There are several reasons for basing the estimate solely on costs incurred during this period. First, though the project was awarded funds to begin its operations January 1, 1973, it truly began operations four months later in May, 1973, when its residential facilities had been secured and its first clients were admitted. Secondly, its major start-up costs, which include costs for construction and equipment, were incurred during the first three months of operation - May, 1973 through July, 1973. Thirdly, the project gradually increased the size of its client population, so that it was not until August, 1973 that the population much exceeded 50% of the project's fifteen client capacity.

The project's total expenditures in the last six months are a sum of \$60,110. Eliminating the costs of equipment and construction during this period (\$7,801), we arrive at the total project cost of \$52,309. During

this period of time twenty clients who have been or who still are in the project collectively spent a total of 262 weeks in residence. Dividing the total cost of \$52,309 by 262, we arrive at a cost per client of \$200 per week, and \$29 per day. This amounts to an annual cost per client of \$10,411.

We can also estimate the project's expenditures if, during this time, it had operated at maximum capacity as opposed to an actual 60% of capacity. A constant fifteen clients residing in the project for six months would have resided there an equivalent of 405 client weeks. Assuming that capital expenditures and personnel costs would have remained the same, we multiply the operating expenses by the added 40% occupancy ($.40 \times \$29,190 = \$11,676$) and add that to the revised total cost of \$52,309 for an estimated total expenditure at capacity of \$63,985. Dividing this estimated total cost by 405 client weeks (capacity) the estimated per client cost is \$158 per week and \$23 per day. This amounts to an estimated annual cost per client of \$8,395.

These figures are inadequate for a comparison of cost-effectiveness between P.O.R.T. of Crow Wing and other P.O.R.T. projects. Such a comparison will be made at a later date when sufficient follow-up data on differential recidivism rates become available. We can, however, compare the P.O.R.T. of Crow Wing cost per client (CPC) with the cost per inmate in state correctional institutions. Looking first at Minnesota State Prison, the annual cost per adult inmate (CPAI) in fiscal 1971 - 1972 was \$5,161 and the average daily CPAI was \$14. CPC in P.O.R.T. is therefore slightly more than two times the CPAI in the state prison, and the estimated CPC, if P.O.R.T. operated at capacity, is $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the CPAI in the state prison.

Project clientele, with a mean age of twenty years and eleven months and a median age of nineteen years, seven months, are mostly youthful offenders and as such, are more comparable to the inmates in the Minnesota State Reformatory. For inmates in the reformatory, the average annual CPAI in fiscal 1971 - 1972 was \$6,933 and the average daily CPAI was \$19. In comparison to these figures, the CPC in P.O.R.T. is approximately 1½ times the CPAI in the reformatory, while P.O.R.T.'s estimated capacity CPC is 1.2 times the reformatory CPAI.

The CPC in P.O.R.T. is, however, 85% of the cost per juvenile inmate (CPJI) in the Minnesota State Training School for Boys. The average annual CPJI in the Training School for fiscal 1971-72 is \$12,366 and the average daily cost is \$34.

While P.O.R.T. costs per client are in two instances higher than the CPAI in state correctional facilities, several mitigating factors must be taken into consideration when interpreting these differences. First, given inflation, the CPAIs for fiscal 1973 - 1974 are likely to be as much as \$2 - \$4 higher than the CPAIs for fiscal 1971 - 1972 (last available figures). Secondly, the types of organizations, correctional facility and P.O.R.T. project, are quantitatively incomparable. In all cases the cost of admitting additional residents to the small P.O.R.T. project is going to be greater than the cost of admitting additional inmates to the very large correctional institution. Thirdly, the organizations qualitatively differ with respect to their principle functions. Correctional institutions, despite rhetoric to the contrary, primarily provide custody and securely segregate the inmate

from the larger society. P.O.R.T., on the other hand, has as its primary function treatment and attempts to rapidly reintegrate its clients into the larger society.

These factors considered, P.O.R.T.'s CPC is not unreasonable. Given the quantitative and qualitative differences between correctional institutions and residential treatment programs, it is unlikely that the treatment programs could ever cost less. The true question, to be answered in the final evaluation of the P.O.R.T. program, is as follows: for their greater cost, have P.O.R.T. projects been more effective in reducing recidivism than the admittedly less expensive correctional facility? If this question can be answered affirmatively, then P.O.R.T. is well worth the extra cost.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

P.O.R.T. of Crow Wing County, being a relatively new project and having had only three successful graduates, cannot as yet be evaluated for program effectiveness. When effectiveness is evaluated, however, P.O.R.T. of Crow Wing will provide some interesting bases for comparison with the other P.O.R.T. projects. Of the P.O.R.T. projects currently funded by the Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control, this project has the most formalized and complex program structure and the strictest monitoring of client activity. The relationship between the degrees of formalization, complexity and control and program effectiveness should be examined in a subsequent evaluation of the P.O.R.T. program. In addition, of all these P.O.R.T. projects, P.O.R.T. of Crow Wing admits the most heterogeneous clientele. As a rural project, because of the much smaller population of offenders it may be impossible to narrowly define the target population in terms of age, last offense and legal status and yet have enough clients to operate at maximum capacity. A heterogeneous client population may, however, also be less amenable to the same treatment techniques and together in the same project may actually inhibit program effectiveness. Certainly this is speculation, but it suggests that the relationship between the heterogeneity of clientele and program effectiveness should also be examined in a subsequent evaluation of the overall P.O.R.T. program.

In terms of P.O.R.T. of Crow Wing's current activities, it can be said that the project has been relatively consistent in its adherence to the grant application in each of the following areas: the type of clientele admitted

to the project, the program and the services offered. As far as staff is concerned, the project has been operating with fewer volunteer counselors than was originally proposed. This is in itself not a problem. The major staff problem involving counselors is the continuous turnover which, if not abated, could hinder the delivery of service and ultimately the project's effectiveness.

Whether or not the project achieves its goals is a matter for another evaluation, once a significantly large group of failures and graduates become available for study. Nonetheless, it is fair to say that presently P.O.R.T. of Crow Wing is providing the types of services that are related to its goals. There is no indication, however, that the project is providing any service or engaging in any activity that is directly related to goals five and six. These goals, which project the involvement of family, friends and relatives in the treatment program, have not as yet been actualized in programmatic activity.

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