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INMATES  
AT WORK

BY

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a study of work furlough-final report-SRS grant no.12-P-55261/9-04(RD-2506-G)1971

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A Study of Work Furlough -- Final Report -- SRS Grant No. 12 - P - 55261/9 - 04

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. . . mobility is even precipitated.  
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JAIL INMATES AT WORK:  
A STUDY OF WORK FURLOUGH  
FINAL REPORT

by

Alvin Rudoff, Ph.D.  
and  
T. C. Esselstyn, Ph.D.

July 1971

Participating Agencies -

Department of Rehabilitation  
Division of Vocational Rehabilitation  
California

Sheriff's Department  
Santa Clara County  
California

This investigation was supported, in part, by SRS Research Grant Number 12 - P - 55261/9 - 04 (RD-2506 - GF) from the Division of Research and Demonstration Grants, Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C. 20201, to the San Jose State College Foundation, San Jose State College, San Jose, California 95114.

The sole responsibility for this entire report rests with the authors.

## MAJOR FINDINGS

1. An ongoing work furlough program was assessed for its effectiveness in a variety of areas.
  2. The California State Department of Rehabilitation made available the services of a specially trained vocational rehabilitation counsellor.
  3. From the stand point of the Department of Rehabilitation, vocational rehabilitation counselling services with county jail inmates appears to be a high-cost low-production venture.
  4. From the stand point of jail administration and the findings of the Work Furlough Study, vocational rehabilitation counselling services are worth the high-cost and low-production in terms of the success of the jail inmate after release.
- \* \* \* \* \*
5. The institution focuses on the work furlough job per se rather than the job and the man. As a consequence, low status is perpetuated and sometimes, downward mobility is actually induced.
  6. A work furlough program must focus on upward mobility. This can be achieved by expanding rehabilitation services directed toward this end.
  7. The expanded rehabilitation services should be offered by the community, in the community. This would enhance the inmate's non-criminal self image, avoid costly duplication of services, and increase the changes for upward mobility.
- \* \* \* \* \*
8. The selection process for participation in work furlough should be expanded to include more inmates regardless of type of offense or the inmate's financial responsibility.
  9. The female offender poses special problems because she is considered by herself and the system as a female first and an offender second and is therefore usually excluded from participation in work furlough.

10. The concept of work furlough should be expanded to include the female offender.

\* \* \* \* \*

11. Jail inmates do not have a criminal self-image. However, the staff perceives them as criminals. This leads to a contest for the inmates' self-image. The contest results in inmate embitterment.

12. In order to avoid or reduce the consequences of the struggle for the inmates' self-image, staff needs to develop a theoretical position in which the inmate is defined as disadvantaged rather than criminal. Fundamental changes in jail programs and administration hinge on this principle.

\* \* \* \* \*

13. The evidence is clear that work furlough results in reduced costs to the community because the inmates earn money, pay a part of their way, and contribute to the support of their dependents.

14. The evidence is clear that the county jail inmates have significantly reduced recidivistic characteristics as defined by this study. The work furlough inmates have better recidivism records than non-work furlough inmates. Those inmates receiving special vocational counselling services have the best recidivism records of all. These group differences are partly due to the selection process and partly due to the work furlough program and the special vocational services.

This report is dedicated to

HENRY ALLEN HUBER

1869 - 1930

Attorney, assemblyman, senator, and devoted public servant in his home state of Wisconsin. He was the author of a number of laws designed to reduce human misery, correct inequities wherever they occurred, and advance the welfare of man. Among these was the Huber Law of 1913 which served as the model for all subsequent legislation on work furlough in the United States. Many thousands have been effected by his life and work. Those who prepared this report acknowledge his influence and hereby make public their respect and admiration for him.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study could not have been initiated and brought to completion without the support of many people. However, in trying to identify those who made valuable contributions to it, there is the risk of omitting someone. Any list is inevitably incomplete. However, certain names stand out in the history of this undertaking and it is a privilege to acknowledge our indebtedness to each of them.

We are especially indebted to the following for having convened the first meeting in 1965 which asked how the impact of work furlough might be measured; Joe E. Levitt, then Chairman, and Robert Kelgord, then Executive Director, California Council on Crime and Delinquency.

This question was first raised by Charles Prelsnik, Undersheriff and Sheriff of Santa Clara County, California, from 1963 to 1970. Without his initial inquiry and constant interest, the Work Furlough Study could never have proceeded.

Sheriff Prelsnik's support was buttressed by James M. Geary, Undersheriff from 1966 to 1970, and presently Sheriff, having been elected to that post following the retirement of his predecessor. Sheriff Geary's affiliation with the Department for over two decades and his concern for inmate welfare were a major contribution to our research efforts.

George Williams, Chief Rehabilitation Officer of the Sheriff's Department, introduced work furlough to Santa Clara County in 1957 and had been in charge of it continuously. When he became Project Director of the Work Furlough Study he brought to it a wealth of experience which was of inestimable value to the Study in its first year and a half. It was a blow to everyone that ill-health forced Mr. Williams' withdrawal as Project Director in 1969. However he remained available to us on an informal consultive basis.

Others of the Sheriff's Department who figured prominently in furthering the objectives of the Study were Captain William Salt and Captain Melvin Riley. To the many Correctional Officers, Assistant Rehabilitation Officers, Chaplains and other staff of the Elmwood Rehabilitation Center, we owe a special debt for their interest and their forbearance.

An early catalyst in our efforts was Ray Barton, San Jose District Administrator, California Department of Rehabilitation. It was Mr. Barton who first suggested the link between work furlough and vocational rehabilitation. He understood both the service and the research objectives of the study and was a constant source of valuable help throughout its duration. He recruited and assigned the first vocational rehabilitation counselor to the Study and made Wendell Finger, Vocational Rehabilitation Supervisor, available for advice and assistance in its early stages.

In the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C., two important contributors to our efforts were Dr. William Usdane, Chief, Division of Grants and Demonstrations, and William E. Flanigan, Executive Secretary, General Research Study Section. It is always difficult to conduct a project at one end of the continent while financing it at another. Yet these difficulties were minimal and were readily resolved due to the concern and positive interest of Dr. Usdane and Mr. Flanigan.

Several employers of inmates on work furlough deserve a special vote of thanks for their contributions to the Study. This is especially true of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation who allowed our research assistants to administer an instrument to a sample of their skilled workers in order to help us establish attitudinal norms for that type of group.

The Center for Interdisciplinary Studies, San Jose State College, provided space to house the Work Furlough Study during its first three months, July through September 1967, while quarters were being made ready at Elmwood.

Finally, we acknowledge the contribution of several thousand inmates. They submitted to countless interviews and paper-and-pencil tests, completed thousands of forms and tolerated our probing all in great good heart. Their's was a signal contribution to the Study and to the interests of sound correctional practice.

To the staff of the Work Furlough Study, our thanks for services beyond the obligations of the 40-hour week, for faith, for devotion, for a high tolerance for ambiguity. To all others whom we may have neglected to name, our gratitude and our apologies.

Alvin Rudoff, Ph.D.  
T. C. Esselstyn, Ph.D.

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THE CALIFORNIA STATUTE ON WORK FURLOUGH  
Section 1208, Penal Code, Annotated Statutes, California, 1970

Employment of prisoner outside county jails: Operation of section:  
Ordinance: Conditions and limitations: Earnings: Time credits:  
Confinement on violation of conditions: Wilful failure of prisoner  
to return to place of confinement: Citation of section.

(a) The provisions of this section shall be operative in any county in which the board of supervisors by ordinance finds, on the basis of employment conditions, the state of the county jail facilities, and other pertinent circumstances, that the operation of this section in that county is feasible. In such ordinance the board shall prescribe whether the sheriff or the probation officer shall perform the functions of the work furlough administrator.

(b) When a person is convicted of a misdemeanor and sentenced to the county jail, or is imprisoned therein for nonpayment of a fine, for contempt, or as a condition of probation for any criminal offense, the court may direct that such person be permitted to continue in his regular employment, if that is compatible with the requirements of subdivision (d), or may authorize the person to secure employment for himself in the county.

(c) If the court so directs that the prisoner be permitted to continue in his regular employment, the work furlough administrator shall arrange for a continuation of such employment so far as possible without interruption. If the prisoner does not have regular employment, and the court has authorized the prisoner to secure employment for himself, the prisoner may do so. Any employment so secured must be suitable for the prisoner. Such employment must be at a wage at least as high as the prevailing wage for similar work in the area where the work is performed and in accordance with the prevailing working conditions in such area. In no event may any such employment be permitted where there is a labor dispute in the establishment in which the prisoner is, or is to be, employed.

(d) Whenever the prisoner is not employed and between the hours or periods of employment, he shall be confined in the jail unless the court directs otherwise.

(e) The earnings of the prisoner shall be collected by the work furlough administrator, and it shall be the duty of the prisoner's employer to transmit such wages to the administrator at the latter's request. Earnings levied upon pursuant to writ of attachment or execution or in other lawful manner shall not be transmitted to the administrator. If the administrator has requested transmittal of earnings prior to levy, such request shall have priority. In a case in which the functions of the administrator are performed by a sheriff, and such sheriff receives a writ of attachment or execution for the earnings of a prisoner subject to this section but has not yet requested transmittal of the prisoner's earnings pursuant to this section, he shall

first levy on the earnings pursuant to the writ. When an employer transmits such earnings to the administrator pursuant to this subdivision he shall have no liability to the prisoner for such earnings. From such earnings the administrator shall pay the prisoner's board and personal expenses, both inside and outside the jail, and shall deduct so much of the costs of administration of this section as is allocable to such prisoner, and, to the extent directed by the court, shall pay the support of the prisoner's dependents, if any. If sufficient funds are available after making the foregoing payments, the administrator may, with the consent of the prisoner, pay, in whole or in part, the pre-existing debts of the prisoner. Any balance shall be retained until the prisoner's discharge and thereupon shall be paid to him.

(f) The prisoner shall be eligible for time credits pursuant to Sections 4018, 4019, and 4019.2.

(g) In the event the prisoner violates the conditions laid down for his conduct, custody, or employment, the work furlough administrator shall report such fact to the court which directed or authorized employment pursuant to this section, and the court may then order such prisoner returned to it and, if it finds that the violation has occurred, may order the balance of the prisoner's sentence to be spent in actual confinement.

(h) Wilful failure of the prisoner to return to the place of confinement not later than the expiration of any period during which he is authorized to be away from the place of confinement pursuant to this section is punishable as provided in Section 4532 of the Penal Code.

(i) This section shall be known and may be cited as the "Work Furlough Rehabilitation Law."

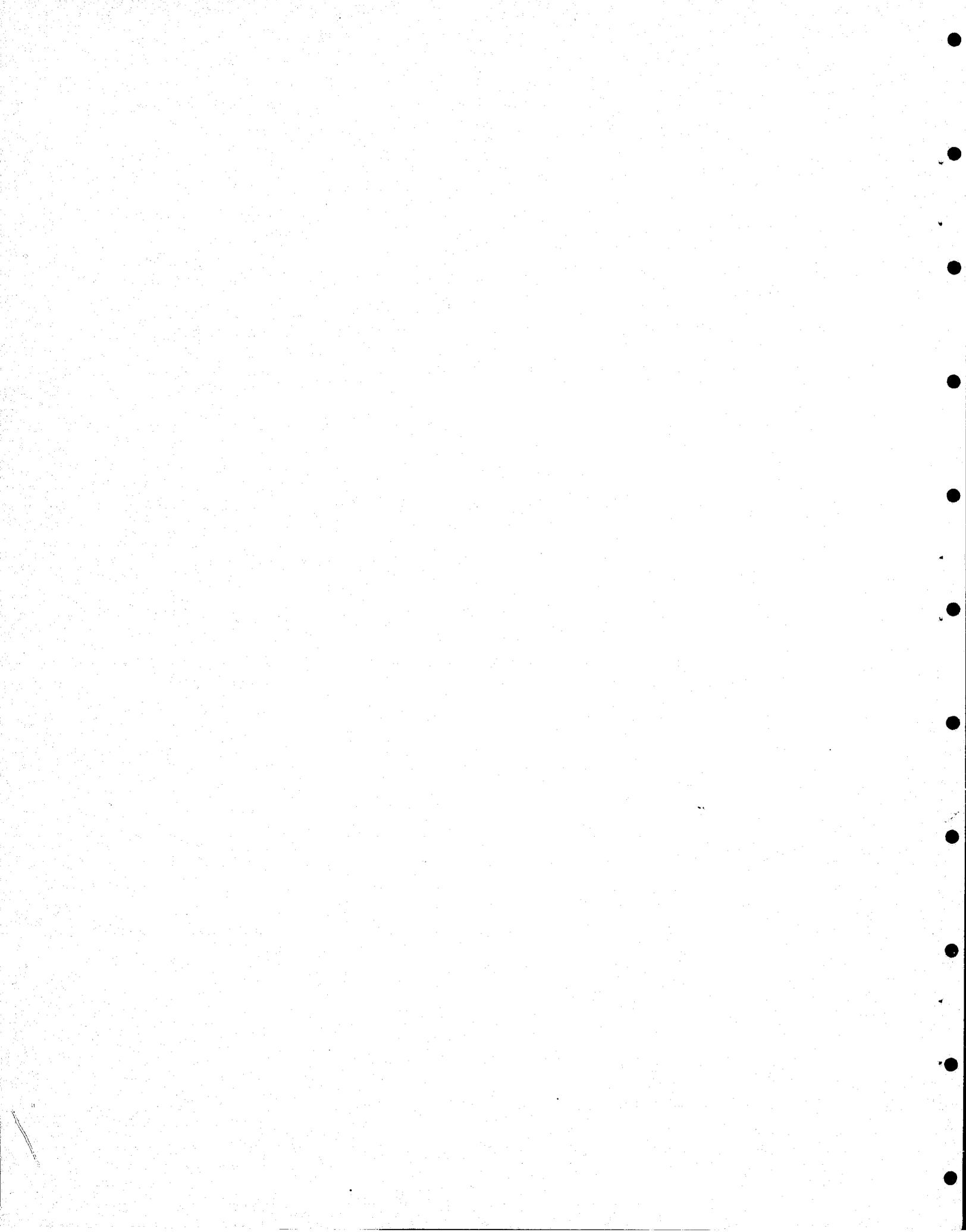


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## ABSTRACT

The basic purpose of this study was to evaluate the effectiveness of an ongoing work furlough program. Within the theoretical framework of an integrative theory of punishment, several hypotheses guided the study in the description and evaluation of the organization, staff, inmates, inmates' significant others, and financial cost. Some of the variables included background, personality, attitudes, opinions, and recidivism. The design was essentially experimental where work furlough and non-work furlough groups were compared on a before and after basis. The sampling was non-probability as the ongoing project selected furlougees through criteria or guides applied to volunteers. Interpretations involved specification of initial differences between the two groups.

The results indicated that the program is worthwhile. It is a financial success and appears to reduce certain recidivistic characteristics. However, it also seems to have some deleterious effects. The inmates become embittered, their low status tends to be perpetuated, and at times they become downwardly mobile.

An improved program could be achieved by use of a non-criminal theoretical framework, expansion to include other inmates, some organizational changes, use of existing community services, and more extensive cost-sharing.

## CHAPTER I BACKGROUND OF A STUDY OF WORK FURLOUGH

### INTRODUCTION

The official designation of the project reported on here is: a Study of Work Furlough. Its initial VRA Project Number was RD - 2506 - C-68. This was changed in 1970 to SRS Grant Number 12-P-55261/9-04. Locally, the project was known as the Work Furlough Study and it will be referred to in that manner throughout most of the following chapters. The purpose of this introductory remark is to make it explicit that A Study of Work Furlough and the Work Furlough Study are one and the same undertaking and are synonymous designations.

How did it start? It started out of a combination of success and frustration. The Sheriff's Department of Santa Clara County, California, had launched a work furlough or work release program for jail inmates as far back as 1957. The state legislature had added Section 1208 to the Penal Code which authorized all counties to set up such a program if the County Board of Supervisors found that local employment and other circumstances made it feasible to do so. Several counties took advantage of this statute and reports began to appear in governmental and professional publications on the way the new programs were progressing.

Most of these reports stressed the economic gains to the County. Santa Clara County, for instance, reported that about 4,000 inmates had been placed on work furlough between February 1957 and July 1967. Their combined wages totaled \$1,846,000 for that period. The County collected \$456,000 from them to defray the cost of their maintenance and withheld \$778,000 for payments to their families. The County also collected \$13,000 from them to be paid into the general fund for fines. Thus there was hardly any doubt that financially, work furlough was a success.

But what else was it doing, what else was associated with it? Did men on work furlough hold on to their jobs, did their criminality change, did they re-unite with their families, were they improved or harmed by work furlough, and how could one tell? These were the kinds of questions which Charles J. Prelisnik, Undersheriff of Santa Clara County from 1963 to 1966 and later Sheriff, had raised in an effort to reply fully to the many requests for information on work furlough which reached him from all parts of the United States. There were no hard data on which to base a reply. Tangibly, work furlough was a success. Intangibly, in terms of questions like these, work furlough was a frustration.

The California Council on Crime and Delinquency was interested in expanding work furlough and had taken this as one of its goals in 1964-65. Joe E. Levitt, then President of the Council, and Robert Keldgord, Executive Director, called a series of meetings in February 1965 to explore ways for San Jose State College to conduct an independent program of research into the work furlough experience of Santa Clara County which would throw light on as many of the issues raised by Sheriff Prelisnik as possible. Drs. Alvin Rudoff and T. C. Esselstyn represented

the College in these preliminaries.

There followed two years of drafting proposals and submitting grant requests to various foundations and agencies, public and private. Finally, contact was made with Ray Barton, San Jose Regional Director, California Department of Rehabilitation. It was he who suggested that a submission be made to the then Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, now the Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C. This culminated in the award of a grant effective 1 July 1967 which made it possible to start recruiting the material and personnel necessary to conduct a four-year study terminating 30 July 1971.

#### THE PROBLEM

Expanding upon the basic questions asked initially by now-former Sheriff Prelsnik (succeeded by his Undersheriff, James M. Geary, elected to the post of Sheriff in the Fall of 1970), the Work Furlough Study defined its problem in the following excerpts from its application to VRA-SRS, 28 December 1966:

. . . The major purpose of this research project is to assess the effectiveness of the Work Furlough Program of the Santa Clara County Jail. The assessment will occur in the test of hypotheses related to intra-institutional and post institutional behavior of inmates and the attitudes of participating inmates and community members, to include in addition to the inmates, their families their jail-keepers, and their employers. The results may then be fed back into the program to increase its effectiveness by such means as vocational programs in the jail or on-the-job training

. . . Beyond the savings in money and the continuity in jobs, the effect of work release programs is largely unknown. Several impressionistic and anecdotal accounts have plauded its value. However, the subjective nature of these reports precludes their use as adequate tests of the work furlough's overall effectiveness as a sentencing alternative. If its effect can be determined, other jurisdictions may wish to develop work release programs of their own, with a greater degree of certainty of its value, and with increased potential savings in tax outlays, manpower, and penitentiary commitments.

The relationship between work-furlough and vocational rehabilitation is an all pervasive one. The heart of the program is employment, with its implications for the image of the inmate as a self-supporting though part-time member of the free community.

There is also the important matter of the effect that continued employment might have on the resocialization of the inmate. If such projects as work-furlough are effective, conceivably, the county jail could institute vocational programs to develop job skills while in jail, for those inmates without jobs or skills. Finally, the basic eligibility for participation in the project will be established by means of medical or emotional disability, broadly defined

The Chapter on methodology will explain how this problem was to be approached. It will also explain various modifications that had to be introduced as the study progressed. These modifications were anticipated in the application:

. . . The foregoing outline for analysis is admittedly ambitious. However, it is represented as an ideal, to be modified when appropriate. It is not designed as a shotgun approach to a problem but to probe in some depth, and to permit the cross-validation of the data collected. It is estimated that the project can be completed in a period of four years.

In brief, the problem was to evaluate the goals, the assumptions, the methods, and the results of the oldest work furlough program in continuous operation in the United States outside of Wisconsin.

With the award of the grant request effective 1 July 1967, the Work Furlough Study was ready to begin.

#### THE SITE

The work furlough population to be studied was housed in the Elmwood Rehabilitation Center. The principal facilities operated by the Sheriff in Santa Clara County are the Main Jail and Elmwood. The Main Jail is a close custody facility for about 600 sentenced and unsentenced inmates. Elmwood is a large reservation of about fifty acres and is located about five miles from downtown San Jose. There are actually two facilities here. One is a close custody structure for about 70 women, some of whom are awaiting trial and the remainder of whom are serving sentences. Sentenced and unsentenced female offenders are separated from each other in the Women's Detention Facility.

Most of Elmwood, however, is given over to a minimum security facility for about 600 male inmates serving sentences of a few days to a year.

The population includes felons and misdemeanants under sentence for a wide range of offenses. All are considered to be minimum security risks, although occasional crowding at the Main Jail sometimes forces transfer to Elmwood of higher risk cases. No Main Jail inmates

are eligible for work furlough. All Elmwood inmates are eligible to apply (except unsentenced women). On any one day at peak employment periods about 200 inmates or one third of the Elmwood population is out on work furlough. The rest have not applied, have applied and been denied for various reasons (to be discussed in a later chapter), or are serving sentences too short to make work furlough a feasible alternative to incarceration.<sup>1</sup>

With the notable exception of tight security in the small Women's Detention Facility, developed more to keep people out than to keep women in, Elmwood has none of the structural features of a jail. Barracks and open dormitories house the population. The grounds are attractive, even beautiful. A chain link fence surrounds much of the area but during the day most of the gates are open. The old long-time repeater will point out that the only bars in Elmwood surround the duck pond. There is a library, a new visiting area which is thronged with outsiders on Sundays, a new general-purpose recreation building, an out-of-doors recreation area. Diversified shops, gardening, a farm program, and county warehouses take up much of the Elmwood grounds. The Administration Building contains the offices of the Elmwood Commander and serves as the control center for all activities. Some of the inmate records are here, the remainder are kept at the Main Jail. At neither place are inmates employed as record clerks.

Except in its initial stages in 1957, work furlough has functioned from Elmwood throughout its history in Santa Clara County. This is significant in two respects. First, since Elmwood is separate from the main jail and since only Elmwood inmates are eligible for work furlough, the administration of the program is no doubt more efficient than might be true were the populations confined in one facility. However, even Elmwood has its problems. As mentioned above, while all can apply, not all applicants are accepted. Hence, while Elmwood is nominally a minimum security institution, both furlough and non furlough inmates are mixed within it.

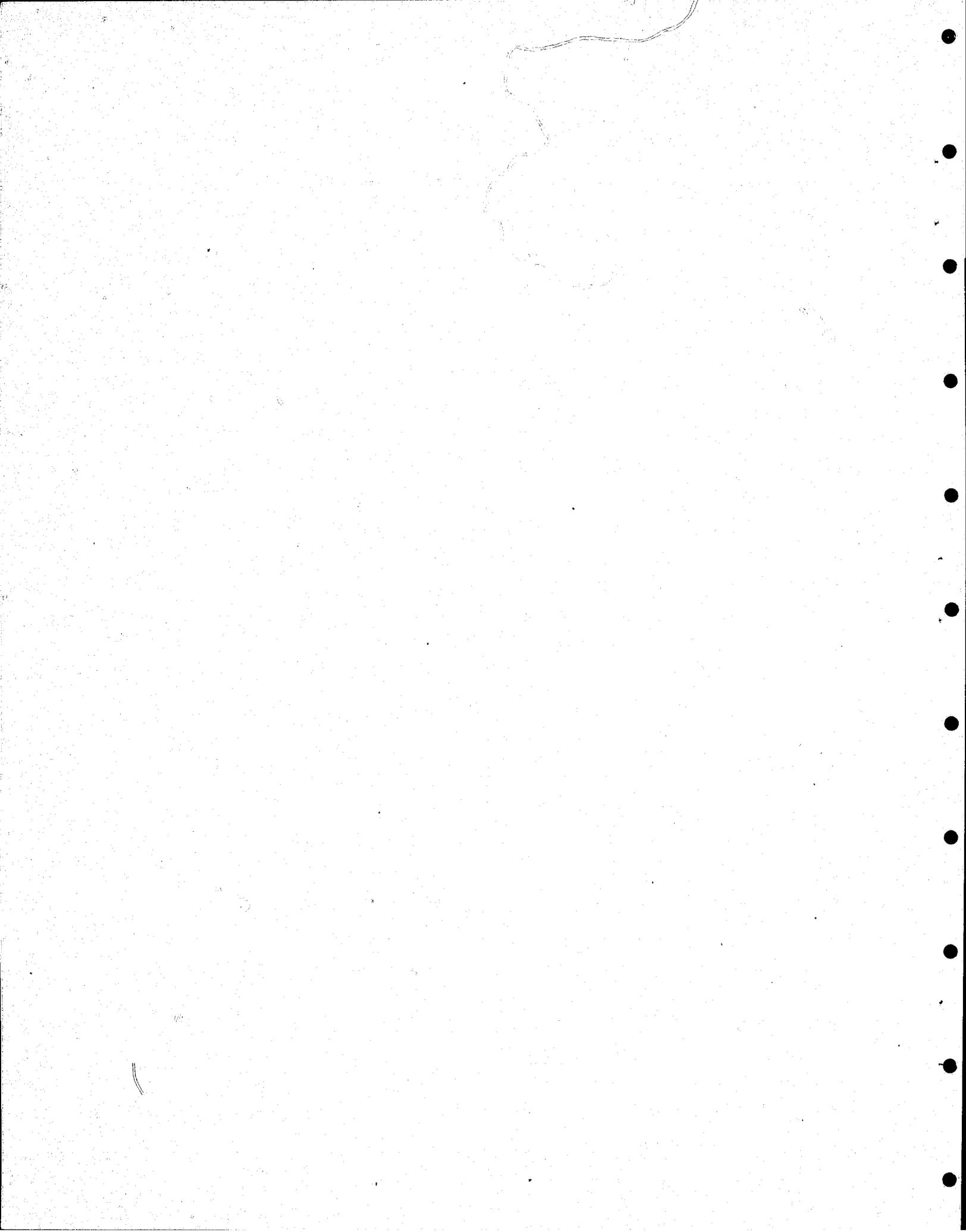
The second point of significance is that work furlough is an Elmwood tradition. It has been integrated into the Elmwood programs by over a decade of practice. Staff and inmates are familiar with it and, by and large, accept it as a normal phase of life, so much so that it is unlikely that either keepers or kept can conceive of Elmwood without work furlough.

This, then was the setting of the Work Furlough Study. When, in the following chapters, the term Elmwood appears, it should be thought of as an extensive and well-grounded minimum security institution run by the Sheriff's Department of Santa Clara County, accommodating about 600 male inmates on any one day, about one third of whom are out in the community on work furlough. As a kind of after-thought, it should also be recalled that in one small corner of Elmwood there is a close custody facility for women, a few of whom are also on work furlough.

Elmwood provided quarters for the research team and made its inmates available for literally thousands of tests and interviews

between 1967 and 1971. Team members had daily contact with staff as well as inmates. Sometimes these contacts were harmonious, sometimes they were not. However, they all contributed massively and, on the whole, positively to the achievement of the goals which the Work Furlough Study set for itself.

1. Alvin Rudoff, et. al., "Evaluating Work Furlough; Federal Probation March 1971.



## CHAPTER II WHAT IS WORK FURLOUGH?

To the state of Wisconsin goes the credit for devising a scheme of releasing jail inmates for work during the day at conventional jobs and at going wages on condition that they return to custody at night - a practice now known as work furlough or work release.<sup>1</sup>

The Huber Act dates back to 1913 when the late Senator Henry A. Huber, a Dane County (Wisconsin) attorney, grew upset over the fact that lawbreakers spent their time smoking, chewing tobacco, and playing cards while respectable citizens toiled. The law, as then enacted by the legislature provided that prisoners could be used as farm laborers for not less than ten and not more than twelve hours per day while they were serving time . . .

Thus, work furlough was born out of a quest for retribution. It was considered unjust that offenders against the laws of man should waste their time in idleness and vice in jail while honest men labored. Later efforts tied work furlough to rehabilitation but it is important to note that historically, there is evidence that work furlough began as a reflection of the retributive theory of punishment.

This measure seems not to have spread beyond Wisconsin in any formal sense although there were several informal and local versions of it. The Wisconsin experience was favorably reported in a popular magazine article in 1956.<sup>2</sup> In the following year, state legislation in North Carolina authorized the establishment of a work release program there on the Wisconsin model but for state prisoners rather than jail inmates.<sup>3</sup> Also in 1957 an enabling act was passed in California allowing counties to release jail inmates on work furlough, following a successful trial of the program by the Sheriff's Department of Santa Clara County.<sup>4</sup>

The Wisconsin version of work release came to be known as day-parole. The procedure was thoroughly reviewed in 1958 by Sanger Powers, Director of the Wisconsin Division of Corrections.<sup>5</sup> Under the revised Huber Law, Wisconsin courts could commit misdemeanants either to ordinary confinement or to confinement only while not pursuing regular employment. The sheriff or jail administrator was enjoined to find suitable employment if the inmate had none. He was authorized to transfer the inmate to the custody of the sheriff in another county if employment could be found there rather than in the county where sentence was imposed. While various offender types were sentenced under the Huber Law, the plan seemed to function especially well with nonsupport cases.

A 1956 survey found uneven use of Huber Law and day-parole provisions throughout Wisconsin. The plan worked best in jurisdictions with adequate job outlets, competent jail staff, separate housing for day parolees, and broad departmental and community support. It functioned inadequately where the sheriff kept poor records, where the court failed to clarify its intent as to confinement, or where the sheriff had no

guidance on how to handle the inmates earnings.

Powers summarized the advantages of this practice to the community and to the inmate. Advantages to the community included the following:

1. Inmates contribute to support of dependents.
2. Deductions from earnings help pay cost of confinement.
3. Earnings help clear old debts.
4. An additional way to handle the defendant who is not suitable for probation.
5. A deterrent for certain offender types.
6. Facilitates supervision.
7. Reduces impact of jail sentence upon family.

Advantages to the inmate as reflected in the 1956 survey were as follows:

1. Permits continued employment.
2. Work rather than idleness in jail.
3. Discipline of confinement when not working.
4. Helps initiate and develop work habits.
5. Disrupts pattern of the problem drinker.

The above points have now become classic in many efforts to justify day-parole, work release, or work furlough, all considered synonymous terms.

The neighboring state of Minnesota initiated its model of work release in 1957 after reviewing the Wisconsin experience. There were certain procedural departures in Minnesota from the Wisconsin law at time of sentence and prior to disposition which provided for investigation and recommendation to the court by a probation officer as to the suitability of the defendant for work release. If the recommendation was affirmative and if the court concurred, the inmate was committed to a facility from which he was released each day for regular employment and returned to custody at night. This procedure has been described for Hennepin County where, somewhat in contrast with Wisconsin, it seemed at one time to be more useful as a disposition for problem drivers than for other offenders - i.e., persons with multiple traffic offenses. Presumably, however, others were not wholly excluded. Generally excluded from the plan were problem drinkers, prostitutes, and derelicts.<sup>6</sup>

The 1960's saw a spate of reports on work furlough which reflect a growing interest in this approach. Orange County, California, established work furlough in 1962. The law in that state authorized the designation of either the County Sheriff or the Chief Probation Officer as Work Furlough Administrator. In Orange County, the Probation Officer was selected. In 1965, he reported on two years experience with the program in that jurisdiction. In addition to confirming the advantages to the community and to the individual inmate generally described by Powers,<sup>7</sup> he showed that the net savings to the County were about \$75,000 in two years of operation. This then was one measure of the advantages of work furlough to the community, here viewed as a whole County.

Its rehabilitative value to the individual was not measured empirically during this two-year interval in Orange County. However, the contribution of work furlough to rehabilitation was felt to include the maintenance of job skills, work habits, and job continuity throughout this period of sentence; favorable attitudes of employees toward inmates; favorable attitudes of inmates toward the work world and toward the criminal justice system; and the preservation of conventional family roles.<sup>8</sup>

Eleven different terms meaning work furlough or work release had crept into the American literature by 1965.<sup>9</sup> The practice was well established abroad by that time and been authorized by statute in twenty-four states, the District of Columbia, and the federal government of the United States. Not all jurisdictions had vigorous programs. However the number of states with enabling legislation continued to increase during the 60's. There was during this decade some confusion over whether work furlough was a kind of midpoint between probation and imprisonment or between imprisonment and parole. There was further confusion as to whether work furlough was a halfway house procedure or whether it was best utilized as part of a local jail system.

Stanley E. Grupp argued for the latter. He held that work furlough was more clearly thought of as a local measure available to the county sheriff handling the misdemeanor offender and not requiring an extensive bank of professional personnel. So administered, it satisfied many conflicting popular demands. The offender was serving a jail sentence and was being kept busy - hence the insistence on some form of retribution was met. Since he was in jail when he was not working, borderline offenders could see this and could possibly be deterred by his example. Since he held down a conventional job at prevailing wages under work furlough, he retained some of his dignity, supported his dependents, and had a balance left when released - and this could be called rehabilitation. Conceptually, Grupp held that work furlough was an important device because it combined retribution, deterrence, and rehabilitation, both as popular demands and as themes underlying public policy toward the offender.<sup>10</sup>

Some years later, Grupp elaborated upon this and called it the integrative theory of punishment. It was he said, a practical way of coming to terms with the distrust and dissatisfaction of the public with many correctional procedures which were not understood and whose results often failed to come up to advance promise. Correctional specialists had to deal realistically with the pervasive insistence upon retribution and deterrence in some form, and with the further requirement that offenders be released from custody in somewhat better shape than when they entered. Work furlough accomplished all three objectives by integrating three philosophies or societal expectations into one correctional procedure.<sup>11</sup> Grupp's conceptual and theoretical position thus supported the applied and administrative evaluations of Powers in Wisconsin and McMillan in Orange County, California.

A highly enriched view of work furlough developed in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. John D. Case reported that the program was initiated in November 1963. In August 1964 a special facility was opened which saw work release as one part of an over-all program to rehabilitate offenders.

This is in some contrast to the tone that emerges from the literature that the work ethic which undergirds work furlough is somehow rehabilitative in and of itself. The Bucks County program of rehabilitation seems to have started as an effort to provide specialized services to inmates with drinking problems and to youthful offenders who were not necessarily alcoholic. Training staff to meet the needs of these two groups soon required the development of a relatively diversified plan including education, group counseling, job finding, and the services of a consulting psychologist. With these measures already a functioning reality, work release was added. As experience and confidence grew, inmates were released not alone for the purpose of education, medical treatment and other objectives related to the rehabilitative goal. "In the case of a woman, work release may include housekeeping and attending to the needs of her family."<sup>12</sup> The implication of the Bucks County approach seems to be that work release is one more way for the offender to develop or to recover a positive self-concept. It is not the only way and it may not even be the most important. It is an additional tool to use in the correctional setting as a supplement to many others already available.

In North Carolina, work furlough was extended to inmates of the state prison system convicted on felony charges. About 2,900 male inmates had been included between 1957 to 1963, with all sentences completed by 1966. Elmer H. Johnson reported that successful terminations with their group declined from about 75 percent in 1957-60 with 110 inmates included, to about 63 percent in 1963 with 1,700 inmates included. A successful termination appears to have been one involving an inmate who came to the end of his sentence on work release without incident. A failure seems to have been measured by removal from the work release program before expiration of sentence, and his reversion to the conventional non-work release program of the state's prison system. The proportion of skilled workers on work release declined although their total increased. The number classified as semiskilled or unskilled increased many fold. Johnson observed that the use of work release depends on the state of the job market and the kinds of job skills present among inmates. Additionally the successful use of the program depends on the vocational training program of the prison system, inmate views of the work world, and their attitudes toward supporting themselves and their dependents while in custody. Johnson also pointed out that with the introduction of work furlough, the employer now enters the correctional arena as a kind of third force. Prior to the initiation of a work release program, correctional concerns center almost exclusively upon prison staff and inmates. Thereafter, the civilian employer is active in this relationship with consequences that can be very complex and far reaching as both the prison and society seek to redefine their goals.<sup>13</sup>

Much has been claimed for the North Carolina program. It is reported to have been a major factor in reducing the state's inmate population by 2,000 and to have produced very low recidivism rates.<sup>14</sup> These estimates seem premature since empirical data to support them were not available as late as the Fall of 1970.<sup>15</sup>

Serapio Zalba commented in 1967 upon an analogy between work

furlough and family life. The child spends part of his time in the structured environment of his family and part of the time away from it in the company of peers. The usual correctional procedures provide the structured environment but not the opportunity to exercise autonomy and individuality. Work furlough does provide such an opportunity and thus fulfills a therapeutic function.<sup>16</sup>

An effort to sound the opinions of sheriffs nationwide on work furlough was made in 1963. Sixty-three percent of the 218 sheriffs who responded had favorable views concerning this practice, 27 percent had unfavorable opinions, and 10 percent were undecided. Some sheriffs were reported to have favored the idea privately but to have opposed it publicly. The reasons were that they felt they would not receive an adequate budget to support the program and hence opposed it since they did not want to initiate a sub-standard undertaking. Others felt favorably disposed toward work furlough but opposed it because their constituents were seen as demanding a "get tough" stand with criminals, work furlough being perceived as coddling the offender.<sup>17</sup>

In France, work release is known as semi-liberté. The decision to employ it is made by a special magistrate known as le juge de l'application des peines, or J. A. P. He has no apt counterpart in Anglo-American jurisprudence, since he is a court official who supervises the handling of the offender both in the institution and upon release. An official in one of the "Authority States," so-called, would be the closest parallel. The J. A. P. may place a short-term offender on work release soon after sentence is imposed but this is not common. The use of work release is uneven throughout France. Both France and the United States have experienced common problems in the implementation of the work-release concept. The chief distinction in the French system is the appearance of the J. A. P., a specially trained magistrate who supervises "the application of punishments."<sup>18</sup>

Evidence of the growing maturity of work furlough can perhaps be seen in the fact that its problems have become somewhat generally shared and widely recognized. Forty-six work release administrators across the country voiced common difficulties in a recent survey which maybe classified as follows:<sup>19</sup>

Statutory - restrictions on who may participate. Tendency to copy existing laws rather than develop new ones which are more up to date.

Public suspicion - difficulty in explaining the program to the public. Vulnerability if this is not done.

Employees - exploitation of inmates, pressure on institutions to provide cheap labor, use of inmates as strike breakers, irregularities in paying inmates, complaints about extra bookkeeping, failure to report tardiness or absence.

Selection criteria - where the law is silent, there is

a tendency for administrators to select only the "good risks." A general tendency to favor the younger offender.

Housing problems - need for separate facilities. Problems of contraband, counts, different feeding schedules, transportation.

Cost of Maintenance - how much to charge: a small percent of total wages, all wages or charge on a sliding scale. Problem of unlimited official discretion.

Escapes and Removals - problem of definitions. Unreliability of escape and removal data. Preliminary signs of intent to escape. The pressures generated by work release on the inmate: his marginal existence as half free, half prisoner.

Another nationwide survey reported on work release practiced specifically at the state rather than the county level. Twenty-eight out of fifty states had statutes authorizing state work release programs, and twenty-two had programs underway. Most states delegated the authority to launch and maintain a work furlough program downward to the prison warden. A few established centralized controls in departmental headquarters. Contrary to the survey reported above, state-level programs do not appear to be overly hampered by statutory language excluding types of offenders from participation. Some states require the inmate to serve half his sentence before he is eligible. Others require a shorter period of time remaining to be served. Job-finding procedures include all known approaches, the most productive being the most burdensome administratively: the use of specialized staff for this purpose. Most states house work furlough men in separate facilities. Finally, while release for the purpose of work is widely supported, release for family visiting is not. The reason seems to be "... because the economic advantages to the prison and the presumed supervision of the inmate by the employer offer justification for work release. Furthermore, this type of release does not emphasize gratification of the personal interests of the inmate." In general, however work release has taken on the characteristics of a genuine innovation, although as a reform measure it still faces many obstacles.<sup>20</sup>

That work release is not a static concept is seen in a demonstration project conducted in the King's County Sheriff's Department, Washington.<sup>21</sup> The project ran from 1966 to 1968. Its purpose was to demonstrate that with an adequate treatment staff, a greater number of inmates could be included and more difficult offender types could participate without serious danger to themselves and to the community. In 1966, the work release staff consisted of one psychiatric social worker, a half-time psychologist, and a secretary. This staff served the needs of about twenty work release participants per day. Project augmentation increased staff to one full-time psychologist, one full-time social worker, three one-third time social workers, another secretary, case aides, and various consultants. All treatment staff held graduate professional degrees.

The final report emphasizes that project objectives were accomplished

but, while data are provided on the project population none are provided on the pre-project population. Hence a comparative assessment cannot be made. Further, it is not clear what criteria were used to select inmates for the program. With respect to the project population itself (N = 627), a follow-up study confirmed earlier positions on the value of work release reported earlier in this summary. The follow-up survey was a unique feature of the project, although it provides no information on subsequent offense histories. However, this seems not to have been part of the project's initial design. The project seems to have had an impact beyond its immediate goals, since by 1970 an extensive program of work release, education, and alcoholic treatment were continued into a Bureau of Rehabilitative Services under the former project director.<sup>22</sup>

One of the most persistent problems revealed by a critical study of the literature is: how successful is work furlough or work release - and how is "success" defined? Answering the second part of the question first, success on work furlough is almost exclusively defined as discharge without incident after completion of sentence and, of course the work release segment of it. So defined, work furlough is evaluated as 71 to 73 percent successful in North Carolina, 90 percent successful in 21 counties of California, 80 percent successful in Los Angeles County and from 60 to a possible 72 percent success figure in Rhode Island.<sup>23</sup>

No reports have been found on the post-discharge criminality of former inmates on work furlough. It is not known how or if their criminality persists. It is not known how they compare with inmates who were released from custody, without the opportunity to experience the assumed benefits of work release. The sole exception to this statement is the study of which this review of the literature is a part. Rudoff et. al. have reported that for Santa Clara County, California, the number of arrests in the post-release period for one 800 man sample was about the same for both the work furlough and the non-furlough groups. However, the interval between arrests was twice as long for the work furlough group as for the non-furlough group over the same time span.<sup>24</sup>

While work release helps the inmate retain his community ties and should thus ideally contribute to the termination of his criminality in time, still he is a marginal man. He is part of the world of work and part of the prison world at the same time. He cannot associate freely and fully with his associates on the job. By virtue of his absence from the institution, he is denied access to any remedial counseling services it may offer in its routine program unless special measures provide these for him. These limitations do not demolish the value of work release although they may aggravate the adjustment problems of the inmate to some degree as yet unmeasured.<sup>25</sup>

A jail inmate described his feelings of marginality in these terms:

Going to jail is a trip. Being half in and half out of jail is stranger yet. That's where I'm at. I'm on the Work Furlough Program from the County Jail Farm at Elmwood which means that I'm in jail, but I get to go out to school on certain days and within certain hours ... It is sort of

like being a free prisoner. Well, no, it is more like being a highly restricted citizen. I'm not sure which it is, but I'm sure it is an odd way to live.<sup>26</sup>

On the other hand, the fact that work furlough puts the inmate under the prevailing wage scheme probably compensates for more drawbacks to this measure from his and society's standpoint, than any other consideration. Earning standard wages is a fundamental requirement in maintaining one's self esteem in a society which, like ours, has emphasized work and the occupational group through all of its history. Since work furlough provides employment at standard pay rates for those selected, it eliminates the tendency of the institution to reduce the inmate to a state of infantile helplessness. Herein lies the great potentiality of work furlough for reform not only of the inmate, but for correctional practice as well.<sup>27</sup>

In this brief summary of the literature on work furlough, there is an implied assumption that the reader knows the difference between work furlough or work release, and prison labor. To make this explicit, the differences are principally that, first, under prison labor, the inmate is employed, if at all, inside the prison at far less than the standard wage rates for comparable work in the free labor market; second, that he remains in custody and never leaves the prison perimeter; third, no deductions are made for "found," fines or dependents.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, it is to be assumed that one recognizes the distinctions between work furlough and indenture, transportation, penal colonies, the maison de force, and labor in the Pennsylvania and Auburn systems.<sup>29</sup> While the differences are quite apparent, it is also obvious that the work ethic permeates them all, even work furlough: that there is something curative, rehabilitative, beneficent, and inherently estimable about work. Conversely, there is something corrupt, sinful, destructive, and inherently evil about idleness and sloth. The industrious husbandman finds favor in the eyes of the Lord - and of his fellows - while he who labors not: let him be anathema.

This was a core value in much of the American social enterprise up to the middle of the twentieth century. Hence, it was inevitable that the rehabilitation of the lowly would be tied to work, whether by force, by administrative expediency, or, as in the case of work furlough by a kind of unconscious, unexplored, unexpressed, and unintended compromise between the two. Yet the Federal Bureau of Prisons has warned against this very assumption that work is, per se, rehabilitative:

Whatever the virtues of work alone, it is not a specific antidote or cure for the multiple and deep-seated causes of criminality. But when used in conjunction with other measures of treatment and control, it may help, in some cases, the attainment of specific correctional goals.<sup>30</sup>

Even if it can be demonstrated that work is objectively and positively linked to rehabilitation, it would seem that the inmate has to be positively motivated. If his attitudes toward work are negative its rehabilitative value will be limited until these are dealt with.

In order to obtain an estimate of how inmates view work, Alvin Rudoff and Associates devised an instrument known as VASI - the Vocational Attitude Set Inventory. This is a twenty-six item paper and pencil True-False scale which has been tested for validity and reliability. When applied to offender and non-offender samples, VASI has shown thus far that the offender population as a group shows far more negative attitudes toward the work world than non-offenders. The differences are significant statistically. The administrative significance is that VASI gives correctional staff an advance reading on the inmate's attitudes toward work and thus provides a way of improving selection for such programs as work furlough.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, what is rehabilitation? The word is encountered at every turn in the criminal justice system, yet perhaps no word so successfully eludes nice definition unless perhaps it is the word crime itself.<sup>32</sup> Implicit in the popular idea of rehabilitation as applied to the offender is that he will never again be arrested. Better still, he will never commit another offense. This rigid test says that a correctional procedure is effective and rehabilitation has occurred only when in the rest of the offenders life his recidivism equals zero. A less-demanding test holds that rehabilitation has occurred if the offender comes to the end of a period of supervision on probation or parole without a technical or substantive violation. Another test holds that a measurable amount of rehabilitation may be said to have occurred if the offender increases the length of time between arrests or if he is "on the street" longer than other offenders with whom he may be objectively compared. Another test measures rehabilitation by a decline in the seriousness of his offenses as seriousness is viewed by a given ethos. Rehabilitation is also said to have been accomplished if an inmate completes a program in the release period for which he was prepared while in custody. Still other views would look for a change in attitudes and emotionality of a pro-social sort and would weight these more heavily than overt behavior. A simplistic but compelling definition would hold that rehabilitation begins when the offender changes from a tax-consumer to a tax-payer.<sup>33</sup>

With such a congeries of meanings, all of them plausible, it does not seem proper to select one or two and rule out all the others for purposes of the Study of Work Furlough, for which this review has been prepared. The Study asked "What is the impact of work furlough" rather than "Does work furlough rehabilitate?" Nevertheless, the concept of rehabilitation is deeply imbedded in the practice of work furlough and it will have to be dealt with later in this report.

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4. Alvin Rudoff et al. "Jail Inmates on Work Furlough," Criminologica, Vol. VII, No. 3, November 1969.
5. Sanger B. Powers, "Day-Parole of Misdemeanants," Federal Probation, Vol. XXII, No. 4, December 1958, pp. 42-46.
6. Elmer R. Anderson, "Work Release Sentencing," Federal Probation, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4, December 1964, pp. 7-11.
7. Powers, op cit.
8. Daniel R. McMillan, "Work Furlough for the Jailed Prisoner," Federal Probation, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, March 1965, pp. 33-34
9. Stanley E. Grupp, "Work Release and the Misdemeanant", Federal Probation Vol. XXIX, No. 2, June 1965, pp 6-12. The federal government added a twelfth, "community Work." See Mark S. Richmond, Community Work, An Alternative to Imprisonment, Correctional Research Associates, Washington, D. C., 1967.
10. Grupp. Ibid.
11. Stanley E. Grupp, "Work Furlough and Punishment Theory," Criminology, Vol. 8, No. 1, May 1970, pp 63-79.
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13. Elmer H. Johnson, "Work Release as Correctional Reform," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 13, No. 4, October 1967, pp 521-530.
14. Edward V. Long "The Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1965," Federal Probation, Vol. XXIX, No. 4, December 1965, p. 6. John D. Case, op. cit., p. 9
15. Philip M. Service, Research Associate, North Carolina Department of Corrections, in letter to author, 10 September 1970.
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20. Elmer H. Johnson, "Report on an Innovation - State Work-Release Programs," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 16, No. 4, October 1970 pp. 412-426.
21. C. James Coughlin, Final Report: King's County Sheriff's Department Work Release Program, OLEA mimeographed, no date, about 1968.
22. (Author not shown), The American County, June 1970, pp. 17-19.
23. Periodic reports from specific jurisdictions. See also special news note, Federal Probation, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4, December 1970 p. 87.
24. Alvin Rudoff, et. al., "Evaluating Work Furlough," Federal Probation, Vol. XXXV, No. 1, March 1971, pp. 34-38. See especially pp. 35-36, "Selection for Work Furlough."
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26. Anonymous, Spartan Daily, San Jose State College. January 12, 1971.
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30. Mark S. Richard, Community Work - An Alternative to Imprisonment, Correctional Research Associates, Washington, D. C., 1967, p. 16.
31. Alvin Rudoff, et al, "The Jail Inmate and the World of Work," paper presented before the annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Association, April 1971, dittoed. VASI was developed by Rudoff and Associates in connection with the Work Furlough Study, here reported on.
32. T. C. Esselstyn, "Changes in the Concept of Crime," paper presented before the annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Association, April 1971, dittoed.

33. For a review of how rehabilitation is conceived, see Marvin Sussman, ed., Sociology and Rehabilitation, American Sociological Association and US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, DC., 1965; E. M. Oliver, Director, A Future for Correctional Rehabilitation Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, Olympia, Washington; 1969;

Daniel Glaser. The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System. Indianapolis, Indiana, Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc. 1964. Chapter 4.

### CHAPTER III - A THEORY OF WORK FURLOUGH

From the foregoing review of the literature, it is clear that work furlough in Santa Clara County, California, may best be seen as an example of what Stanley E. Grupp has called the integrative theory of punishment. According to this view, a work furlough program holds greatest promise if administered at a local level by a county sheriff. Administration at the state level is not precluded, however work furlough is uniquely designed as a procedure for meeting the problems encountered in programming for the county jail inmate, essentially, a short-term misdemeanor offender. While professional, clerical, casework skills are desirable, what is chiefly needed are "executive" case management skills of a subprofessional type in order to link the inmate up to a conventional job at going wages in the free community and to insure his return to confinement during the time when he is not on the job.

The status of "part free - part inmate" is a compromise with the popular demand that the offender must undergo some form of pain and indignity for **breaking** the law. It limits his freedom of action and thus deters him from the full exercise of his anti-social impulses. Presumably, others are deterred by the knowledge of this. The work experience minimizes the demoralization and debasement of incarceration and makes him a better prospect for return to society upon **expiration** of sentence than would be true without it. To the extent that it allows him to improve his concept of himself as an autonomous contributive adult, the effect might be to deflect him from crime permanently. Work furlough therefore integrates retribution, deterrence, and rehabilitation. It does so without an expensive investment in correctional specialists whose programs are sometimes antithetical to popular demands and often lack popular support.

While Elmwood had a five-man Rehabilitation Section, it had no professionally trained personnel engaged in casework, treatment, personality changes, anxiety reduction, or the handling of unconscious material related to offense patterns. The Rehabilitation Section was concerned primarily with administering the work furlough program. It was also concerned with other program elements designed to make the inmate's stay less onerous and more constructive, but none of these could be called "treatment." It was not altogether clear what the name of the Section was meant to imply beyond work furlough. It was not clear how work furlough was regarded as rehabilitation except as a reflection of the work ethic. It seemed clear that the Sheriff's Department had developed independently a model for handling inmates which typified Grupp's integrative theory of punishment: inmates undergoing sentence, measures designed to deter, and measures designed to ameliorate the rigors of the jail experience, among which were work furlough, on the assumption that inmates and the community were benefitted by these measures. By accident more than by design, the three criteria for Grupp's theory were present at Elmwood, and the Sheriff was asked what were the consequences when these criteria were applied and evaluated.

How did work furlough function and what impact did it have? This was the problem of the Work Furlough Study. Employing the integrative theory of Grupp as a guide, a series of hypotheses was developed which can be stated informally as follows:

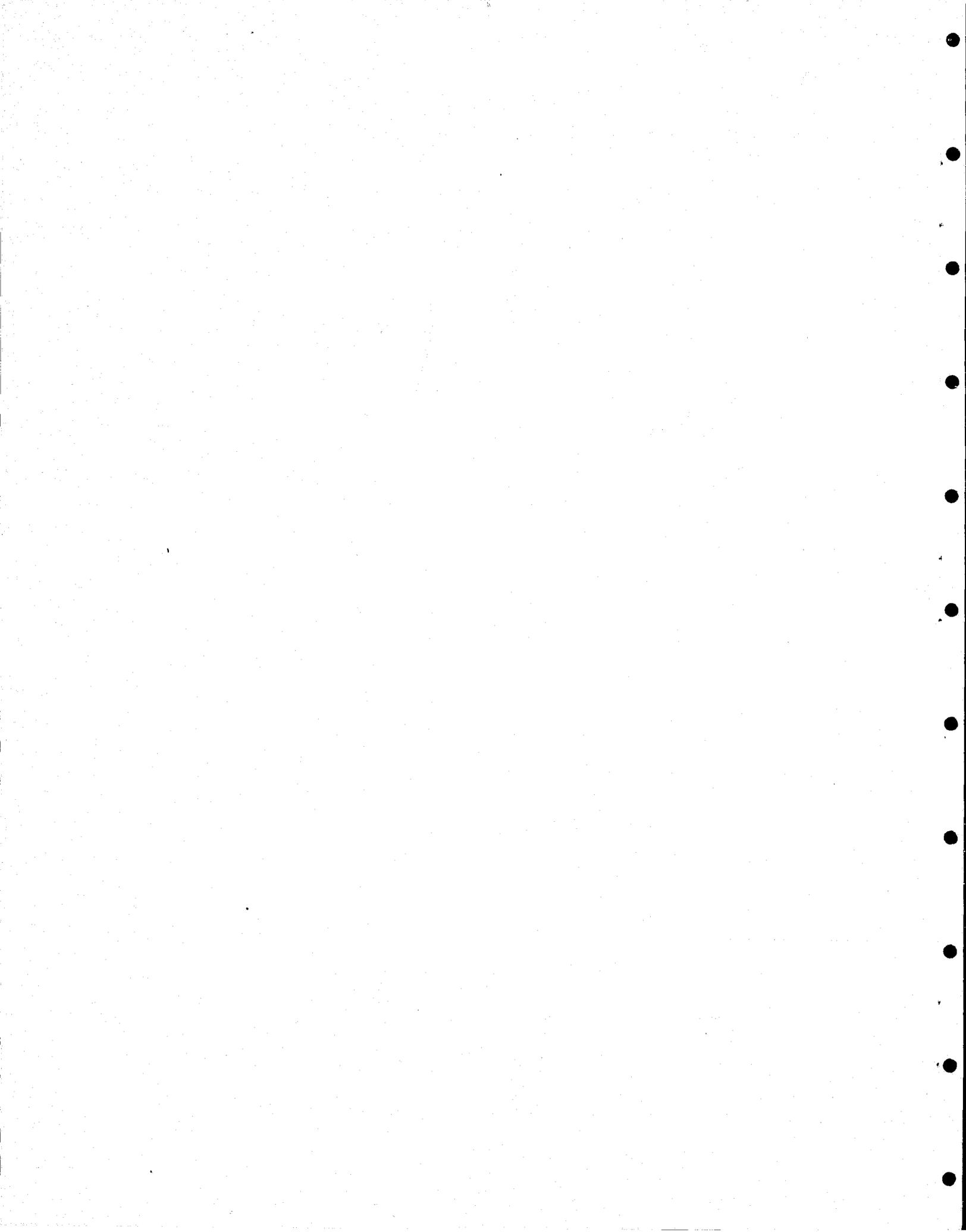
1. Work furlough inmates have better self-concepts than non-furlough inmates.
2. Work furlough inmates have more positive attitudes toward the work world, toward family, and toward the criminal justice system than non-furlough inmates.
3. The families of work furlough inmates have positive feelings toward the program and generally toward the criminal justice system.
4. The attitudes of the staff influence the way in which inmates perceive the entire jail experience, including work furlough.
5. There are differences between the way work furlough and non-furlough inmates behave during their sentences. One problem here is that work furlough inmates are confronted with more rules and hence have a better mathematical chance to break rules.
6. A trained vocational **rehabilitation** counselor will be able to develop feasible plans for Elmwood inmates, whether or not on work furlough, which will lead to a significant number of successful closures, as the terms feasible and closure are defined by the Department of Rehabilitation.
7. Defining recidivism in its broadest sense, work furlough inmates will have lower rates than non-furlough inmates after release. Whether this is due to work furlough or whether it is related to selection criteria remains moot.
8. The work furlough job will be in the same work field that the inmate entered before his present sentence. Unskilled workers will be furloughed to unskilled jobs. This repeats a work-jail-work cycle for the unskilled. While **this** can be regarded as punitive, it is difficult to show that it has either a deterrent or a rehabilitative effect.
9. The work furlough program saves money by enabling the inmate to contribute to the cost of his own incarceration, to the support of his family, and to his immediate future. Whether it reduces county welfare costs is a question which cannot be answered easily.

There were further hypotheses, but they were more in the nature of a whole field rather than part of the ground. **That is, whenever one** starts asking questions and collecting data, the process that has thus been set in motion goes far beyond supplying information upon which

answers to the initial questions might be based. One stirs up the whole system about which questions are asked. Thus, it was hypothesized that -

10. The collection of data on the primary issues of work furlough would reveal gaps in training and education that would raise questions about the propriety of placing some inmates on work furlough versus improving their training and education.
11. This would become apparent among deprived minority groups who are overrepresented in the Elmwood population.
12. It would also become apparent among deviant groups such as alcoholics and perhaps drug users, irrespective of minority affiliation.

The burden of all this would be a new hypothesis: If work furlough is to become rehabilitative, it must go beyond Grupp's integrative theory of punishment. Work furlough must be seen as but one element in a broad program to include education, training, clinical guidance, social enrichment, community participation, and the immediate availability of private and public services incorporated as structural parts of the jail system. Only thus would one have a Rehabilitation Center in fact as well as in name. Hence, the very test of Grupp's theory would mean the theory would have to be revised and expanded.



#### CHAPTER IV - METHODS

The research design for the study is an experimental one. Basically, there are those inmates who are on work furlough and those who are not. The former are the experimental cases and the latter are controls. Both groups are assessed on a before and after basis. Graphically the design is as follows:

Work Furlough initial testing	Non-Work Furlough initial testing
Work Furlough release testing	Non-Work Furlough release testing

Comparisons can then be made between the initial and release assessments and between the work and nonwork furlough groups.

The sampling procedures was not a random one. The original charge to the project was to evaluate an existing program. Selection for work furlough is made in accordance with a set of general guides and not on a random basis. While selection criteria were very rigid in the early days, they had relaxed considerably by the time the Work Furlough Study started. This has been summarized elsewhere as follows:<sup>1</sup>

This movement from a markedly conservative position in 1957 to a far less conservative position in 1965, while evident, seems not to have been recorded in any formal statement of policy. It developed casually by trial and error and without specific plan. In 1967, extensive and systematic interviews were held with the rehabilitation officer, his four assistants, and with the then Elmwood commander. The following consensus emerged as to the factors which were included in considering an inmate's applications:

Criminality: gravity of instant offense; reputation for violent, impulsive, or irresponsible conduct; excessive drinking; drug abuse, drug addiction; bizarre sex conduct; compulsive check writing; arrest record.

Employment: i.e., the job he would have if released on work furlough: how suitable to the inmate; his competence; degree of supervision exercised on the job; transportation to and from the site; employer's agreement to accept the applicant under work furlough procedures; gains from the job versus gains from continued confinement.

Other factors: the applicant's age, stability, dependability; deterioration noted through successive commitments; number and status of dependents; fines outstanding, orders of restitution; warrants from other jurisdictions.

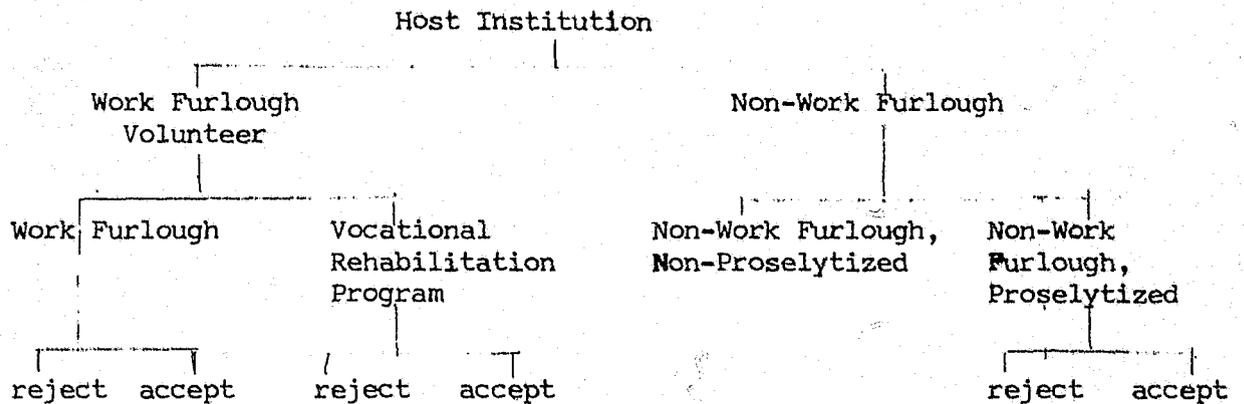
Three considerations under ~~the~~ all others. One was the customary correctional emphasis on community safety. Another was continuing concern for program integrity, which meant denying work furlough to an inmate whose inclusion might seem to palliate the offense or whose behavior away from Elmwood might reflect unfavorably upon the Department. The third was that the needs of the employer would be accorded a low priority. By this decision, the Department sought to avoid the charge of cooperating in what might otherwise become a convict labor system with a few modern touches.

It is perhaps improper to term these criteria for selection. They were more in the nature of general guides and were employed as a totality rather than in a check-list systematic fashion with weights assigned to each item and the applicant required to achieve a given score or norm before he was accepted. Finally, it should be observed that by 1965, no offense was routinely excluded. Some sex offenders were approved for work furlough, some were not. Alcoholics were approved where job supervision and transportation precluded drinking. Some types of drug users were approved, for example, the simple experimenters. Others with a heavy habit or a criminal orientation were not.

Close attention was paid to a comparison of the two groups in the initial testing in order to determine comparability and to establish limitations in interpretations of the results of the comparisons. Additionally, sub-groups were established in certain cases where specific hypotheses were tested and sampling was of the random or matched type.

Certain of the variables tested required universes other than the total host institution population over the entire life of the study. For example, the women were tested over two different time periods, and recidivism was assessed for those who had been released for at least 18 months. Thus, sample sizes varied also, depending on the specific problem examined within the very general experimental design.

Within the general experimental design of work furlough vs. non-work furlough, a further distinction was made based upon the independent variable of the vocational counseling services. This included services for those inmates who volunteered for work furlough and services for those inmates who did not volunteer for work furlough but were proselytized for a small special vocational program in auto body and fender repairs designed to train the inmate for employment in that field. Incorporating this variable resulted in the following design for the study:



Various combinations of comparisons were possible within both the general design and the design with the vocational rehabilitation variable. Although the major focus of the study was on the inmates, data were also collected on the organization, the staff, and the significant others in the families of the inmates. These data were recorded separately for descriptive purposes but the instruments used to gather this information were developed so that comparisons could be made among the various aspects of the system--staff with inmates, staff with inmate families, and inmates with their families. Finally, peripheral questions that seemed worthy of exploration were pursued independently within their own research design.

All the data were coded, keypunched, and transferred to a computer tape. The computer was programmed to tabulate the results within the design. Various statistical manipulations were employed, depending on the problem being explored. These statistics ranged from the simple distribution of responses in percentages, to the more complex testing of hypotheses with such techniques as Chi-Square, Analysis of Variance, t-test of the difference between means, and correlations. In some cases (particularly in the development of the Vocational Aptitude Set Inventory) statistical tests of reliability and validity were computed. In short, the entire spectrum of statistical devices was available and those pertinent to the specific problem were utilized.

The techniques used to gather and order the data were extensive, some complex and a mixture of established instruments and those specifically developed for this project. The technical information will be published in a supplemental technical report and includes the various instruments and tables of all the results. Below is an illustration of the major variables explored and the instruments used for that purpose.

TABLE 1

INSTRUMENTS USED IN DATA COLLECTION				
Variables	Institutional Systems Studies			
	Organization	Staff	Inmate	Family
A Social Tendencies			Jess Ness Inventory	
Attitudes		Staff Background Quest.*	Inmate Background Quest.*	Family Background Quest. <sup>8</sup>
Authoritarianism		F-Scale	F-Scale	
Cost	Cost Analysis Savings Handicap*			
Demographic		Staff Background Quest.*	Inmate Background Quest.*	Family Background Quest.*
History	Chronological Log <sup>3</sup>			
Intra-Institutional Behavior			Disciplinary <sup>1</sup> Behavior PAF <sup>2</sup>	
Personality		California Psychological Inventory	California Psychological Inventory	
Post-Institutional Behavior			Study of Total Inmate Recidivism	
Self-Image		Adjective Check List	Adjective Check List	
Structure	Organizational Structure Analysis *			
Surgery			Socio-Medical Inventory *	
Vocational Attitude			Vocational Attitude Set Inventory	
Vocational Behavior			Vocational Aptitude Quest. ABFRET*	

\* Instruments constructed for project.

1 Part of C.A.S.H. Instrument

2 The Program-Activities Form was constructed as part of the Inmate Background Questionnaire.

3 Evolution of special vocational training program.

1. Alvin Rudoff, et. al., "Evaluating Work Furlough,"  
Federal Probation, Vol. 35, No. 1, March 1971, pp. 35-36.

CHAPTER V - THE ORGANIZATION OF THE  
SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT SANTA CLARA  
COUNTY, CALIFORNIA

The official description of the organization of the Sheriff's Department in Santa Clara County is found in a multi-volume loose-leaf publication entitled the Manual of General Orders. This contains organizational charts for the Department as a whole and for each of its Divisions, together with the statements of the principal functions of each Division and sub-Division. The duties of each type of employee identified on the organization chart are specified. There has thus been compiled a formal document on every phase of the Sheriff's office.

The present chapter departs from the official description in order to develop a statement about the Department which is derived from the perceptions and experience of six senior members with high rank and many years of service. One of these is the present Sheriff himself. Five came from different divisions. A semi-structured interview lasting about an hour and covering the same topics was used in each instance. The purpose was to see how middle and top management, who were fully informed on the official description, defined salient features of their job as an operating reality.

DEPARTMENT GOALS

A composite of all reported views shows that experienced staff define the goals of the Department broadly except for one respondent. To him, the goals of the Department were simply law enforcement. It exists to arrest, prosecute, and incarcerate offenders. Ideally, it exists to change the behavior of those whom it incarcerates but realistically, this respondent felt this could not be achieved because of an inadequate budget, an inability to attract competent staff, and the repressive life-view of those whom it does attract to its ranks. Hence, the ideal goal of behavioral change deteriorates to simple warehousing of offenders on what to him, at least, was the widespread rationale that behavior cannot be changed.

Another respondent saw the goals of the Department as a projection of the daily life of the Deputy Sheriff in protecting the public in the unincorporated open-country hinterland of the county. This respondent saw the principal goal of the Department as maintaining law and order. Strict enforcement of the law is the task of metropolitan police. The Deputy Sheriff has a more subtle task: he keeps the peace. The metropolitan police officer has little time when he responds to a problem. He is a doer, a fighter, an official who lives in a climate of immediacy. On occasion, the Sheriff and his Deputies are cast in the same role, but generally not. A Deputy Sheriff has more time. He learns to be a talker, he talks problems over with citizens in trouble. He seeks to compose differences. To this respondent, the traditions of the two officers - metropolitan police and Sheriff's Deputy - have tended to emphasize two different approaches to disturbances and to have given their departments two different goals. The metropolitan police officer enforces the law. The Sheriff's Deputy keeps the peace. The police officer must be a

warrior. The Sheriff's Deputy tries to be a harmonizer. Thus the personnel and the personality types to be found in the two departments differ widely since these reflect the different goals which the individual is called upon to achieve for his Department. This difference and this view of a central quality of the Sheriff's role were emphasized by other respondents independently, especially when discussing relations with the community.

The most comprehensive statement of the Department's goals was one which stressed multiplicity. Accordingly the Department was seen as having many goals and objectives. They cannot be embraced by a phrase or two, except to say that the Department exists to perform a variety of services to the public.

The Civil Division, for instance, serves formal court processes, receives monies, and exercises custody over property which is in dispute until a settlement is reached. Thus, it performs functions analogous to that of a comptroller of a large corporation.

The Patrol and Detective Division, the respondent continued, exist to afford the public security from the offender. The Detention Division, which is the Departmental designation for the Jail, has two principal functions. First, it protects the public from accused offenders awaiting trial, some of whom are highly dangerous. Second, it exercises custody over sentenced offenders, many of whom are confined for a brief period and who pose no serious threat to the public. During confinement it is the task of the Detention Division to provide inmates with quarters and creature comforts that meet appropriate standards of decency, and to arrange programs and experiences which will offer some hope that the person will be improved upon release.

The respondent who saw the department's goals in this perspective added that in their achievement, the Department acquired secondary objectives and purposes. It is involved in many social problems which have only an indirect bearing on public safety. It has representatives on several community projects and youth programs, sponsors Little League baseball, responds to requests for speakers, supplies officers to participate in joint classes with college and university students whose campuses have been the scene of several disturbances. These secondary purposes, while related to the Department's primary goals, impose a serious manpower drain upon it since each one takes personnel away from a primary assignment.

Two other respondents felt that the Department's principal goals included tasks not yet named. One was to educate the public to help themselves in the face of common emergencies and disasters. Another was to aid other law enforcement agencies when they needed to be reinforced. Finally, a goal of the Department was defined as that of coordinator of a complex computerized record keeping system to facilitate law enforcement.

In the foregoing discussion the word goal is used in the same sense as the word purpose or objective. Respondents were asked to state their view of the Department's goal or goals, and if they seemed slow to answer or were overwhelmed by a sudden challenge to extract one key theme that

runs through all others in a complex organization, the question was rephrased: "What does the Department exist for?" By this device, semantic debates were avoided and the widest range of perceptions was exposed. These appeared to be in conflict at only minor points. The impression - and it should be labeled as that - is that senior staff members are in greater agreement than disagreement over the goals of the Department.

#### MEANS

Respondents varied in the means they chose to emphasize which the Department had at hand to achieve its goals. The briefest summary made matter-of-fact reference to the familiar appurtenances of law enforcement - a radio net, autos, a Mail Jail, the Women's Detention Facility, Elmwood, manpower assigned to the principal divisions, weapons, clerical staff and their equipment.

One respondent was equally brief but emphasized other means: a well-trained staff of deputies, weapons, a radio net, supportive communications, and other hardware. Additionally, he continued, there is a Community Relations Unit. There has been a new movement to breakdown the wall of misunderstanding that has been erected ~~between~~ all law enforcement agencies and the publics which they serve, especially publics composed of minority groups. The Community Relations Unit reflects that movement. The respondent felt it was highly important to expand its size since it played a key role in helping the Department achieve its goal.

One respondent, after summarizing the means mentioned by almost all others - radio cars, detention facilities, communications nets, and the like - went on to discuss a means available to the Department that was not discussed elsewhere. This is a reserve force of about 150 members. Almost 100 are on foot and 50 are mounted. They are used when necessary to expand the sheriff's force or when needed to deploy a mounted unit. Examples include searching remote regions for lost or injured persons, or establishing a crowd control perimeter such as was necessary during President Nixon's visit to the city during the heated political campaign in the Fall of 1970. Reservists are paid twenty-five cents per hour of duty and receive training appropriate to the tasks to which they are assigned.

Another respondent was intimately involved in record processing and it is not surprising perhaps that of all the means available to the Department to achieve its goals, he emphasized as most important the complex up-to-date sophisticated set of electronic computer equipment which the Department had installed or had projected and which would verify and coordinate all information-gathering actions of all law enforcement agencies throughout the county, and which would lock in on similar systems in nearby jurisdictions. The respondent described with pardonable pride and bewildering technical mastery that this system will make it possible to bank critical information instantly on an offender who has been apprehended, and to retrieve it instantly along with all else that is known about him. It will also make it possible to narrow a field of suspected but unidentified offenders by the use of computerized clues. By using this equipment and its systems, record keeping can be

vastly simplified with great savings in manpower and records storage space. Ultimately it will do away with the entire system of manually written or typed log-line entries in all records used at present. The computerized system is partially operational now and will be fully operational by 1973.

In contrast to material, another respondent talked at length about personnel as the key means whereby Departmental goals are achieved. He felt that the Department's personnel were of remarkably high caliber. However, this created a dilemma. Currently, he observed, recruitment emphasizes education in preference to a work record for uniformed personnel. Highly educated recruits soon become dissatisfied unless they are paid more than established scales allow. The only way to increase their pay at present is to promote them. This means a constant movement of line personnel into supervisory and administrative positions, sometimes after a relatively brief period of service. This puts the new incumbent into a position for which he may not be qualified by temperament or by experience. It also damages the morale of other personnel with longer service but lower education. The respondent feared that if the Department continues to give preference to education over experience, serious personnel problems may ensue. What is needed, he felt, is an increase in the number of salary steps within ranks as a way of rewarding the officer without forcing him to strive for promotion before he is seasoned and ready for it.

#### RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNITY

All respondents except one felt that the Sheriff's Department has good relations with the community. The one exception said that apart from persons who are being immediately served, the community is apathetic toward the department. The average citizen typically has no contact with the Department, does not know where or what it is, and perhaps does not even know where or what it is, and perhaps does not even know that the County has a Sheriff. He regarded this as a danger. By statute, the Sheriff is the chief law enforcement officer of the County. If citizens do not know this and do not know the extent of his authority, public support cannot be counted on in an emergency. If the public were better informed, the Department would benefit by larger appropriations for staff and programs, and in turn, the county would benefit by better law enforcement. While there was a tendency for this respondent to shade community relations into public relations, it was apparent that his emphasis was upon the former. In passing, it should perhaps be observed that the Department does not have a Public Relations officer.

A second respondent, in contrast to the first, was convinced that the Department's relations with the community were very good. Direct evidence came to him from business and management groups who inspected the Department's operations at great length and were outspoken in their praise of its efficiency as judged by professional management criteria. Indirect evidence, said this respondent, came from the fact that of all public agencies, the Sheriff's Department has not been bombed and his Deputies have not been cursed by crowds while on riot-protest duty. Further evidence comes from the great number of letters congratulating the Sheriff when several gruesome unsolved crimes were suddenly cleared

by the arrest of a convincing suspect. The respondent was of the opinion that good community relations prevailed because the leadership has trained personnel on the need for good appearance, alertness, restrained conduct in crowds and disturbances, and how to approach the citizen who has perpetuated or who has been the victim of crime.

Another respondent said that the Department's relations with the community are better than those of metropolitan police agencies because all sergeants indoctrinate all new personnel to be humane, to take time to talk with complainants, to take a personal interest in them as people, and to give competent high-level service when called upon. Like his colleague above, this respondent said that the evidence that the Sheriff is highly thought of can be found at Stanford. The Department emerged from those disturbances with its reputation for fairness and restraint enhanced.

The most complete assessment of the Department's relations with the community came from another respondent who, like others, felt that these were much smoother and much more constructive than was the case with metropolitan police. He felt there were two reasons. One is that the habits and methods of the top official and his principal division chiefs have stressed vigorous assertiveness in the metropolitan police department and this pattern has been copied by all lower ranks. The traditions for top management in the Sheriff's Department have stressed less assertiveness. The "working personality" of the metropolitan police officer emphasizes challenge and threat of force. The "working personality" of the Sheriff's Deputy under emphasizes these traits. The difference, said this respondent, stems from the kind of individual who is attracted to the top position in each Department.

A second reason for better community relations experienced by the Sheriff's Department relative to metropolitan police departments stems from the fact that the police have no detention function since all persons requiring booking and detention are held by the Sheriff. The effect of this, said the respondent, is to stimulate a "father-child" relation between the Deputy and the offender whereas the metropolitan police officer's relation to the offender is that of a "dragon-slayer." These influences and emphases work outward from the center of command and affect the way the two departments approach the community. The community's response is reciprocal. Hence, the Sheriff's Department enjoys more support and less antagonism from the community than do metropolitan police.

Still another factor can be seen. This is the size and diversity of the county. Its population dispersion pattern varies from a very dense compacted mass per unit of area to vast deserted mountain ranges where a lost traveler sometimes wanders for three days before stumbling upon habitation and where, if a large plane goes down, it is sometimes not found for months. The human problems encountered here are equally diverse, ranging from active violence to a ~~state~~<sup>state</sup> for profound social, remedial and rehabilitative services. The effect of the varied terrain, the pattern of land occupancy, and the diversity of human problems encountered is to demand a type of deputy who is inflexible in his responses and whose abilities are many-faceted. As he relates to the community, these traits are observed and have the effect of reinforcing the public's more favorable image of the Sheriff's Deputy compared with the image it has of the metro-

politan police officer. This is projected beyond him to the entire department of which he is a member.

Apart from the one respondent mentioned at the outset of this section, the persuasive consensus is that the Sheriff's Department judges its relations with the community as good, that good community relations are important, that the community must be listened to. This does not go to the extreme of slavish obedience or fear of adverse public opinion. By and large, senior staff actually like the community, respect it, want to serve it, and want to help all segments face each other in a climate of fairness and enlightenment. What senior staff seem to articulate is an attitude of broad community partnership and mutual interdependence. Absent is any trace of hostility or distrust of the community at large or any segment of it. There is a cross-tie between their perception of community relations and the perception of the Department's goals. One complements the other.

#### DAILY LIFE OF SENIOR STAFF

Senior staff work long hours. Field notes from an interview with the present Undersheriff record that he arrives at his office between 7:00 and 7:30 each day. He turns first to the many papers, documents and messages which have accumulated since he left the previous day. He spends the first hour classifying these materials by priority of urgency. He turns next to the report of the midnight watch commander, identifies problems which this presents, and takes the indicated action. The afternoon is spent in handling routine Department business. It is also spent in meeting with citizens who have complaints to lodge against the Department, or matters which they wish to bring to its attention. Every Wednesday at 9:30 AM, the Undersheriff holds a meeting with all Division captains. Generally these are informal but on one Wednesday each month, they are formal and follow an announced agenda. A stenographer is present to record minutes. The Undersheriff leaves the Department at about 2:00 PM each day. He is often called at home. However, his week-ends are usually uninterrupted. He has an understanding with the Sheriff that at least one of them will always be in the County. Both will not travel out of the County at the same time.

The Elmwood Commander describes his day as beginning at 8:00 AM. His first task is to examine the log of previous watches. He next examines any notes or messages that have been placed on his desk, and takes the indicated action. He then turn to recommendations concerning release on work furlough which have been transmitted to him from the Rehabilitation Section, and he makes a decision on each case. The day is spent in handling decisions regarding the discharge of program routine. Periodically he has a meeting with all Correctional Sergeants. He seldom meets with the entire staff of all ranks but depends on informal personal contacts to keep abreast of Elmwood affairs. The most difficult part of his assignment is mastering the great volume of reports sent down from higher command and augmented by those initiated within the Elmwood staff. Next in difficulty is the Women's Detention Facility whose program is complex, time-consuming, and demanding. The Commander's day ends between 5:00 and 5:30 PM. He is seldom called at home but is available in the event of emergencies.

The Chief Rehabilitation Officer served as Project Director for the Work Furlough Study until ill health forced a change in plans and his resumption of his former position. He arrives at Elmwood at 9:00 AM and checks his box for messages. He then begins to interview a long line of inmates who want to see him about various concerns - the status of an application for work furlough, notice of bills, about family. Inmates arrive on a pass system. Interviews are often interrupted by phone calls and from employers to verify details about employment and job availability. Some of the Assistant Rehabilitation officers and at least one Correctional Officer conduct group counseling sessions on a schedule throughout the week which is set up by the Rehabilitation Section Chief. He schedules Assistants for their "out" afternoons. This is the time when they visit men on work furlough at their job sites, contact employers, and perform other services for inmates on their case-load. Ordinarily, Assistant rehabilitation officers leave Elmwood at 5:30 PM although on occasion the Section Chief may schedule them for evening duty, with inmates who cannot be seen at any other time. The Section Chief also leaves his office at about 5:30 PM and he is seldom interrupted at home.

The day passes in this fashion for other senior staff members - crises, messages, and reports that have accumulated since the close of the previous day's business; handling the routine load of work from midmorning to midafternoon; outside visitors, outside requests, out-of-schedule emergencies before closing; inspections and program checks sandwiched in between; and section meetings on a rather regular basis. Some senior staff find their job follows them home, so there really are no "after hours" but merely a shift in one's command post. Others do not experience this intrusion.

#### DEPARTURES AND DEVIATIONS

Respondents were asked to discuss departures from the formal organizational system in order to throw light on the informal system that often develops to implement or sometime to sabotage the formal structure in many organizations and agencies. Respondents were also asked about instances of individual deviance or departures from established social or organizational norms of such a character that the action is labeled as a deviant: did instances like this occur and if so, how were they handled? The discussion which follows covers both kinds of deviations - the informal system developed by groups within the formal structure, and departures by an individual from norms of such a kind as to be labeled abnormal.

One senior staff member felt there was very little departure from formal rules and patterns of authority. Expectations are clear through job descriptions, orientation sessions, indoctrination, and in-service training. When departures appear they are attributable, he feels, to an ineffective superior or to one who has allowed an unauthorized pattern to emerge without recognizing it. Deviance in the sense of abnormalities happen but rarely. The most troublesome kind concern personal relations - and employee cannot relate comfortably and effectively with others, illicit love affairs blossom, and kindred emotional states of this kind. These are time-consuming and difficult in the extreme, and are handled by

informal discussions more frequently than by formal mechanisms.

Another respondent observed that employees with adjustment difficulties are notified of these through periodic merit system evaluations. In the event of serious derelictions or misfeasances, there is provision for a series of formal hearings where charges are preferred leading to dismissal or other sanctions if sustained. While these do not occur often, ~~these~~ <sup>these</sup> measures might reduce the number of employees who depart from or fail to achieve the Department's performance standards. These are careful selection procedures, the creation of a permanent oral examining board as part of selection, and greater care in evaluations during the probationary period. However, the respondent repeated that in his judgment, the number of misfits or persons with adjustment problems is very low.

Speaking to the same point, still another staff member felt that there are fewer deviants in the Sheriff's Department than in most organizations of comparable size. He believes the reasons are careful selection, and democratic procedures in the processing of formal complaints against employees who break the rules and require job discipline. These procedures involve a wide range of alternatives and a Departmental philosophy that encourages the selection of the one that is the least punitive. Office romances occasionally emerge but, in the view of this respondent these have a way of resolving themselves without official action while causing endless patience and tension among the superiors of those concerned. There are occasional excessive drinkers but they are few, on the whole. Some staff members may use drugs but they are not known since the negative stance of the Department toward drugs suffices either to discourage their use or keep them hidden.

Other senior staff members were united in saying that it is uncommon to encounter refusal to carry out a direct order. When it happens, it usually involves a junior and a superior carrying the title of "acting supervisor" whose authority has not been legitimated by final appointment. In this event, appeal is sometimes taken to higher authority by the aggrieved junior and over the head of his superior, but this is not regarded as insubordination. Instances of officers trafficking in contraband are so rare that senior staff have difficulty recalling such an event. Misconduct with inmates, drinking on the job, or reporting in the morning unfit for duty seldom occur.

All staff members are on a first name basis with each other, although age and rank introduce reluctance to make use of these familiar approaches, Etiquette requires use of the term Mister, Sergeant, or Captain as appropriate, when conversing with inmates about other than staff members and inmates accept these formalisms. Members of the Rehabilitation Section were once the object of good-natured contempt as "do gooders" and people who made more work for everyone with no concrete results. Currently, this has abated although petty harassments and minor rivalries persist between them and members of other sections. Over time, respondents feel there has emerged an ability department-wide to distinguish between one's professional and one's personal relationships. One section has experienced sharp personality disagreements among its members. These do not immobilize the Section because the members function independently within assigned zones. While an overlap of interest happens in individual cases, it does

not occur frequently. Hence conflict is avoided by atomizing rather than harmonizing the staff in that section.

The Department has no rule against nepotism. Hence it is not unknown for members of the same family to accept employment together. Respondents agree overwhelmingly that departures from organizational norms are few. They also agree that reprehensible deviations occur rarely. Contributing to this state of affairs is the fact that the Sheriff's service appeals to types of employees who basically are relaxed conformists rather than innovative or maladjusted deviants. Hence, while there are departures from organizational norms, while there is an informal system, while deviance is not unknown, the over-riding quality is one of congruent rather than discordant images in the various structures of the organization.

It should of course be pointed out that all Senior Staff recognize that a sensitive link in the formal system consists of senior secretaries. Staff members who wish to short circuit the formal system and convey a message to top management often do so informally through a highly placed secretary. She is the repository for numerous departmental confidences. How she selects out of this cluster those she feels should be transmitted and those she feels should be suppressed is not clearly known. All that can be said is that different ones apply different criteria and beyond this, little is firm.

It should be mentioned that in the election campaigns of 1970, two members of the department opposed each other for the office of Sheriff in the early phases of the contest. As the campaign progressed, splits appeared in the department and opponents vied with each other for the display of bumper stickers and travel signs on vehicles parked near the Sheriff's headquarters. Yet while this was temporarily annoying, it could not be characterized as divisive or disruptive. Superficially, this seemed like rank disloyalty and a departure from organizational norms that would have bankrupted another system. Actually, however, it was merely a departure which was wholly within the "permissive leeways" built into the organization's normative systems.

#### COMMUNICATIONS

Discussions of intra-Departmental communications brought to light no startling discoveries. There are the usual means of communicating information such as the telephone, the intercom net, memoranda, watch logs, letters, and face-to-face discussions. Division and Section staff meetings are commonplace. News about the department is communicated to the public through the press, radio, and television. Information of an operational character is transmitted over an intricate system of radios, teletypewriter, and computer services of such speed, magnitude, and intricacy as to stagger belief and inflame all the recent fears about invasion of privacy should it ever be monopolized by unscrupulous persons seeking to launch a vendetta of some sort. Here, perhaps, lies the best argument for highly-trained and ethically-minded law enforcement personnel of all ranks. With the development of this high-speed in-service communications capability, the term public protection takes on a wholly new meaning and a wholly ominous potential. That somber statement, of course, transcends the limits of the Sheriff's Department of Santa Clara County.

Two communications devices appear not to be developed, although plans are underway to institute or make greater use of them. One is a "house organ" - a periodic news sheet that could serve the combined purpose of conveying facts, information, and interpretations from the command to the whole Department. It could serve also as a training aid and as a vehicle for conveying news of general events. This mixture of official information and human interest items in a newspaper whose circulation is limited to the employees of a large agency has been found to be very useful in other private and public organizations.

Meetings and conferences are further means of communication. The Sheriff's staff attends many of these and on occasion the Department arranges conferences of professionals who are active in the many phases of operating a multi-purpose department like this one. To add to the list of those which the staff should attend but apparently do not merely aggravates the problem of priorities. But it does seem proper to observe in this day of heightened interest in law enforcement that somehow staff members should be designated to attend conferences of correctional workers, social workers, and educators, both vocational and academic. Both the input to the Department and the output to supporting fields would pay high dividends.

#### DECISION MAKING

Decisions are made to all outward appearances along the chain of command and at strategic points within it. A Division Commander or the Sheriff himself will often seek advice from groups of subordinates, select data which he needs, formulate a decision, and promulgate the appropriate directive. Decisions are not the result of majority vote although a decision may have majority support before it is actually made. On occasion, a commander or the Sheriff himself may reach a decision which is actually a minority view. Once announced, the decision is effective until countermanded by proper authority or until the relevant action is taken.

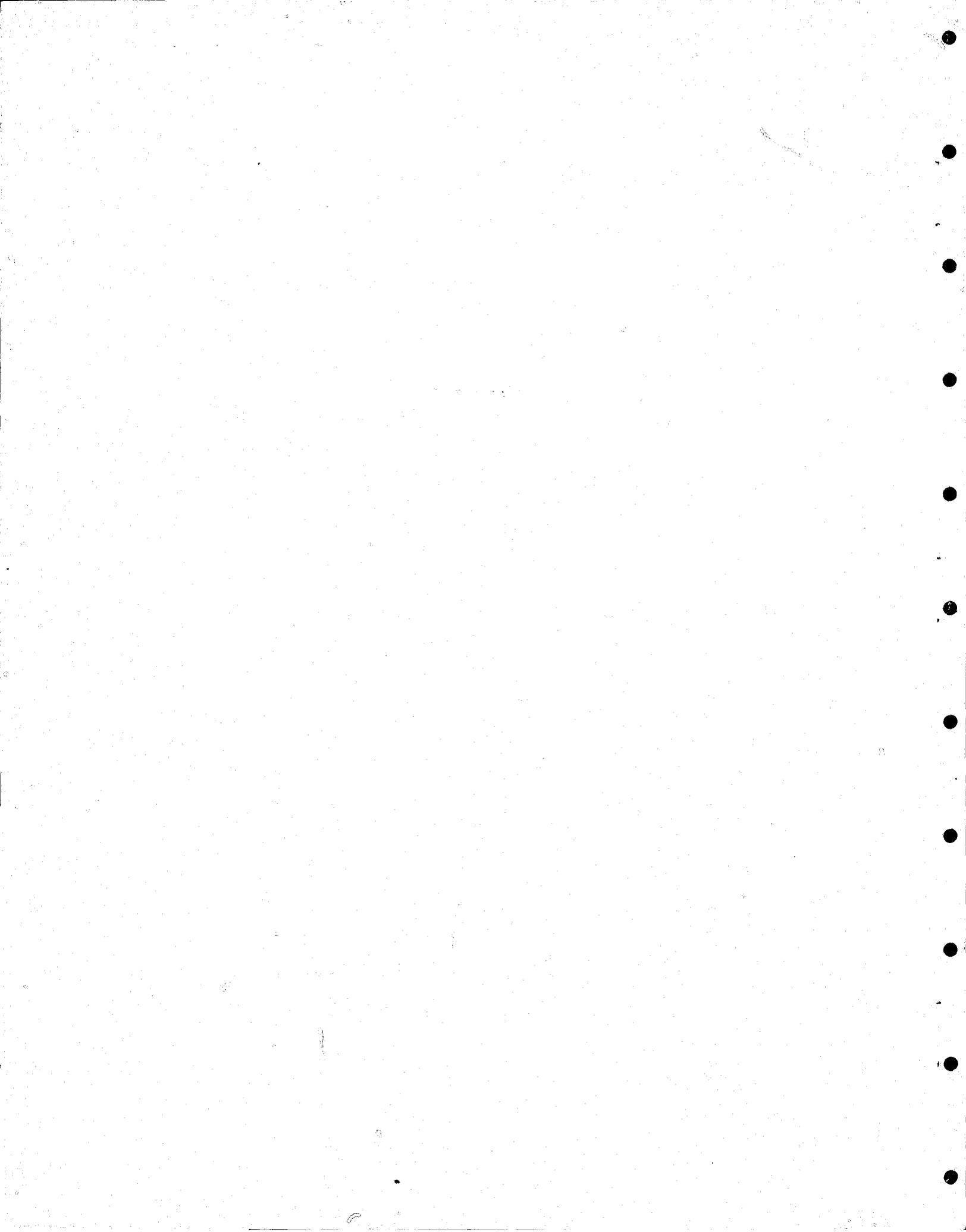
The informal pressures and mechanisms that enter into decision-making were topics that did not elicit much response. Senior staff viewed decision-making as a rational process following well-established lines of official authority. However, taken in context, it was clear that the Department was not so ossified a system that no discretion was available. Discretion, multiple alternatives, and training in selection among these so as to fulfill the department's broad goals with minimum emotional drain and maximum personal and organizational effectiveness - these were the desiderata in reaching decisions at all levels.

#### CONCLUSION

One respondent was not contacted for information on which to base the above assessment. This was the Chief of the Civil Division. Several appointments were made but not kept due to illness. This is regretted. The Civil Division was mentioned briefly in the section on the Department's goals and it would have been valuable to expand what appears there. In addition to levying on properties, serving court papers, conducting sales and auctions, under court order to satisfy judgments, the Civil Division maintains order in all courts through its bailiffs. This one function

has exploded into prominence during the recent succession of bomb threats and courtroom turmoil as part of the tactics of extreme political activism. While the views of the officer in charge of the Civil Division are not included, it is not felt that the omission vitiates the above description since the effort in the interviews was to identify basic processes. Hence, it is believed that while his statements would add color to the analysis, they would not undermine it.

The key word that stands out in this series of interviews is breadth. Senior staff see the Department as having broad manifold purposes and goals. They value traits that spell breadth and flexibility in the Sheriff himself, in colleagues, and in subordinates. Another key word is community worth. The community is worth supporting - all the community, the totality, everyone in it. Without using the word, senior staff view the community as a network of interdependent, more or less interlocking, but countervailing forces. As senior staff see it, the job of the Sheriff is to help make this work. One is reminded of the early Cheyenne Indian informant. Anthropological lore was full of references to the many storied War Chiefs of the Fighting Cheyenne - but who was that dignified silent man over there? He, said the informant, is our Peace Chief. What does he do? Oh, replied the Cheyenne, he just keeps us together. It would be difficult to conceive of a more complex role.



## CHAPTER VI THE STAFF

### INTRODUCTION

The major source of information relative to the Department's staff came from the administration of the Staff Background Questionnaire. This instrument was designed to yield descriptive data on staff background and some of their attitudes and opinions on various aspects of the judicial and correctional processes. A total of 117 members of the various occupations associated with the Sheriff's staff were subjects for the survey. This total is about 25 percent of the entire staff of the Santa Clara County Sheriff's Department, including all of its phases--criminal as well as civil. The sample was a voluntary one. In order to determine the extent of its representativeness, some demographic comparisons were made between the sample and the entire staff. The choice of variables for comparison was dictated by opportunity as the Department had no available information of any significant nature on the background of the staff. The opportunity occurred when the Board of Supervisors requested some information on the ethnic composition of the staff. This required the survey of all the personnel files, at which point the Sheriff honored the request of the research staff to collect some additional information at the same time. The only valid information that emerged was related to marital status, ethnic distribution, and average age. Within the limits of these comparisons there were no significant differences between the sample and the total Agency staff.

### RESULTS

#### Staff Background

The literature usually paints a rather bleak portrait of the jail-keeper echoing to some extent the scurrilous expressions of the inmates.<sup>1</sup> These hacks, screws, bulls, turnkeys are characterized as uneducated, coming from "lower walks of life" and the beneficiary of an unbridled spoils system. There is recognition of a growing use of Civil Service, but with reference to it's abuse as well as use. These portraits were probably at one time quite accurate, however, they were rarely based on any studies of staff, and are becoming increasingly suspect in the contemporary correctional scene. As the prison systems as well as the jail systems have shifted from the paternalistic organizational type to a more bureaucratic one, there has been an increase in professionalization of staff with a consequent rise in the calibre of personnel attracted to and participating in the correctional process. That this might be so is particularly highlighted in the background of the members of the Santa Clara County Sheriff's Department.

Recruited on the basis of increasingly higher standards and better working conditions and with a relatively recent spurt in growth, the Department has a more contemporary posture and operation. With an average age of about 37 years, over twenty-seven percent of the sample had a college degree. 69 percent a high school diploma, and only about 4 percent were educated below the high school level. The average formal schooling for the entire sample was almost 14 years, indicating a well educated staff. Economically, over 65 percent were earning more than \$10,000 per year, with about 32 percent earning between \$5,000 and

\$10,000 per year. Occupationally, over 90 percent indicated satisfaction with the job, about 95 percent showed a preference for the kind of work they were doing, about 88 percent had been on the job at least one year (52 percent had been on the job over 5 years), and 50 percent had received job training for relatively long duration (55 percent received training for one or more years), all attesting to a commitment to and an investment in their occupations.

In addition to the occupational stability there was considerable residential stability. Over 40 percent of the staff and their spouses were born in the general area in which they now worked. The migration patterns are fairly typical in that their parents converged to California from other states and other countries, while they and their spouses converged to the greater Bay area and then stabilized. Almost three quarters of the sample either did not change their residence in the past three years or changed it just once.

Two deviant social patterns were assessed for the staff and their families, drinking style and family arrests. In the former case the overwhelming majority (97percent) drank in moderation, socially or not at all. The same was true of their spouses with twice as many indicating complete abstinence. The drinking style of their siblings was very similar to their own but their parents were more apt to either totally abstain (50 percent) or drink heavily ( 8 percent). In the case of family arrests 30 percent indicated that their were none while 10 percent indicated the past arrest of a parent and 10 percent indicated the past arrest of a sibling. Neither socially pure nor adulterated, the staff is certainly closer to the former than the latter.

#### Staff Attitudes and Opinions

The responses to the questionnaire were examined within several areas of concern for the correctional and judicial systems. Reflecting what seems to be the general public's attitude toward the use of drugs and alcohol, a large majority of the staff (80 percent) felt that the illegal use of narcotics of any kind should be punished. However, only 26 percent felt that marijuana was as bad as heroin. The trend of distinguishing marijuana from the hard drugs and ambiguity about the criminality of marijuana use appears to be prevalent even among the policing occupations. Finally, increasing doubt about the police role in the handling of alcoholics is indicated by the rejection by 78 percent of the sample of alcoholism as a legal problem.

Attitudes and opinions relative to inmates were solicited with several questions. The responses seem to indicate a strange mixture of the incorrigibility of criminals, and the hope for rehabilitation. An overwhelming majority (88 percent) felt that most inmates would be in trouble again, 68 percent felt that most of the inmates were really criminals, and the vast majority (81 percent) felt the inmate had only himself to blame for his predicament. On the other hand, 71 percent did not feel that it was a waste of time to rehabilitate inmates, and 68 percent rejected the notion that the only thing that inmates understand is discipline.

The apparent homogeneity in attitudes towards inmates becomes more heterogeneous when the attitudes and opinions are directed toward themselves. Only 59 percent felt that the staff was really interested in helping inmates while 24 percent were undecided. More than one third of the staff were either undecided or disagreed with the notion that all staff should be involved in rehabilitation. Finally, reflecting the cleavages usually prevalent in corrections between custody and treatment staff, about two-thirds agreed that rehabilitation staff sacrifices control for treatment while about three-fourths agreed that custody sacrifices treatment for control.

Homogeneity among staff returns when the questions are directed toward the judicial system and the responses indicate a belief in the morality and integrity of that system. The large majority reject the idea that justice is biased, (who you know, how much money you have and your criminal record does not effect justice). They further reject any biases in the system toward minorities or ex-cons. They also defend the role of the police and acknowledge the nonpunitive nature of the minimum facility at Elmwood.

The opinions toward the jail farm and the work furlough program were positive ones. Over 85 percent of the sample felt that the minimum facility was at least a fairly good institution, mostly because of good custodial practices and good treatment opportunities. Again, over 85 percent indicated that the work furlough program was at least a fair idea mostly because it either helped the inmate adjust or helped the inmate care for his family.

In summary, the staff attitudes duplicated to some extent similar patterns attributed to institutional staff. There was a negative attitude towards drugs in general, with a softening position toward marijuana and a rejection of alcoholism as a legal problem. They seem to accept the cliché "once a criminal always a criminal," yet place some faith in rehabilitation. They become divisive relative to the dual goals of corrections--control and rehabilitations, as they indicate doubt about each one's roles. They agree with and have faith in the judicial system believing it to be fair and unbiased, and lastly, they have positive attitudes towards the minimum institutional facility and the work furlough program for reasons associated with control, rehabilitation and benevolence.

### Personality

The personality, or interpersonal relationships of the staff were probed with the California Personality Inventory and the Gough Adjective Check List. The latter instrument involved the self-judgment of the subjects as they selected those adjectives which they thought described themselves. In one sense the responses then become an assessment of self-image; however, the scoring procedure involves the grouping of adjective choices into various scales to depict certain personality characteristics. Consequently, although the scale may describe the respondent as intrceptive, he may not have overtly so described himself.

The CPI profile for the sample of the staff was significant only

in terms of the normality of the scores. Comparing the staff's scores with those of other correctional workers as reported by Gough, the scores of the former group are higher for the areas that designate social and intellectual skills. These two areas best describe the sample in general; their concern and skill in the social and intellectual areas specifically reflected in their apparent self-confidence and assurance, persuasiveness and fluency, and self-reliance and initiativeness. They also seem to value intellectual activity and achievement, and are persistent and industrious. Perhaps there is some tendency toward caution, as they appear to be somewhat methodical with a bit of rigidity, and evidence some deference to authority and tradition. In sum, they appear to be somewhat conservative and middle class, in the best sense of those characteristics.

The results of the Adjective Check List tend to support those of the CPI, emphasizing the staff's conservatism. Although there are 24 different scales in the check list, it is more appropriate at this point to interpret the results in terms of the total profile. The resultant profile is also well within a normal range as described in the Gough, Heilbrun Manual.<sup>3</sup> In general the group can be described as conservative, again in the best sense of that characteristic. Conservative perhaps in the tradition of the Jeffersonian democracy where they are proud of the system in which they live and flourish; where they are temperamentally "sanguine" -- warm, ardent, hopeful, and anticipating the best. They are conservative in an uncomplicated way and are uncomplicatedly enjoying life. They appear to be solid citizens equally suited to a paternalistic or bureaucratic structure, in pursuit of, and the guardians of, the Protestant ethic. They represent a conservatism best defined in terms of stability, quiescence, and durability; they tend to be preservative and perhaps a bit unchecked.

Specifically, some of the adjectives they tend to describe themselves with are: stable, industrious, sober, serious, diligent, loyal, cautious, methodical, conscientious, confident, mature, self-sufficient, prudent and circumspect. They tend to see themselves as responsive to obligations, patient and obliging, searching for stability and continuity. They tend to sacrifice individuality and spontaneity as it would be defined by them as rebellious and undisciplined; and finally, although sympathetic towards others, they do not act from this basis, but would, if so directed.

On the basis, of the personality instruments we again must reject the stereotype of the law enforcement or correctional worker as some kind of deviant person using his position to alleviate his frustrations and spend his hostility. Instead we have the profile of what might be best described as "middle America."

#### Vocational Attitude

Thus far, the data indicate that the staff echos the ethic of the American middle class. If this is the case, one would expect the embracement of an attitude toward work indicative of the Protestant ethic. This is clearly the case when one analyzes the Vocational Attitude Set Inventory.

This Inventory is treated in detail elsewhere. Suffice it to say that the Inventory attempts to measure a subject's attitude toward work. The results manifestly indicate the staff's positive vocational attitude set--a set that encompasses the culturally derived work ethic with a strong emphasis on the value of hard work, frugality, the determination to get ahead, and the commitment to the egalitarian ethos which holds that all have an equal opportunity to obtain the culturally prescribed materialistic goals. They seem to be well satisfied with the work ethic and believe in the occupational system. Comparing the staff scores with those of four other groups tested, jail inmates, prison inmates, college students and employees of a large aircraft plant, revealed the highest scores for the staff. This again illustrates the staff's commitment to the existing social system and their conservative bent.

### Summary and Discussion

Evaluating the results from the various techniques used to examine the staff reveals a group far from the stereotyped notion of "screw" or more contemporary contumely, "pig." Middle class oriented, constructively conservative, and the custodian of the Protestant ethic, they score within normal range on personality instruments with specific emphasis in the areas of social and intellectual skills. They profess job satisfaction, accept the work ethic, and see equal opportunity for all to get ahead. Relatively well educated and stable, they indicate ambivalent attitudes toward marijuana, and the paradox of a belief in the refractory criminal, but a belief in the value of rehabilitation. They match the cleavages prevalent in corrections with some mutual suspicion between treatment and custody functionaries. Finally, they stalwartly support the judicial system as a fair and unbiased one.

If one were to search for that veiled spectre "the establishment," the Sheriff's Department might serve as a good example. Steeped in tradition and ideologically committed to "law and order" one must expect a staff with a conservative outlook that in priestly fashion becomes the ideal value carrier. Yet, they are far from reactionary and not impermeable to change. The interest in rehabilitation also echos the humanitarian spirit of the American belief system and they probably would be receptive to change if it occurs in an orderly and predictable fashion, is initiated from within through their own leaders and is presented within the context of their own occupational arena. Too often change is presented and effected so that it is interpreted by them as a hostile attack and then might be sabotaged or rejected. We seem to have them, an organization with great potential, and which seems to have progressed from the period when instinct and a fast gun defined the role of the law enforcer.

## Footnotes

1. Empirical data on the background of the staff of prison, jail or police systems are indeed rare. The reasons vary from an unwillingness of such agencies to permit such studies to the tendency to concentrate on the characteristics of inmates. Some of the references include, Donald Clemmer, *the Prison Community*, New York: 1958, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 60-64, Daniel Glaser, editor, *Crime in the City*, New York: Harper and Row, 1970, pp. 236-237. Some assessment of staff attitudes is contained in David Street, Robert D. Vinter, and Charles Perros, *Organization for Treatment*, New York: The Free Press, 1966, pp. 137-149. One study of a correctional institution in California with reference to both staff attitudes and background is found in, Alvin Rudoff, *Prison Inmates: An Involuntary Association*, unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1964.
2. Harrison G. Gough, *California Psychological Inventory Manual*, Palo Alto: Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc., Revised 1964, p. 34.
3. Harrison G. Gough and Alfred B. Heilbrun, *The Adjective Check List Manual*, Palo Alto: Consulting Psychologists Press, 1965.

## CHAPTER VII--THE MALE OFFENDER

### INTRODUCTION

The major purpose of the study has been, of course the assessment of the experiences of the male inmates. With this group in mind the bulk of the instruments and the basic project design was developed. The sampling of inmates occurred over at least a three year period with a final sample of 2360 subjects. The material collected permitted a descriptive analysis of the total sample as well as the work furlough groups, and the testing of hypotheses within an experimental design involving the work furlough groups and a variety of variables. The design also permitted an analysis of before and after responses to some of the variables.

The outcome of this evaluation should lead to some conclusions about the value of work furlough. The results will be reported for all the variables in terms of the total sample, the comparison of work furlough and non-work furlough groups, and when appropriate, in terms of the results at the beginning of their incarceration compared with the results just prior to release.

### RESULTS

#### Background

Some demographic characteristics were assessed. The average age for all the inmates was 34.7 years, 31.5 for the work furlough inmates and 37.1 for the non-work furlough inmates. Some 42 per cent of the sample were work furloughees and 58 per cent were non-work furloughees. Combining these two bits of information, there was the tendency for the younger inmate to volunteer for the program more often than the older inmate, but the older inmate was more apt to be accepted if he volunteered than was the younger inmate. As anticipated, the minorities were overrepresented as almost one-half of the sample were in that category. About one-third were Chicanos, the largest minority in the jail as well as in the county but still overrepresented. Over one-half were Catholic, reflecting the high percentage of Catholics in the county, and almost 70 per cent might be referred to as religious.

The usual expectation in assessing the family background of inmates is for some degree of instability. Although this seems to be the case for this sample, the instability was by no means extreme. Over one-third were presently divorced, and only about one-quarter were presently married. The rest were single, widowed or living in a common-law relationship (6.1 per cent). About 25 per cent had been married more than one time and some 12 per cent at one time or another had lived in a common-law relationship. Over one-half of the first marriages lasted less than five years and the common-law relationships were even less enduring (three-quarters lasted less than five years). Subse-

quent marriages, both legal and common-in-law, were even less enduring than the first ones. In response to the questions on the happiness of the marriages, over 70 percent reported the first and second marriages as happy ones, while the common-law relationships were reported as even happier than that. However, with each successive marital experience legal or otherwise the reported measure of happiness declined rapidly. Apparently though the common-law marriages last less time than the legal ones, they tend to be reported as happier experiences. Over three-quarters of the sample had children with the number averaging three.

The inmate's family of orientation also evidenced some degree of instability. Only one-third of the parental marriages were still intact, but most were broken by a death (46 percent). The marriage success was lower than for the inmates as only 58 percent were reported as happy ones. Most of the inmates (90 percent) had siblings.

The family background though somewhat reflective of unstable relationships was not necessarily a devastating one. However, these data say nothing about the family relationships from a psychological point of view, so that the family background may or may not have been traumatic as well as disruptive. It is interesting to compare the responses to similar questions distributed to the families of inmates where a somewhat more stable family background is depicted. The effect of this variable may depend to some degree on the one who is doing the observing. It is possible that the inmates have a tendency to exaggerate the disruptiveness of the family, while the family tends to gloss over these factors. That is, the inmate may "fake bad" while the family may "fake good". The truth, therefore, may be somewhere in between.

There were some differences between the work furlough and non-work furlough groups. The former had significantly more married subjects while the latter had significantly more single subjects. This probably reflects the tendency to select for work furlough those with families to support. This difference then affected some of the other comparisons as well. Work furlough cases had more common-law marriages, marriages tended to be less enduring, less happy, and they were more apt to have children. Their families of orientation were more apt to be either intact or broken by divorce and fewer had deceased parents. The marriages were also less apt to be happy ones, and they had more siblings but usually as the result of broken marriages--that is the siblings were more apt to be half- or step-brothers and sisters. Finally, the work furlough group tended to come from larger families.

The family backgrounds of the two design groups showed some variations attributable to the selection process for participation in the program. This process produced a bias toward married persons with family financial responsibilities. They also indicated a family background, both family of procreation and family of orientation, somewhat less stable than that of the non-work furlough group. It should be noted that these are static data, situations that existed prior to incarceration, so that one cannot attribute

these differences to the work furlough program per se.

The analysis of residential mobility showed some evidence of the expected instability. Most of the sample followed the typical California migration patterns. Most of the inmates and their spouses either together or separately came to California from other states (61 percent) and eventually settled in the county. Their respective parents also migrated with about 87 percent of them coming from other states or other countries. After settling in the area, most of the inmates either got into trouble with the law very quickly or were here over 5 years before their arrest. Over two-thirds changed residence over three times in this same interval. Some 55 percent could be classified as transient as they resided in motels, hotels and boarding houses. About one-third lived alone, about 36 percent lived with either the family of procreation or orientation, and the rest lived with friends or relatives. Over two-thirds intended to remain in the county after release, with two-thirds of the inmates indicating that they already had a place to stay upon release.

The work furlougees had a somewhat more stable residential pattern. More often than the non-work furlougees, they tended to live with their families, and own their own homes. They also were in the county longer before their arrest, changed residence less often, were more apt to have a place to live when released and were more likely to remain in the county. As was the case previously, these differences could be attributed to the selection process.

The economic patterns reveal the financial problems usually attributed to the disadvantaged groups. Over 55 percent of the sample earned less than \$5000 per year as an average for a three-year period. They indicated some discontent with this depressed earning capacity as only 28 percent thought that this amount was all they were worth. Although almost one-half had no financial responsibilities. The rest had responsibilities toward the family of procreation, orientation, or to both families. As far as their parents were concerned, they too were somewhat low on the economic scale as two-thirds earned below or average income.

The relationship between the jailed inmates and its consequences for welfare were explored in some depth. Of the entire sample, one-half indicated that they helped support their family through work furlough, 27 percent had to depend on welfare for the interim support of their families, while the rest were dependent on the financial aid of their significant others. The inmates indicated that about 20 percent of their families are presently on welfare because of their incarceration, a figure that must be considered rather low as some of these same families might have been on welfare whether the inmate was in jail or not. As a matter of fact some one-quarter of the inmates had spouses on welfare and 10 percent had parents on welfare during their incarceration. Welfare was apparently a fairly familiar status for many inmates as one-third of them had been on welfare at some time or other and this was also true for some one-quarter of their parents. Because of the numbers of both inmates and parents who had been on welfare, an attempt was made to explore the possibility

that welfare "runs in the family". That is, an attempt was made to discover if there was a welfare cycle where it ran from one generation to another in the same families. This was clearly not the case as only 6 such instances were discovered in the entire sample.

It seems that there is some association between inmate status and welfare. Many of the inmates' families of procreation and orientation at some time or other had had this experience. However, considering the depressed economic conditions of this group, it is not an overwhelming number who become so involved. It should be noted that many of the families already on welfare contribute inmates to the institution so that the jailing per se does not increase welfare costs in any really significant manner. There is no doubt that incarceration forces some families to go on welfare but some of these families have been on and off welfare rolls in the past. Thus, incarceration may increase welfare support to some extent; it is also somewhat (but not completely) counterbalanced by participation in the work furlough program.

There were some differences between the work furlough and non-work furlough groups. In general, the work furloughees are somewhat better off financially, but are also somewhat more involved, during incarceration, with welfare. They tend to earn more and have greater financial responsibilities (more of them are involved with families). As for their welfare involvement, because of the greater responsibilities toward families, more of the work furlough inmates tend to have families on welfare at the beginning, but since they become participants in the work furlough program, they end up with fewer members of their family on welfare. Thus the program does to some extent alleviate the use of welfare and certainly increases the financial stability of the dependants.

As anticipated, the inmates were at the low end of the occupational scale. Indicative of the working class status (a status also indicated in the occupational background of their parents), most prefer and tend to be involved in semi-skilled or unskilled occupations as almost two-thirds were usually employed in either factory or labor jobs. There was also some evidence of job instability as, in addition to the welfare records of many, about one-half remained on their jobs less than 1 year and as many as one-third remained on their jobs for less than 6 months. Although about one-half received some kind of job training (a low figure considering today's technology and need for training), most of it was for semi-skilled or unskilled trades and 61 percent received their training for less than 1 year. Finally, perhaps due to some kind of fatalistic acceptance, 62 percent indicated satisfaction with their job careers--but a large minority (38 percent) indicated dissatisfaction.

Some differences occurred between the two design groups. The occupational pattern for the work furloughees was a bit more stable as they tended to be somewhat more skilled, last a little longer on their jobs and receive somewhat more training over a longer period of time. As in the previous comparisons, the selection process seems to be the reason for these differences.

The educational patterns were not really dismal as they averaged about 10.4 years of formal schooling, two years more than their parents. This is not too different from a national average, but since two-thirds did not possess even a high school diploma they remain inadequately trained for competition in today's labor market, particularly given their status as ex-inmate and their concentration in the lower end of the occupational scale. Although the work furlough cases had a slightly better educational record, they were not significantly better educated than the non-work furlough cases.

The examination of the drinking records of the inmates revealed what could be considered a major problem with this population. About one-third of the inmates admit to being heavy drinkers or alcoholics. They also tend to be surrounded by this problem as 20 percent of their parents, 8 percent of their siblings, 7 percent of their spouses and 22 percent of their children are also heavy drinkers. There were significant differences between the work furlough and non-work furlough groups. Some 25 percent of the former and 37 percent of the latter were heavy drinkers. The reason for this difference, as will be elaborated later, is again part of the selection process for participation in work furlough. The alcoholic tends to avoid involvement in work furlough more often than does the non-alcoholic offender.

That this population is deeply involved and immersed in "trouble" is further attested to by the record of family arrests. Over 50 percent of the inmates had either a parent, sibling, spouse, child, or combination of these arrested at one time or another. There were no design group differences.

The examination of the crime patterns of the sample highlights the kinds of deviance in which this population is involved and helps explain some of the work furlough non-work furlough differences. It also focuses on a major problem for the county jail system--the involvement, in general, with so-called "victimless crimes" and in particular, with the preponderance of the addictive crimes, viz., drugs and alcohol. About one-half of the misdemeanors and one-third of the felonies (about one-half of all offenders) were due to drugs or alcohol. Very few were involved in sex crimes, while the rest were divided between crimes against property and crimes against persons. In the case of the instant offense, regardless of the kind, some 58 percent of them involved alcohol. The average age of first arrest for the entire sample is 21, somewhat older than is usually found in the prison populations. They are first committed at about 24, usually to some county jail facility. There appears to be about a three year tolerance period in the judicial system from the time of first arrest to first commitment. Over 80 percent of the inmates committed to the host facility served a sentence of less than 6 months.

The most significant factor that differentiated the work furlough from the non-work furlough cases was the unequal distribution of the alcoholic and drug offenses. This accounted for some of the other differences noted above in the comparisons of other background factors. Because of both the selection and the

volunteering process for participation in the program, significantly fewer drug and alcohol cases were on work furlough. Only one-third of the alcoholics arrested ever volunteered for work furlough. Those that did tended to be accepted. The reverse was true for the drug arrests as most volunteered for the program but about 40 percent were rejected by the selection process.

What is apparent from the analysis of the background data is the ubiquitous nature of the difficulties in their life space. They are economically and occupationally and educationally handicapped. Their family backgrounds are relatively unstable. Their life styles are replete with what might be termed "trouble," particularly with an over involvement with drinking, drugs, and the judicial process--a continuous contact with disruption and problems. The work furlougher is somewhat better off than his counterpart for two major reasons. First selection for the program tends to favor the more stable ones, and second, the more stable ones tend to volunteer for the program.

Considerable further information was collected on the use of drugs. It involved a drug use history for the inmate and his family. Of all the 2300-plus inmates involved in the sample, 25 percent of them indicated that either they or some member of their family had used drugs, including marijuana, at some time. By far the biggest users were the inmates themselves, followed by their siblings, then their spouses and finally their parents. By far the greatest preference was manifested for marijuana. Next in preference were the barbituates followed by LSD and then heroin, phenobarbital and other types of drugs. Heroin was the drug used in slightly over 10 percent of the drug cases. In the majority of instances, the use was either light or moderate. As anticipated, there were significantly more drug users among the non-work furlough subjects than the work furlough subjects (60 percent more). It would seem from these data that drug use among this population is not just social in terms of secondary groups, but it might also be social in the primary group sense as well.

#### Attitudes and Opinions

Continuing the results of the response to the questionnaire, the attitudes and opinions of the inmates to items directed at several parts of the system of justice were evaluated. Consonant with their involvement in drugs, 56 percent of the inmates, compared with 80 percent of the staff, felt that the use of any kind of drug should be punished. Only 29 percent were against the use of marijuana, consistent with the attitudes of the staff. Some 70 percent perceived alcohol as a medical rather than a legal problem. Interestingly, proportionately fewer inmates than staff perceived alcohol as a medical rather than a legal problem. Thus the inmates indicated some affinity for the use of drugs, particularly marijuana. The differences between the work furlough and non-work furlough cases were small but in a direction consistent with the fewer cases of drug and alcohol use among the former. The work furloughers tended to be more ~~agreement~~ agree with the use of drugs and alcohol than the non-work furlough

group.

In the attitudes toward inmates there is the paradox of the rejection of the label of criminal but the acceptance that many will be in trouble with the law again. About three-quarters felt that inmates were not really criminals but one-half felt that most inmates would be in trouble again. Over 80 percent accepted the blame for their difficulty but only 39 percent felt that they received the sentence they deserved. On the use of Elmwood as a kind of sanctuary, there was a one-third split for agreement, disagreement, and undecided. Finally, some 69 percent accepted the principle of rehabilitation and 67 percent rejected the principle of punishment.

There were differences between the two design groups. The work furloughees felt more of the inmates were criminals, but some 70 percent still felt they themselves were not really criminals. Fewer saw the inmates in trouble again, fewer saw the inmates as getting the sentence they deserved, Elmwood as a haven, and fewer rejected rehabilitation while more rejected punishment.

The inmates seem to be responding from the perspective of a kind of marginal man. This was particularly true of the work furloughees. The attitude seems to emanate from a kind of dissociation of the self from the rest of the inmates, with the tendency to be kinder toward those they see as in the same boat as themselves. That is, they may see themselves as someone who has been unfortunate to have made a mistake but that the system of justice has treated them like a criminal. There is the mixture of acceptance of the legitimacy of the criminal system of justice but some resentment that they were treated within that context when they really are not criminals. They also see others in the similar situation and at the same time see still others as really criminals.

The inmate's view of staff belies the notion of a strong inmate-staff antagonism. Instead it seems to support the idea that antagonism that may arise in the relationship between staff and inmates is more an individual than group affair. That is, the staff might be all right but there are some bad ones to contend with. Perhaps this is particularly true for a group that rejects the identity of a criminal and might feel closer to staff than to inmates. At any rate, some two-thirds accept staff as a helping group and 70 percent feel that all staff should be engaged in rehabilitation. The responses to the questions on the role conflicts between custody and rehabilitation indicate either ambivalence or a lack of understanding of the issue. Is it necessary to sacrifice one role while performing the other? About one-quarter felt that rehabilitation sacrificed control while one-quarter felt that they did not, but one-half did not know. As for the custody role and the sacrifice of the rehabilitation function, one-third felt that control sacrificed rehabilitation while 19 percent felt they did not and the rest were undecided. Apparently, the inmates at least thought that the rehabilitation officer could more readily perform both functions. There were no significant differences between the two design groups.

In sharp contrast to the responses of the staff, the inmates indicate some serious skepticism of the judicial system. Some 45 percent of the inmates opposed to 37 percent of the staff accept the notion that justice is a matter of who you know and how much money you have. Also, 56 percent of the inmates feel that one is guilty till proven innocent in the courts. The same skepticism is present in reference to the police. More see the police as rousting the man with a record than do not. This may or may not be a fantasy. Over one-half see the police as over involved with petty crimes and under involved with the heinous offenses. This attitude may be a reflection of their own personal experiences with the police. At least in one area there is agreement with staff in that the inmates and staff both reject any biases in the system toward minorities. Also, in contrast to the previous attitudes, they accept the institution as benign, two-thirds see Elmwood as a place to do easy time. It would seem that as far as the system of justice is concerned, the inmates have misgivings about the courts and the police but are more accepting of the institution and the correctional process.

There were design group differences. The work furlongees were less rejecting of justice (42 percent to 47 percent), less rejecting of the courts (52 percent to 58 percent), less rejecting of the police, and less accepting of the idea of racial bias in the system and finally less accepting of the institution as a haven. The work-furlough group appears to be less bitter about the general concepts of justice and fairness in the system but more bitter about their own predicament and treatment.

While most of the questions dealt with abstractions there was a series that required responses relative to their own individual involvement. In this arena, 85 percent of all inmates in the sample said that they would make it on the streets after release. Eighty-one percent rejected Elmwood as an alternative to the free community. As for responsibility for the misbehavior, only 55 percent accept the sentence as a deserving one (32 percent reject it), only 53 percent see their trouble as their own fault. Previously over 80 percent had said that inmates were to blame for their trouble, while over one-third indicate that the difficulty was not really all their fault. They seem to be less tolerant of inmates in the abstract than of themselves as they maintain their identity as noncriminals. As a matter of fact, while 83 percent reject themselves as criminals, 75 percent rejected criminality for all inmates.

The work furlough and non-work furlough difference parallel those reported above for the general area of justice.

The attitudes toward the Elmwood facility were quite accepting. Some 85 percent of the inmates thought the institution a fairly good place to do time. The reasons for this acceptance were mostly due to the relative freedom at the facility followed by the activities available. Those who tended to reject the facility did so mostly because of their suspicion of other inmates (they cannot be trusted) and their perception of the institution as a place lacking in both activity and

freedom. In response to the questions about what is liked most and least, about one-half liked the freedom first and the food a distant second, while about one-half disliked the noise with the food a distant second. Over one-third liked the rehabilitation staff the best with the officers next (22 percent), while over one-third liked the officers the least. As for program, the majority liked work furlough the best with the work crew a far distant second (14 percent), while surprisingly counseling was liked the least (20 percent) followed by work crew and then religious counseling. The acceptance of work furlough was overwhelming (97 percent). The reasons they gave for this acceptance were first, it permitted them to earn money for themselves (one-third), followed by the belief that it helps them keep their jobs (24 percent), and a relatively poor third, to support the family (13 percent). Those few who rejected work furlough did so primarily because they felt that the temptation to escape was difficult to resist. Apparently work furlough is perceived by the inmates in general as an egoistic rather than an altruistic opportunity. They see the opportunity to serve themselves rather than their families. However, when one compares the work furlough with the non-work furlough group, this is reversed as more see it as an opportunity to support their families than to support themselves. This is related to the greater number of families involved with work furlough inmates. Still, the majority of all inmates regardless of participation in work furlough do not see the program in terms of support for families.

There were other design group differences as well, but the differences were in degree than than in choices. For example, in the choice of staff liked most and least, the rankings were the same for both groups but the work furlough inmates liked the officers somewhat less and the rehabilitation staff somewhat more.

The attitudes and opinions of the inmates seem to emanate from their personal experience with the system of justice and their rejection of an identity as a criminal. They are skeptical about the system because in their view it attempts to identify and stigmatize them as criminals. This is particularly true of the courts and the police and this affects their view of justice in general. However, they still seem to maintain a benign view of the institution with some chagrin directed toward certain individuals rather than toward the entire abstraction of corrections. This is particularly true of those in the work furlough program. This group feels even closer to the non-criminal perhaps even identifying more with the staff than with other inmates. They perceive their status as transitory and maintain more faith in the system of justice. They see other inmates as the "bad guys" for whom the system is justified, but see themselves as in trouble, partly their fault and partly circumstance, but really "good guys" whose present position is a temporary one.

What appears to be critically important is the differences between the inmates and the staff in their respective percep-

tions of the entire system of justice. It seems that the values are similar, that they both accept the same principles and the legitimacy of the system, but they part when it comes to the image and the norms. The staff perceive the inmates in more negative terms than they see themselves. They see them as criminals while inmates see themselves as noncriminals who made some mistakes and is it not the American way to pay for your mistakes and rise above them? They also differ in the assessment of normative practices; some of the behavior of the inmates is perhaps exaggerated as bad by staff and the inmates go to the other extreme by dismissing much of it as normal--everybody does it, even the staff. This leads to conflicts between the two while at the same time a grudging tolerance. But perhaps the most critical issue is the one involving the self-image with the inmates desperately trying to maintain a decent one while the staff probably inadvertently apparently works to destroy it.

#### Personality Characteristics

The California Psychological Inventory and the Adjective Check List were used to assess the personality characteristics of the inmates. There were over 850 valid CPI protocols and over 1050 valid ACL protocols. The scores were assessed in terms of the total sample and in terms of the work furlough and non-work furlough groups.

The results of the CPI for the total sample indicated several scales moderately below the male norms. This was particularly true in the measures of socialization, maturity and responsibility. To a lesser extent, it was also true of the measures of achievement potential and intellectual efficiency. Specifically, they tend to score as people who are immature, defensive, unambitious, with questionable rectitude and capable of poor judgement. In addition, they seem narrow, distrusting, dogmatic and somewhat rebellious. They seem to have a shaken sense of well-being as they feel like helpless victims, powerless, buffeted about by outside forces beyond their control, and with minimal anxiety about their own responsibility and contribution to their "troubles". Although they are rebellious, they are also somewhat passive so that the rebelliousness emerges as characteristics such as being stubborn and opinionated rather than as being overtly aggressive.

It should be emphasized that the profiles were not those of a pathological group. They were more positive than those of prison inmates, and were interpreted in relative terms. There were some scores, particularly in the area measuring maturity, responsibility and socialization, that were significantly below the norms, but still not low in a morbid sense, but in a moderate sense instead.

There were differences between the work furlough and non-work furlough groups. Six scales were significantly different. The profiles for each group paralleled that of the total population, but relatively speaking, the work furlough group evidenced somewhat more positive personality characteristics. For example,

the work furlough group was somewhat more mature, but still immature, somewhat more ambitious, but still unaspired, less distrusting and dogmatic, but still both. On the other hand, even though the work furlough group's characteristics of poise and self-assurance were in the normal range, the non-work furlough group indicated a somewhat more ebullient nature. Perhaps they were less moody and less anxious, as if they cared less about their situation than did the work furlough group.

The scores on the Adjective Check List for the entire sample of male inmates were well within normal range. The image they portrayed was one of a normal group with normal concerns, particularly about truth and justice, perhaps personalized in terms of their own situation. If there was a trend, it was toward some ineffectiveness in their day-to-day lives.

In comparing the work furlough and non-work furlough groups the scores again were quite within a normal range. The work furlough group had a more positive profile than the non-work furlough group. The former seemed to be somewhat more serious and moody and perhaps even somewhat less happy or more embittered. Both groups tended towards ineffectiveness, resulting in poor judgements, but where the work furloughees were moody and serious, the non-work furloughees were almost ebullient, as if they had fewer burdens to bear. Yet the work furloughees strove for conformity and conventionality with concern for their status, the non-work furloughees seemed content to pursue pleasure.

## BEFORE AND AFTER ELMWOOD EXPERIENCE

### Attitudes and Opinions

In the course of the study a sample of before and after responses to some of the instruments was collected to evaluate the effect of the Elmwood experience. This was accomplished for the attitude and opinion section of the IBQ for 250 inmates and the results assessed within the various design groups.

In general, one can say that the differences between the initial testing at inception and the retesting at the time the inmates left the institution were minimal. Those few changes that were statistically significant indicated no surprises as they were largely related to the experiences in the difficult and frustrating situation of incarceration. This experience is likely to produce some disenchantment with and reaction against the system with which the inmates must cope. It should be emphasized that these changes were slight and in no sense morbid. They included some increased skepticism of the general concept of justice, disenchantment with the institutional staff as doubt about staff sincerity increased and there was more confusion about the role of custody and rehabilitation. With exposure to a large proportion of inmates who have been involved with narcotics, coupled with the disillusionment with justice and staff, it was no surprise that the inmates adopted a more lenient attitude towards all drugs and drug users. Attitudes about themselves and other inmates did not change. Finally, there was also some increased rejection of the institution itself including the programs as well as the staff. After the experience with the facility, its rules, staff, programs, and other inmates, there was bound to be some disappointments. Everything seemed to become somewhat less tolerable--again not in a morbid sense but probably as part of a very normal reaction to a difficult situation.

The changes evidenced by the non-work furlough and work furlough groups were somewhat different but related to their different experiences while incarcerated. In general, some of the differences in these changes were such as to draw them closer together in their attitudes. For example a differential rate of change brought them closer together in their disappointment with staff and in their attitudes about themselves. Their differential experiences were reflected in changing attitudes toward the institution. Where the non-work furlough group felt that they had less freedom than they had initially thought, the work furlough group had increased difficulty with the rules and the staff.

Considering that the period of incarceration was a relatively short one, major changes were unlikely. In a sense, it appears that institutionalization had a minimum impact on inmates in either a positive or negative way. Their attitudes remain essentially the same. Changes that did occur were simply reflective of their day to day experiences while incarcerated, one group remaining in the institution all the time and the other with daily contact with the free community. Changes did not seem to be deep seated and conceivably would be effected by subsequent experiences after release.

## Personality Characteristics

A sample of 250 inmates was examined for changes on the California Psychological Inventory from inception into the facility to release. Over 300 cases were examined for changes on the Adjective Check List.

The scores for the retest on the California Psychological Inventory for the total sample followed the same pattern as for the initial test. However, there were ten statistically significant differences between the test and retest results. The retest seemed to indicate that the initial characteristics became aggravated since scores showed that inmates became more immature, defensive, and distrusting. They became particularly more acerbated as restlessness increased along with guilefulness and deceitfulness. As far as personality characteristics are concerned, the experience of institutionalization embittered them and turned them outward from the self in search for the "demon" responsible for their discomfort. They found a likely target in the system within which they were confined. These changes are consonant with those found in the attitude and opinion scores referred to above.

Of the two groups, the work furlougees made the most changes. There were eleven significant scale changes for work furlougees and three significant scale changes for non-work furlougees. The changes brought them closer to the non-work furlough group test scores. The work furlougees retrogressed. They became more immature, distrustful, deceitful, and similarly inept. The non-work furlough group ended up caring less about their present situation than originally while the work furlough group grew more embittered. This bitterness was turned outward from the self in search for the causes of their problem.

The results of the analysis of changes on the Adjective Check List tended to substantiate those of the California Psychological Inventory. Still within normal limits, the total sample indicated a more irresponsible, disruptive, rebellious, complaining, moody, self-centered and generally unfriendly group. Again, the work furlougees changed considerable more than did the non-work furlougees. Therefore, eleven significant scale changes compared to three for the non-work furlougees. Initially the work furlough group portrayed a more positive image than the non-work furlough group. They were more passive, circumspect, and conforming. The non-work furlough group, on the other hand, were more complaining, disruptive and pleasure oriented. After the institutional experience, the work furlougees were the most effected--toward the more negative image of the non-work furlougees as they became less trusting, and more pessimistic.

Looking at the test-retest results of the attitude and opinion items on the California Psychological Inventory and the Adjective Check List, it seems clear that the total sample was a relatively normal one, the non-work furlough group changed very little, but the work furlougees changed somewhat toward a more negative, embittered and pessimistic persuasion. Since the responses on all the instruments remained in relatively normal limits and could be explained in terms of the inmate's life experience, it seems appropriate to suggest that institutionalization had a noisome, but perhaps transitory and superficial effect. The inmates

apparently got mad at the correctional system as they were acerbated by the experience and this was particularly true of the work furlough-ees.

### Recidivistic Characteristics

It has been traditional in corrections to define program pay-offs in terms of recidivistic characteristics. This measure of effect often has been criticized because of the difficulty in adequately defining it and because there is some doubt about its direct relationship and the commitment experience. Nevertheless, it is seldom neglected in evaluations and must be included here.

Recidivism was measured in the Work Furlough Study in six ways: the number of arrests within eighteen months after release, and offense severity index, and index of the most severe conviction, the number of days in the eighteen-month period after release prior to the first arrest, the number of days reincarcerated with the eighteen-month period after release, and the outcome of any convictions within the eighteen-months after release. These various characteristics were evaluated within the experimental design involving work furlough and non-work furlough groups, and when appropriate, on a before and after basis. Most of the studies that have used recidivism as a measure have reported no significant differences. This study seems to be the exception as the statistically significant differences within all the aspects of the design were quite large.

Comparing the total sample for number of arrests before and after the instant incarceration resulted in significantly fewer arrests occurring within the eighteen-month period after release. The same was true when the work furlough and non-work furlough groups were considered independently. When comparing the work furlough group with the non-work furlough group for number of arrests within and eighteen-month period prior to the instant incarceration, the work furloughees had significantly fewer arrests. This was also true for the eighteen-month period after release from Elmwood. This seems in harmony with the previous evidence of the more positive profile of those inmates selected for work furlough. It also appears that even though there are a group of inmates who tend to be institutional transients, both committed to Elmwood and being placed on work furlough either separately or in combination, are significantly associated with reduced arrest rates.

Utilizing an adapted version of the Sechrest Offense Severity Scale, the degree of misbehavior among the groups was examined on a before and after basis.<sup>1</sup> The total sample indicated a significantly lower severity index within eighteen-months after release than eighteen-months prior to the instant incarceration. This was also the case for both work furlough and non-work furlough groups examined independently. Of particular interest was the disclosure that while the non-work furloughees had a significantly less severe index than the work furloughees in the eighteen-months prior to the instant incarceration, there were no differences between the two groups in the eighteen-months after release from Elmwood. Since the selection process placed many of the alcoholics in the non-work furlough group, a higher severity index could be expected for the work-furlough group prior to the instant institutional experience. The

fact that the work furlough group was no different after release and the non-work furlough sample was involved in crimes of a much less severe nature, would indicate that the improvement by the former group was much greater than the latter group for this important variable. In other words, though the entire sample improved considerably in the severity of subsequent crimes, the work furloughees improved considerably more than the non-work furloughees.

Confirmation for the previous finding occurred when the groups were compared in terms of the most serious conviction. A similar pattern as above occurred. The entire sample and each group independently has less serious convictions after release, with the work furloughees being the most improved of the two groups.

It has been noted in the literature that recidivism occurs in greatest numbers early in the new free status, and decreases over time. For the total sample in this study, the average interval of freedom prior to the first arrest was 80 days. This is certainly in agreement with the findings of other research. Of particular interest to this study was the finding that whereas the work furlough group average number of days of freedom prior to the first arrest was 91, it was only 71 for the non-work furlough group, a difference that is statistically significant.

Consonant with the previous variable, the number of days of reincarceration during the 18-months after release was computed. That is, during this 18-months period, how many days were spent in institutions and how many in freedom? For the total sample the average was 103 out of 548 days, or 19 percent. When comparing the two groups there was again a significant difference favorable to the work furloughees as they averaged 83 days (15 percent) as opposed to 120 days (22 percent) for the other group. Since the non-work furloughees had more alcoholics and more arrests, they might be expected to spend more time in the jail. However, one cannot dismiss the possibility that this also reflects the reduced severity of the crimes of the work furlough group and the possibility that it is also associated with the work furlough experience.

The next variable is the judicial outcome of the inmate's experience for the 18-months after release. For the total sample, 71 percent received new convictions. Of these new convictions 51 percent resulted in a jail sentence up to 90 days, 10 percent resulted in a jail sentence in excess of 90 days, and 10 percent resulted in a prison sentence. Examining the two design groups independently, the work furlough group had 63 percent new convictions, 40 percent of them for up to 90 days, 13 percent for over 90 days, and 10 percent for a prison sentence. The non-work furlough group had 77 percent new convictions, of which 59 percent were for up to 90 days, 9 percent for more than 90 days and 9 percent for a prison sentence. The work furlough group had significantly fewer convictions after release than the non-work furlough group. The greater number of sentences for up to 90 days recorded for the non-work furlough group can be attributed to their greater involvement in alcohol. However, the few convictions for the work furlough group follows the pattern of the other recidivistic characteristics where the work furlough experience, in addition to institutionalization, seems to have had an effect.

Reviewing the findings on recidivism, several points appear clear. The total sample seems to have experienced a reduced recidivism rate. The work furlougees because of the selection process were a less recidivistic group at the outset. After release, the work furlougees recorded fewer recidivistic characteristics, but these failure rates seem to have been even less than what could be expected. The jail experience itself seems to be associated with reduced recidivism rates. The combination of jail and work furlough seems to reduce these rates even further.

#### Special Vocational Rehabilitation Counseling

A small group of inmates received the special services of a Vocational Rehabilitation counselor. This is reported on elsewhere in this report. In the evaluations that group was included as part of the work furlough group. Work furlough required a selection process and so did participation in the vocational rehabilitation program. The result was that those in the vocational rehabilitation program were closer to the work furlough group in terms of all the variables studied than to the non-work furlough group. In addition they could be considered a kind of elite among the inmates in terms of their potential for rehabilitation, as the criteria for selection for the special services of the Vocational Rehabilitation counselor resulted in a younger, more viable, motivated person with the desire to "make it" still relatively strong. The evidence seemed to be that as a result of the selection process possibly combined with these special services, they recorded the most positive recidivistic characteristics of all the inmates.

In addition to these general considerations, a special training program was developed and evaluated. As the project progressed it became increasingly clear that the inmates were occupationally untrained and in many instances unmotivated. In addition there was a large block of inmates who never volunteered any interest in participating in work furlough even though they heartily endorsed it. This was particularly true of the large number of alcoholics. It seemed an appropriate part of the project to test the feasibility of introducing some short term vocational training directed toward those without any skills or jobs and upward mobility for those with minimum skills or jobs that perpetuated their economically depressed status. After several staffings and consultations with the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, a body and fender training program was developed and contracted to a local private training institute. Evening classes were started to handle a small group of seven to nine inmates at one time two nights a week for two and on-half hours per night. The course lasted from 8 to 12 weeks. Training was focused on the basic elements of the necessary skill. To date some 40 inmates participated for various amounts of time. In spite of various problems ranging from the difficulty of finding equipment, the short time of many of the inmate participants, the difficulties encountered in maintaining interest with the gaps in between each meeting, and others, some 50 percent of the inmate participants developed enough of the basic skills to seek out employment in the occupation at an apprentice level.

In order to assure some systematic evaluation of the program a special instrument was developed (ABFRET) which permitted the instructor to evaluate each of the inmates on the basis of several criteria. A total of 26 inmates

were so evaluated and the mean scores for each criterion was computed.

The inmates who were evaluated completed, at the time of the evaluation, an average of 11 hours of training. Rated on a scale from 1-4, with a 4 equivalent to an A and a 1 equivalent to a D, the group averaged 2.7 (c+) for "interest in work," and 2.1 (c) for "mechanical ability." The rater also indicated that 69 percent were able to profit from constructive criticism, 96 percent indicated overall improvement in their performance. The only acrimonious note in the evaluations was the tendency of some 65 percent of the inmates to be somewhat disruptive during the training sessions. Since they seemed to be doing fairly well otherwise, this might be attributed to the instructors lack of experience with this kind of population. This might result in either lax control or the temptation to interpret what might be common behavior in an institution as disruptive from the educator's perspective.

It would seem from the evidence of this small pilot study that such training programs are feasible in the setting of a work furlough program. The inmates are able to profit from the experience, develop the minimum skill that might increase motivation and instill some level of confidence to try for something better than the unskilled status. Of course the ultimate test for such programs lies in the ability of such inmates in the free community.

Continuing the evaluation of the vocational experiences of all the inmates, two other instruments were devised. One, the Vocational Aptitude Questionnaire (VAQ) was developed to survey some of the work furlougees' job experiences while incarcerated. The other was developed to survey the experiences of the employers with the work furlougees. This latter study was aborted as many of the employers were reluctant to submit to the interview. This was particularly true of those who employed the most unskilled and transient of the workers such as farm labor. However, some interesting data were collected with VAQ.

Confirming the low occupational status, three quarters of the furlougees were employed in either unskilled or semi-skilled capacities. For about one-half the job was the same one they held prior to incarceration. For the rest, 71 percent found their own jobs while 29 percent were serviced by the rehabilitation staff. The jobs acquired for them tended to be on a par with their usual employment, but of special interest was the fact that 36 percent of the inmates serviced by the staff received a job below the one they usually had. About one-half kept the same jobs when they were released, two-thirds felt that the job they had involved the work they did the best, but 39 percent felt that they were not making as much money as they could. In comparing themselves with the average worker, two-thirds said they had the same or better training and 84 percent said they performed as well or better. In order to determine whether their status as jail inmates effected their treatment on the job, some questions were asked about the attitudes of co-workers and employers toward them. The overwhelming opinion was that they were accepted by both. Finally, some questions were asked to determine the inmates' estimate of their vocational needs for upward mobility and the plurality selected education and training while many felt that their freedom would be enough.

Work furlough, while it offers many advantages, is accepted by the inmates, demonstrates that the inmate "puts out his day's work," and is accepted by his employers and co-workers, also tends to perpetuate his disadvantaged occupational status. Perhaps of even greater mischief is the possibility that the work furlough program, with its emphasis on work per se, also contributes to the downward mobility of many of the inmates.

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<sup>4</sup>The development of the Vocational Attitude Set Inventory (VASI) is reported in the Technical Supplement to this Final Report. A comparison of the responses of 1113 inmates with those of 83 inmates used to develop the instrument revealed no differences. The larger sample was also compared on a before and after basis, at reception and release, and again ~~there~~ were no significant differences. In general, jail inmates had a more negative attitude toward work than did more successful occupational groups.

<sup>1</sup>Dale K. Sechrest, "Comparisons of Inmates' and Staff's Judgements of the Severity of Offenses," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 6 (January, 1969), pp. 41-55.

## CHAPTER VIII. THE FEMALE OFFENDER

In general, the literature has neglected the female offender. Considered a minor problem with minimum involvement in the judicial and correctional arena, the female as an offender has received little research attention. Additionally, reflecting the cultural attitude towards women, they have been generally handled gingerly and been patronized by the systems that deal with offenders.

With the surge in interest generated by the quest for equality (or freedom), there should be an increase in studies on women in general with consequence for the female offender. There is some contemporary literature of pertinence for this study. Betty Friedan has noted that women in general engage in their contemporary feminine role without an occupational identity.<sup>1</sup> Pollak has characterized the female offender as indirect, deceitful, protected by men and the beneficiaries of leniency in law enforcement and the courts.<sup>2</sup> Cavan points out that the man is an offender first and a man second; the woman is described as a woman first and an offender second.<sup>3</sup> This societal attitude has consequences for both the treatment of the female offender and the stigma attached to the offender in and out of the criminal process. Some comments have also been made relative to the consequences of incarceration. Giallombardo states that the female offender tends to divorce herself from the outside world.<sup>4</sup> She drops a curtain between herself and the outside world, turning inward, learning to do "easy time." Turning inward seems to be one response to the pains of separation from the family (family life being an integral part of the female role), with embarrassment, worry and concern apparently handled by withdrawal—a reaction somewhat different from that of the male offender.<sup>5</sup>

In order to assess the female offender at Elmwood, a battery of instruments similar to those used to collect information on the male offender were administered for a period of one year. All those female offenders serving a term of at least 60 days in the institution during that period of time were sampled. There was a 10% loss due to refusals and invalid responses. The final sample and analysis totaled 89 cases.

### RESULTS

#### Background

Demographically, the average age was 28.9, indicating a chronologically mature group. There was the usual evidence of an overrepresentation of minorities (over 25% black and chicano), and religious affiliations reflecting the distribution found in the County. Of some significance was the minimal participation in institution programs including work furlough. Over 75% of the women never requested any programs. Undoubtedly, this was partially due to the paucity of programs for women at the facility and a tendency on the part of staff to avoid encouragement for participation in work furlough. However, a major reason for the lack of participation still remained the tendency on the part of women

to avoid contact with the outside while incarcerated--a point also made by Giallombardo in her study of incarcerated women.<sup>6</sup>

Both the families of procreation and orientation reflect the disruption and turmoil one has learned to expect in the offender's background. Thirty-five percent of the offender had been married more than once, and 25% had been involved in common-law-marriages. As for instant marital status, about one-fourth were married while about one-half were divorced. Their marriages seemed to endure 1-5 years and more than half of the marriages were unhappy ones. Paradoxically, the common-law-relationships were happier experiences than the legal ones. Perhaps this was due to the psychological release from some of the responsibilities of marriage and the ease of dissolution, thus avoiding a build up of tensions and recriminations and a happier residue for memory. The family of orientation showed the same patterns of disruption, with only about one-third still intact and only one-third remembered as happy. As for family size, in both instances they were average (2-4 children).

Again as anticipated, mobility patterns were somewhat unstable. Most were originally from other areas and with their parents migrated to this county. About three-fourths of the inmates changed their residence at least twice in three years. Most were in the county less than five years before the instant arrest. They tended to be residential transients living in motels and boarding houses; however, they usually did not live alone. Upon release they anticipated remaining in the county and in a residence already available to them (usually with some family member).

Continuing the pattern usually associated with the offender, the inmates indicated that they were economically at the poverty level. About 80% indicated yearly income less than \$5000 with 44% acknowledging that level as all they were economically worth. Interestingly, they do not perceive their parents as economically deprived as only 17% felt that the parent's income was below average while 37% felt that the parent's income was above average. In spite of this optimism, the families of the inmates seem to be predominantly from the working class and were no strangers to welfare as about 25% of the parents at one time or another had received assistance while almost 60% of the inmates had received similar assistance. Perhaps in keeping with the female role, almost half of the sample felt no financial responsibility while most of the rest felt some responsibility to their family (children). While incarcerated, their dependents were apt to be cared for by others with a little less than one-third on welfare.

The occupational patterns followed the unstable patterns of the previous ones. Almost half indicated dissatisfaction with their jobs, while preferring either white collar or service occupations. There was evidence of considerable job instability as most tended to terminate employment for one reason or another in less than six months. About half had some training for work, probably at the high school level. Only about one-third of their parents were engaged in white collar occupations with the rest involved in what might be termed working class jobs (one-half of the mothers' of the offenders were probably

housewives).

Both the inmates and their parents were minimally educated -mostly less than high school.

The family arrest and addictive patterns were also assessed. Possibly because of a concentration on drug use, there did not seem to be troublesome drinking patterns for the inmate's themselves, not even in relation to the instant offense. On the other hand, almost one-third of the spouses, 22% of the parents and 15% of the siblings were said to have a drinking problem. Alcohol abuse was then no strange event in the lives of the inmates, yet they seemed to have substituted drugs for the alcohol (as will be noted below). Arrests were also no strange event for the families of the inmates as about three-fourths had some family member in trouble with the law at some time or another.

The criminal patterns of the female offenders were quite revealing. Unlike their male counterparts, arrest and commitment was more apt to occur in young adulthood rather than as a juvenile. Perhaps this can be partially accounted for in the leniency towards the female by the judicial process as has been noted in the literature. Further strengthening this argument is the fact that most of the offenders were serving time for felonies rather than misdemeanors (2/3) indicating involvement in the process only after the commitment of the more "heinous" crimes. In either event, a significant number of offenses were for drug abuse, 21% of the misdemeanors and almost half of the felonies. For all the females, property crimes had a slight edge over narcotics crimes. For most of the sample, the County Jail is the site of their first commitment and the sentences usually run for less than six months.

Because of the heavy involvement in drugs, further inquiry was directed towards this area. About half of the sample indicated that either they or some member of their family was involved with drug use. Marijuana was the preference, followed by the barbituates, and then heroin. If heroin was used, it was used more heavily than the other drugs. This is probably related to the addicting power of that particular drug. In terms of frequency of use, the inmates themselves were at the top followed by spouses, then siblings, and finally the parents. It would seem possible, then, that their drug world might have included primary as well as secondary groups.

Recapitulating the background data, the female offenders in this sample were mature adults, involved in unstable life patterns with disruptive and/or inadequate associations with most social institutions. About two-thirds came from working class backgrounds and might have been downwardly mobile. Finally, their biggest problem seemed to be with drugs as they used them liberally and associated with others of similar mind.

#### Attitudes and Opinions

The female offender's attitude toward drugs is generally permissive.

There is a particular acceptance of marijuana and a rejection of alcohol as a legal problem. This general attitude toward drugs is consonant with their records of drug abuse. This of course makes the rehabilitation process a most awkward one.

Perhaps reflecting the attitude toward drug use on the part of the many, they accept the responsibility for the illegal acts but reject an identity as criminals. They seem to feel that their present status is transitory, that they are not criminals, that a mistake had perhaps been made and a lesson learned (it is difficult to detect whether the lesson involves discretion or abstinence from criminal activity). In spite of the rejection of a criminal identity, there is the anticipation of continued trouble with the law. This is suggestive of the lower class concern with "fate" and "trouble" as an accepted part of life style. It may also be suggestive of some acceptance of the notion of the "sick premise." That is, they are not criminals but "troubled" people with problems as they embrace the idea of rehabilitation (usually psychologically defined) and decline the idea of punishment.

Their opinions about the staff are somewhat uncertain. They feel that all staff should be involved in rehabilitation but are not sure of staff's sincerity, interest, or role, (there was a large percentage of "undecided" responses to these kinds of questions). Uncertainty about staff shifts to some cynicism where the judicial process is concerned. There is some doubt about the fairness of the system but oddly, although well represented by minorities, the sample does not hold with the idea that the system is racially biased. Could it be that for the female offender, the judicial and correctional process perceives them as women first, and offenders and minorities second?

Several questions were also directed toward the institution and its programs. Keeping in mind that for the women, (unlike the males at Elmwood), incarceration was within maximum security conditions, it is somewhat surprising that the overwhelming majority did not indicate any resentment or outright rejection of the facility. Specifically they attributed this attitude to good treatment by the staff, some degree of freedom within the limits of the confinement, and the possibility of participation in some of the institution's activities. The few complaints noted were directed to the food and the noise—a common complaint in any kind of institutional life (e. g. the army, college campus).

In their attitudes toward the staff, they seemed to evidence the most affect relative to the officers. Possibly because this is the staff group with the most contact they are on the one hand selected as the "most liked" and on the other hand as the "least liked." It would seem that as far as the officers are concerned, they elicit the strongest emotional response—either one way or the other—to love or to hate. As far as rehabilitation staff is concerned, this group tends to have the most qualitative kind of contact with inmates since they deal primarily with affect, but in this case, the women can either take them or leave them, as their responses are neutral ones. This attitude is probably due to the minimum contact that rehab officers have with the women as

this kind of program is rare in the institution. There was an unexpected rejection of Chaplains; however, it should be noted that this kind of question elicits personalized responses as well as responses to an entire category of staff or program. It is doubtful that the females rejected religion (even though they were not particularly religious as a group), but it is more probable that there was some dissatisfaction on the part of some with the Chaplains themselves. To place their attitudes toward staff in proper perspective, it would be fair to say that no one category of staff stood out as particularly accepted or rejected.

The attitudes toward program did show an overwhelming consensus in choice. About one-third liked the work furlough program the best (in spite of the fact that very few actually participated) and 94% heartily endorsed the idea. The reasons for this choice was usually economic as they wish to support selves, and family. After work furlough, the programs liked best were counseling, visiting and work crew. There was some division of opinion on the latter three programs as they were also selected as the programs least liked by a similar proportion of the inmates. Aside from work furlough and those other minor programs about which there is very little opinion, there is no systematic consensus about program because there is really no systematic program for them. Programs for the females tend to be a matter of certain staff (or volunteers) doing certain things with certain inmates all with uncertain status. Of some interest is the lack of consensual embracement of the visitation program. Most males tend to look forward to outside visits and in general encourage it. As previously noted in the section on literature, this may be part of the female tendency to withdraw from the outside and avoid embarrassment and the emotional effect of such contacts.

In summary, the female offenders in this sample do not seem to have the self concept of a criminal. They are in trouble, but the situation is transitory. They may be in trouble sometime again, but life is that way. Since the present problem is temporary, incarceration is not necessarily an opportunity to find oneself or prepare for the future, but a time to pay one's debt and forget. Thus, easy time is the goal. While incarcerated, contact with the outside should be avoided because it could be embarrassing; withdrawal is the theme, and appearance and conveniences are not too important as it will all be over very soon. There is no evidence of a commitment to criminality nor a strong feeling of stigmatization. The designation ex-con tends to refer to the male and the female ex-con is less apt to be stigmatized or perceived in criminal terms. The female offender does not seem to have any concerns relative to this status outside of the family. Possibly the stigma of incarceration is translated into sexual terms by the public—that is, the female offender is perceived less in criminal terms and more in terms of easy sexual prey.

### Personality

The personality of the female offenders at Elmwood was assessed with the California Psychological Inventory and the Adjective Check List. Comparing the Elmwood scores with those reported by Gough

for female prisoners revealed remarkable similarities in profiles with the differences being only in degree. For example, the Elmwood female offenders are submissive and compliant under authority, anxious and disorganized under stress, and lacking in self insight; the prison female offenders evidence the same characteristics but to a greater degree.

The Elmwood females score low in two areas: measures of socialization, maturity and responsibility; and measures of achievement potential and intellectual efficiency. They depict the characteristics of the character disorders (somewhat sociopathic) rather than the neurotic or schizophrenic person. They seem unaware, or unwilling to accept self-responsibility for convict status or behavior. They are apt to project, rationalize and minimize their problems as they are relatively free of self-doubt.

Specifically, they present the picture of immature, undependable, opinionated, defensive and awkward people. Somewhat guileful and deceitful, wary and dissatisfied, they are likely to fall apart under stress. They are also capable of more than they produce as they are underachieved and unambitious, perhaps even lazy, but certainly shallow.

The responses to the Adjective Check List, in general paralleled those of the CPI. The characteristics of the character disorders were verified. The overall analysis indicated a group that was somewhat profligate, somewhat at odds with people, somewhat "now" and "action" oriented--but in an intemperate way. In their relationships with others they tend to be opportunistic and manipulative, indifferent to feelings, and restless in situations of prolonged contact. Others probably perceive them as "unfriendly." As personalities they tend to be irritable, quick-tempered and non-deliberative, apprehensive, moody and dissatisfied, pessimistic, untrusting, and self-aggrandizing. They appear to be doubtful about the worthwhileness of effort and involvement, dislike delay, and are problem and complaint oriented. Finally, they seem to be doers rather than thinkers but in doing, they tend to blunder.

#### Vocational Attitude

In assessing the vocational attitude of the female offender one would expect the scores to be similar to those of other incarcerated groups. This seems to be the case. The scores are similar to jail and prison groups, but not as high as those for the Sheriff's staff or the workers in a large industrial plant. It is interesting that in testing the vocational attitude set of the female the theoretical perspective is somewhat different than that of the male. For the male, to work is to be a man; for a female, not to work is to be a woman. That being the case, the difference between the male scores and the female offender scores may be due to sex rather than criminality. In order to explore this, a group of college females were also tested and compared with the incarcerated females. The results indicated that the female offender scores were significantly lower in both the total score and the score for the occupational self image. Since there was no difference on the work socialization scale and a significant difference on the occupational self-image scale it is possible that the females started with similar socialization experiences relative to occupation and the female role.

but that the education experience either led or followed the change in occupational self-image for the college female. In comparing the female offender scores with all the other group scores, they score the lowest in the work socialization and occupational self-image scales but are comparatively high on the alienation-pessimism scale. Apparently the female offender is socialized in the feminine role without the major commitment to work and as a consequence it does not loom as large in their self-image or "conscience" as it would for the male. It would seem then that the female offender tends to have a negative attitude set toward the world of work based at least as much on her role as a female as her status as an offender.

#### Summary and Discussion

The analysis of the data relative to the female offenders highlights the two major influences on the results, the role as a female and the status of an offender. Chronologically mature, the Elmwood sample came from an unstable background, and are socio-psychologically immature. They perceive themselves and are perceived by others as females first and offenders second. They do not seem to be committed to a criminal life style as they view incarceration as a temporary situation, making inconvenience bearable, and the future uncertain--if they even consider it. As far as work is concerned, they are not particularly career oriented--a stance that emanates from the traditional culturally derived role of women in our society.

While incarcerated, they seem more interested in activity than in vocational training, and in rehabilitation rather than punishment. It is doubtful whether they understand the rehabilitative process (perhaps a truism for staff as well), but roughly equate it with the avoidance of "trouble."

Unlike their male counterparts, the feminine role seems to allay stigmatization as the epithet "ex-con" conjures the portrait of a surly male and rarely that of a female--whatever her crime or manner. They remain family oriented, search for it, define their life style in terms of it (legal or otherwise), and it becomes the prime stimulus for their actions and reactions. Just as the male offender's "criminality" may be rooted in the role as a male, so the female offender's "criminality" may be rooted in the role as a woman. The consequences for the entire judicial and correctional process may then be very different.

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## CHAPTER IX SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

The literature is replete with references to the disruptive nature of the background of the offender. This is particularly true of the family life of the inmates. One of the first correlates of crime highlighted by the earliest researchers referred to the broken home. However, the bulk of this data usually came from the inmate himself and, with some exceptions, it was rarely referring to information gleaned from the families themselves.

As part of this study, a Questionnaire was developed to parallel those administered to staff, male and female inmates and to be submitted to the "significant others" so identified by the inmates. The "significant other" was defined as the person closest to the inmate and included parents, spouses, siblings, offspring, or relatives. Within a specified period of time all the male inmates received at the Rehabilitation Center were contacted and asked to select their "significant other" and notify them, (usually by phone) that they would be receiving a Questionnaire through the mail and encouraging them to complete and return it. A researcher (Spanish-speaking) followed-up, in the field, those cases that were not returned in a reasonable amount of time. The returns totaled 67 percent of the questionnaires dispatched. The sample size was 111; 47 percent were work furlough families and 53 percent were non-work furlough families. The distribution among the "significant others" were 31 percent spouses, 45 percent parents, and 24 percent miscellaneous category including children, siblings, and close relatives. There were more spouses and fewer parents in the work furlough group than in the non-work furlough group. This was in most part due to the tendency to select those inmates for work furlough with their own families to support.

The results of the analysis will be reported both in terms of the total sample and in terms of a comparison between the work furlough and non-work furlough groups.

### RESULTS

#### Background

The only demographic information collected, in addition to the relationship with the inmate as reported above, was related to the religious commitment and preference. Reflecting the surrounding counties high incidence of Catholics, 46 percent of the sample indicated that preference while forty percent were Protestants. Almost 90 percent of the sample indicate some serious commitment to religion. There were no differences in the responses by the work furlough and non-work furlough groups. The relationship between religion and crime has always been a perplexing one. Religion with its moral roots is expected to at least offer some

insulation against wrongdoing." However, there is no conclusive evidence about the relationship. In this case, one can at least say that the criminality of the inmates in the study did not seem to be connected with an irreligious or anti-religious stance on the part of the "significant others."

The family background of the respondents did not reflect the extreme unstable patterns one might have anticipated. Within the respondent's families two-thirds were married, 20 percent divorced or separated, with the rest single, widowed or common-law. Over 70 percent were only married once and half of the marriages endured for at least five years. Common-law marriages were rare and over 70 percent felt that their marriages were happy ones.

The backgrounds of the parents of the respondents also indicated relatively stable relationships. About 45 percent of the marriages were still intact, the rest divorced with most deceased. Again 7 percent reported these marriages as happy ones. There were no essential differences between the work furlough and non-work furlough groups that could not be accounted for by the higher incidence of married inmates in the former group.

It would seem that as far as the family is concerned (both family of procreation and orientation) the background of the respondents is within what might be termed normal limits. They appeared to have no more than their share of divorces, common-law relationships, unusual family size and reported marital happiness. The family as a social unit does not seem to be a disruptive one. However, it should be noted that this is the way they report it. The inmate may not see the marriage as happy as they did. On the other hand, a county jail population has more misdemeanants than felons and therefore, their backgrounds might not be as disruptive as those found in the prison population.

Economically, the experiences of the sample were somewhat depressed. About one-third were below average in income, with about 90 percent indicating average or below income. Twenty-one percent were presently on welfare, and 10 percent stated that their parents were presently on welfare. Almost 30 percent had been on welfare at some time or other, and this was also true for 21 percent of their parents. An attempt was made to seek out welfare cycles, that is at least two generations of recipients within the same families. Essentially, this was not the pattern for most of the welfare recipients as only three such families were discovered in the entire sample.

The "significant others" of work furlough appeared to be poorer and to have greater financial responsibilities for more people (e. g. parents and own family), but were no different in the use of welfare than non-work furlougees.

Although not below any national averages, the sample was not a particularly well-educated group. With no differences

between the two work furlough groups, almost 50 percent of the entire sample had less than a high school diploma while they had an average formal schooling of 11.6 years. The analysis of the social patterns of the respondents reveals that they are no strangers to trouble and perhaps could at least empathize with their inmate relations. About 10 percent of the respondents could be described as problem drinkers, while this was also true of 21 percent of their spouses, 12 percent of their parents and 9 percent of their siblings. In addition, some 36 percent of the entire sample were arrested themselves at one time or another (mostly either parents or siblings) with almost one third of those arrested having had county jail experience. The social patterns for families of work furlougees and non-work furlougees were essentially similar with perhaps a slightly better life style for the former group.

Recapitulating, there was a high percentage of catholics while most of the sample were fairly religious. The family background was relatively stable (at least in terms of some national average which would probably not be fully harmonious) they were economically disadvantaged, and educationally about average. They also evidenced an inordinate amount of heavy drinking and arrests. The responses of the "significant others" of both work furlough and non-work furlough groups were essentially similar with some minor differences reflecting the selection criteria for participation in the program. If one were to search for clues to the problems of inmates in the backgrounds of their "significant others" perhaps it could be summed up in terms of the respondent's working class status and the usual association with some economic difficulties, educational impediments, and a familiarity with "trouble".

#### ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

In general, the responses to the question on drugs and alcohol were similar to those of the other groups tested. There was a general rejection of hard drugs, a split on the question of marijuana and the acceptance of alcohol as a medical rather than a legal problem. There were no differences in the opinions of the work furlough and non-work furlough groups.

The opinions about inmates in general were not particularly forgiving as they viewed them rather realistically. About three fourths of the respondents agreed that the responsibility for the inmates' present predicament belonged to the inmates. Perhaps reflecting a mixture of loyalty and realism, 44 percent felt that inmates had received deserving sentences but 25 percent were undecided; less than one fourth thought that the inmates would get in trouble again, but 43 percent were undecided. Consonant with the tendency on the part of those who are somehow involved with the incarcerated person (including the one who is incarcerated), 60 percent of the respondents did not think that the inmates were really criminals, however, 20 percent were

undecided. Finally the large majority accepted rehabilitation as a visible goal and only 51 percent seemed to go along with the idea of punishment, but continuing to follow the apparent tendency towards doubt on the part of the respondents, some 18 percent were undecided about the role of punishment. The responses of the work furlough and non-work furlough groups were similar.

In the responses to the questions about staff there was again the acceptance of rehabilitation as a goal this time indicating that all the staff should be so involved. However, there was some indecision about the sincerity of staff help as, although a majority, only 58 percent accepted staff sincerity, 11 percent rejected it and 31 percent were undecided. There was no differences in the work furlough and non-work furlough responses.

The ambivalence toward, if not doubt about, the entire correctional process is seen again in the responses to the questions on the judicial process. The attitudes are not a wholesale rejection but some doubt whether it can be trusted. For example, 42 percent agreed that justice was biased while only 41 percent disagreed. Also, 39 percent felt that in the courts one was considered guilty until proven innocent, while some 47 percent disagreed. Although only 20 percent agree that there is judicial bias against minorities, still some 25 percent are undecided. The doubt about the system continues as one third agree that the police spend too much time chasing the petty offender while the real criminals get away and 28 percent are undecided; finally, while only 23 percent agreed that the police harass the man with a record, there were still some 38 percent who were undecided. The work furlough groups responses were essentially similar to the non-work furlough group.

The responses to the questions about the respondent's own kin were colored by the relationship. They indicated an overwhelming faith in the chances of their relatives succeeding upon release. Only about one half thought their kin had received the sentences they deserved and about one half thought that his predicament was not entirely his fault. Continuing this trend, three fourths thought that their relative was not really a criminal. This particularizing tendency where the inmate they are associated with is perceived as really a "good guy" three fourths feel that he really cares about them and one half blame his friends for his difficulty. The responses were also indicative of a closer affective relationship and the recognition that the inmate's problems are also their problems. Over one half saw the incarceration as embarrassing to them and 42 percent felt that it should be kept a secret while 13 percent were undecided. Some two thirds recognized the consequences for their own lives and 28 percent even blamed themselves while 20 percent were undecided. Perhaps this latter statistic indicates some feelings of guilt for their kin's difficulties. There was some difference between the work furlough and non-work furlough groups. The former appeared to respond to a closer affective relationship. They tended to perceive his difficulty as less his fault and more

their own than did the non-work furlough group. They also tended to be less apt to blame his friends and more apt to feel that he really cares about them.

The last series of questions were directed toward the institution and the work furlough program. The vast majority approved of both. Elmwood was seen as a good place chiefly because of a permissive system of rules and the trust one could put in the other inmates. About 99 percent of the entire sample accepted the work furlough program. The chief reasons for this acceptance was the opportunity to pay debts, keep jobs and earn money to pay a fine and reduce the time to be served. Although the responses of the work furlough and non-work furlough groups were similar, the latter group was a bit more accepting of Elmwood, more because of the permissive rules and less because of any trust in other inmates. Also, even though they do not participate in the program the non-work furlough group also supported work furlough but the reasons were somewhat different but in an expected direction. The work furlough group emphasized the possibility of paying a fine for earlier release while the non-work furlough group emphasized the possibility of paying off debts.

#### SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The results of the analysis of the responses of the "significant others" indicates both a background and attitude system somewhere in between the staff and the inmates. The family was relatively intact, and they were not particularly educationally handicapped; they were economically disadvantaged and had a problem with drinking and arrests. They tended to particularize their responses as they answered with a subjectivity borne out of their own experience with the judicial system as well as that of their kin. There was a small group that seemed to have "given up" on their kin and reject them (and other inmates) as criminals and essentially incorrigible--but it should be emphasized that this involved a very small group of respondents. Most seemed to be quite ambivalent about the whole experience. They appear to see their own kin as "good guys" and other inmates as probably the "bad guys"--and at the same time even express some doubts about their own kin. They admit some embarrassment and feel the negative consequences (mostly psychological) of their kin's misbehavior, yet the ties are still strong and this mitigates against outright rejection leading instead to doubt, but a need to protect, and the perception of the inmate as "troublesome" rather than criminal.

The responses of the relatives of work furlough and non-work furlough inmates were essentially the same. However, there was a trend for the former group to be somewhat closer to the inmates, more empathetic, more rejecting of the system as a rehabilitative one, and their kin as less criminal (really good guys) than the other inmates. This trend could be accounted for by a combination of the selection process for participation in work furlough and the

unique experience of work furlough itself.

## CHAPTER X FISCAL ANALYSIS

Since the very inception of Work Furlough as a viable program, regardless of the jurisdiction, it has been amply and aptly justified on a financial basis. It is quite clear that it saves the taxpayer money. Such programs are organized to permit the inmate to work and "pay his own way" as he does. He contributes to his upkeep, he pays fines, makes restitution, contributes to his family, and indirectly, makes a financial contribution to the community through taxes and, the generation of income to the merchants through spending. What has been true of all work furlough programs is also true of this one. If one were to justify the program on these terms alone, it certainly must be scored as a success.

A special form was created to gather information of a monetary nature for the two fiscal years of 1968-1969 and 1969-1970. Data were collected on such factors as money earned, assessments due and paid, room and board contributions, and contributions to the family. Since many jail inmates are institutional transients in that they may do several sentences of short time duration during any two year period and since some times they may be on work furlough and other times they may not, the data were collected on cases rather than on subjects. That is, some subjects may be counted more than once as a case in the computations as a record was kept for each man each time he came to the institution. The differences between the work furlough and nonwork furlough cases are obvious, the former worked and generated income while the latter did not. At any rate, the results of these evaluations met most expectations, but did have some surprises.

At the outset, the total of moneys earned for the two year period amounted to \$800,681, all of it by the work furlough group. The county received in payment for room and board \$170,509, again all from the work furlough group. The work furlough group was assessed (e.g. fines, restitution, some \$87,864 and paid \$44,614 of these assessments. In contrast, the nonwork furlough group was assessed only \$2025 and paid \$600. The reasons for the lower assessments for the nonwork furlough group is that they consisted of a large number of subjects who were not expected to be able to make payments because of their background and therefore the judicial system made little effort to effect assessments. Many of this group were known to the courts particularly as alcoholics or non-workers and assessments were perceived (perhaps) as a bad joke. Finally, the work furlough made a substantial contribution to their families. It amounted to \$242,154 for the two year period. The none-work furloughees contributed #357 during the same time period. This money was not earned during this period but came from those who had incomes from such sources as pensions. It is clear from these figures that the work furloughees did indeed "pay much of their own way;" the nonwork furloughee remained much of the taxpayers burden. On fiscal accounts alone, the program is again verified as a success.

The major surprise in this evaluation involved the relationship with the welfare program. Many of the inmates (though far from all) have families on welfare while incarcerated. The expectation was that some contribution to the families would decrease the welfare contributions.

This was clearly not the case. The liason between the program and the welfare agency is practically nonexistent; therefore (probably among other reasons) contributions to the families by the inmates supplemented rather than replaced the contributions from welfare. It should be made quite clear that this is simply reported as data and not meant as criticism. It is quite possible, considering the low status jobs of many of the inmates and the low pay associated with this status; that the contributions were relatively small, and supplemented a small welfare check that finally totalled what could still be referred to as a meagre income. At any rate, improved liason between the two agencies involved would seem essential for a program that should be rehabilitative and community oriented.

TABLE 1

Fiscal Accounting For Work Furlough Program

Fiscal Factors	Work Furlough		Nonwork Furlough		Total
	1968-1969	1969-1970	1968-1969	1969-1970	
Money Earned	409,670	391,011	0	0	800,681
Room & Board Paid	88,930	81,579	0	0	170,509
Assessments (fines, restitutions etc.)	43,077	44,787	650	1375	89,889
Assessments Paid	20,891	23,723	600	0	45,814
Contributions to Family	112,776	129,378	357	0	242,511

CHAPTER XI VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION SERVICES AT ELMWOOD

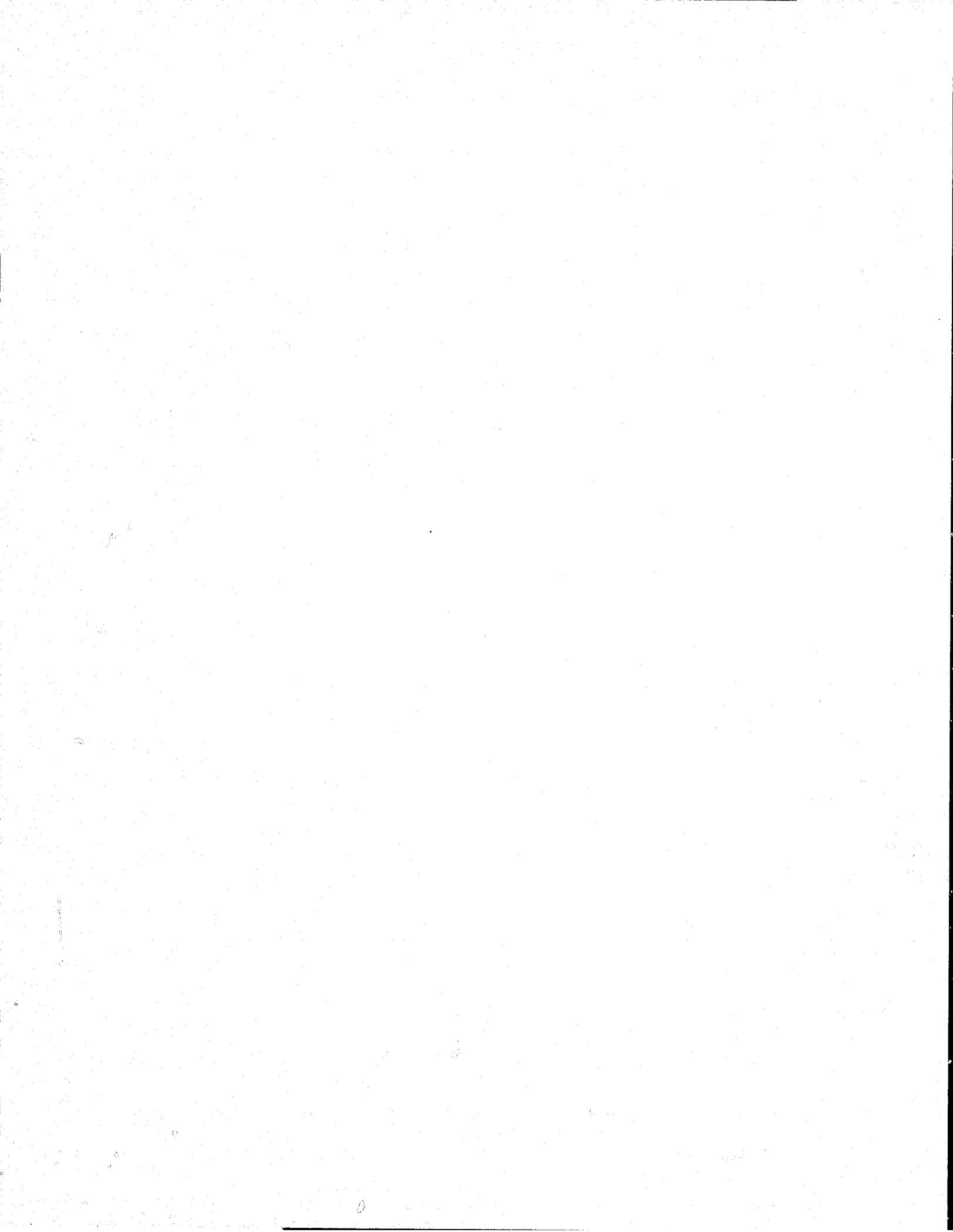
by

Dennis Judd, M.A.

EDITORIAL NOTE: This is a description of the specialized services provided by the California Department of Rehabilitation to Elmwood during the course of the Work Furlough Study. A later chapter will compare the performance of DR clients from Elmwood with other inmates who were not their clients. The purpose of the present chapter is to explain how the DR Program proceeded and what problems it encountered. A special indebtedness for help in designing and implementing this program is acknowledged and is conveyed to the following who are affiliated with the San Jose District, California Department of Rehabilitation.

Ray Barton, District Administrator  
Edward Buttyan, Rehabilitation Supervisor  
Kenneth Miller, Rehabilitation Counselor  
Martin Miller, Rehabilitation Counselor  
Dennis Judd, Rehabilitation Counselor

As indicated, Mr. Judd is the author of this chapter. Since he was the last of the three Department of Rehabilitation Counselors who served with the Work Furlough Study, since he was present at the phase-out, and since his views are quite original and constructively critical of the whole effort to engraft vocational counseling upon a rehabilitation program for jail inmates, it was felt best to include his entire report with but minor stylistic editing. The Co-Principal Investigators share responsibility for Mr. Judd's remarks and express herewith their gratitude to him and to his Department for his services and for his observations.



**CONTINUED**

**1 OF 2**

## INTRODUCTION

Part of the design of the Work Furlough Study provided for the Rehabilitation Section of the Santa Clara County Sheriff's Department to be supplemented by the addition of a vocational rehabilitation counselor whose salary would be paid out of Study funds. This counselor will subsequently be referred to below as the DR counselor. The DR counselor would continue to function under the control of the District Administrator of the Department of Rehabilitation, but his clients would be Elmwood inmates. He would maintain an office at Elmwood and another in the District Office of the Department of Rehabilitation in downtown San Jose. The objective was to see whether his special skills had a measurable impact on the inmates who were referred to him. If so then the Sheriff could argue for funds to make the position permanent.

Three DR counselors filled this position in succession between September 1967 and January 1971. They were Kenneth Miller, September 1967 through August 1968, Martin Miller, September 1968 through August 1969, and Dennis Judd, September 1969 through December 1970. In January 1971 it was felt that enough data had been collected so that in response to budget limitations the position was suspended pending an analysis of the results. A later chapter presents that analysis. Other descriptions of the Work Furlough Study have mentioned the Rehabilitation Section and has shown the criteria employed by members of this Section in selecting inmates for work furlough. The following describes the implementation of the DR counselor position at Elmwood. The principle source of information was the last counselor, Dennis Judd, and many of the evaluations which appear are his.

### MAKING A NICHE

The DR counselor shared quarters in the same barracks as the Assistant Rehabilitation Officers. The similarity in these titles may confuse the reader but caused no problems operationally. All Elmwood readily distinguished between a Rehabilitation Officer (an employee of the Sheriff's Department) and the DR counselor (an employee of the California Department of Rehabilitation) because of the difference in function and available resources.

The first DR counselor assigned to Elmwood had previous experience in the California Department of Corrections, but had just been employed by the Department of Rehabilitation. That he was the first counselor to occupy this position was made primarily because of his background in the correctional field and secondarily because experienced counselors did not want to work exclusively with such difficult clients. Thus, it fell upon him to develop a working relationship between the Sheriff's Department, the Work Furlough Study Group and the Department of Rehabilitation.

A great portion of his energies and time were devoted to defining the functions of the DR counselor. As the DR counselor's function was initially conceived, he was referred inmates who were denied work furlough. This not only cut down the population available to the counselor, but forced him to work with people whose ability to profit by rehabilitation services were questionable. After several months it became

apparent that this left him with so few clients with potential for rehabilitation that a change in intake policy would have to be made if the study was to profit from his special skills. Approximately one year after the first DR counselor had been at Elmwood, he was reassigned to a new position in the District Office to work in a cooperative program with the Department of Corrections.

The DR counselor who replaced him had two years experience with the Department of Rehabilitation. He implemented new intake policies. From this point, correctional officers, rehabilitation officers and the administration were invited to refer inmates directly to him. Inmates were invited to refer themselves and each other. In effect, the DR counselor ran what is called an "open line" in other correctional systems, and out of this he selected clients who met qualifications of the Department of Rehabilitation. Thus the DR counselor performed his own intake. His clients were specially tagged so that they could be analyzed later as a separate group and comparisons could be made between their performance and inmates who were not DR clients. During the following year the functions of the DR counselor became more realistic in scope and nature.

#### PROVIDING THE SERVICES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF REHABILITATION TO INMATES

Services provided to the inmates were equivalent to services provided to any client of the Department of Rehabilitation. These included counseling, medical evaluation and treatment, psychological testing, job training, academic education, purchase of tools, and the provision of transportation and supplemental living expenses. Many of these services were purchased in the community with case service funds.

Once an inmate had been accepted as a client of the Department of Rehabilitation, services provided to him were not limited to his period of incarceration. In order to provide continuing services for inmates who had been released the counselor worked at the Department of Rehabilitation Office on Tuesday and Thursday, while working with inmates of Elmwood on Monday, Wednesday and Friday.

In order to be accepted as a DR client the inmate had to meet three general qualifications of the Department of Rehabilitation,

1. He must have a physical or mental disability;
2. this disability must be a handicap to his employment, and
3. there must be some reasonable expectation that the services provided by DR would enable him to return to work.

Physical disabilities were substantiated with medical examinations by a doctor. Mental disabilities were substantiated by a psychologist or a psychiatrist.

Most of the inmates of Elmwood qualified under the category of behavior disorder. The presence of a behavior disorder was established in one of two ways. The rehabilitation counselor could refer the client

for psychological testing. On the basis of these results, the psychologist might certify that the client had a behavior disorder. The second and most frequently used method was to seek support on the basis of biographical information. In this case it was necessary to show that the individual demonstrated a long standing and pervasive inability to get along in society. Biographical material which would substantiate such a diagnosis would include such things as having problems at home and in school, juvenile arrests, marriage problems, an other than honorable discharge from the military, intermittent work history, and an arrest record. One of these items in itself would not verify the presence of a behavior disorder, nor were all of them together necessary. The rehabilitation counselor would gather the information and a psychologist would make a diagnosis on this basis. Frequently a combination of the biographical information and psychological testing was available for diagnosis. Normally, an inmate who had committed an uncomplicated situational offense in the absence of other social, personal and behavior difficulties would not qualify. Drug addiction and alcoholism were also disabilities under which inmates frequently qualified.

The Department of Rehabilitation served both male and female inmates of the institution. Women comprised a very small percentage of those served, however. Elmwood contained more men than women, but the primary reason for the disproportion in services lay in the fact that the unit housing women was classified by the Sheriff's Department as a maximum facility, while the facility housing men is considered minimum security. In individual cases, this distinction made no essential difference. Some women were provided services equivalent to those provided to men. They were permitted to leave the facility for evaluation, training, and so on. The primary impediment to extending services to a large portion of the women was the inconvenience it placed on the staff of the women's facility. Tighter security requirements required that each inmate who left the facility be "skin searched" upon return. Separate storage for the inmates tools, clothing and supplies maintained under lock and key, and a variety of other novel adjustments would have to be made by the security personnel which necessarily interfered with their usual routine. The administration of Elmwood contended that there was not enough staff or space suitable to make it feasible for a large number of the female inmates to participate in a rehabilitation program which would take them outside the institution.

In addition to the formal restrictions, the attitude of the custody officers and the administration toward women inmates was an implicit handicap. One of the sergeants in charge of the women's facility was extremely willing and cooperative in attempting to extend rehabilitation services to the greatest number of female inmates. She tried to modify the jail routine to accommodate the rehabilitation program. Her attempts were usually met with a variety of excuses by the administration which when everything else failed, leaned on the regulations governing a maximum security institution. There was also the attitude among custody personnel that women sentenced to Elmwood were worse criminals than the men even though their records are not significantly different. An administrative officer said that women are usually treated very leniently for their first offenses by the courts. It was then assumed that any woman

who was sentenced to Elmwood had more than earned her punishment. In addition, it was a policy of the administration that a woman who had any hint of prostitution on her record would not be released for work furlough training, even if that offense occurred several years before. In-house services to women were provided to a limited extent and were encouraged and supported by the administration and staff. These services were limited primarily to basic educational skills, training in clerical activities such as typing and keypunch operation. These classes were conducted by a teacher provided by the local Adult Education Association and paid for by the Department of Rehabilitation. The department discontinued these services early in 1970.

Most of the male inmates who received services from the Department of Rehabilitation ranged in age between nineteen and thirty-five. Services provided to them by the DR counselor ranged from minimal to extensive. An individual who required minimal services may be typified by a client who we shall call Bob. Bob was twenty-three, in his second marriage, and was required to provide support for a child by a previous marriage. He had not completed high school and had a variety of short term jobs. He had a rather extensive juvenile record including running away, disturbing the peace, joy-riding, drunk in public and violation of probation. His present offense, possession for sale of dangerous drugs, was his first adult conviction. He had first applied for work furlough, but was denied at the suggestion of his Rehabilitation Officer who then referred him to the DR counselor. The client was first placed in an in-house basic education program leading towards a GED which is the equivalent of a high school diploma. While the client was completing this education, he was given a general medical examination and a battery of psychological tests. The medical examination found the client physically healthy. Psychological testing indicated that he was an individual of average intelligence with good manual dexterity and a preference for working outdoors. His personality was immature, he was unsure of himself and he tended to over-react to stressful situations. The client participated in group counseling sessions conducted by the DR counselor while he was incarcerated. Upon completion of the basic education program, an on-the-job training program in roofing was arranged. Little training in this field was necessary and the client became immediately employed. Upon release from Elmwood the client returned to his family and counseling was discontinued because a mutually convenient time was not available. The client's case was closed after three months at which time he was still employed. More extensive services may include medical treatment such as plastic surgery and long term training such as a four year college program. In such a plan a client would remain on the rehabilitation program long after he had been released from Elmwood.

Once the avenues to vocational rehabilitation were opened it became apparent that inmates released soon after their program began, failed to complete their plan in a greater percentage of cases than those with a longer time to serve. It was believed by the counselors that those inmates who had longer time invested in the training program prior to release were more apt to complete them. As a result, an arbitrary standard was implemented in which inmates with less than three months before release would not be accepted for rehabilitation services. Those

individuals who were denied and who were otherwise eligible were advised that they could apply for services at the District Office once they were released from Elmwood and had obtained a stable living situation.

Attempts were made to distinguish between those individuals who were seriously attempting to live within the legal structure of society and thus more likely to succeed than those who were still "running a game." Such distinctions were made on the basis of the inmate's attitude. Individuals who could not or would not recognize their responsibility for their problems were usually in a hurry to get into a training program on the outside. If one thing was not immediately available, they could easily change their choice to something else. They were also more concerned with how much money they would get while in training or the restrictions they would be under on the outside than the various aspects of their rehabilitation plan. Information from an inmate's work crew chief and various custody officers was also very reliable. Inmates were usually given the benefit of the doubt. When an individual was turned down for vocational rehabilitation for this reason, it was openly discussed with him and suggested that he reapply after one or two months with a recommendation by his crew chief or a custody officer. Another alternative was to suggest that he reapply for rehabilitation services after his release from the institution.

Thus in selecting individuals for the vocational rehabilitation program much discretion was given to the DR counselor. If an inmate's rehabilitation plan included leaving the compound for training, as was frequently the case, the plan would have to be reviewed and approved by the Elmwood commander. In all such cases his decision was final. Usually such approval was readily forthcoming. If an individual was turned down it was usually on the basis of the inmate's performance while incarcerated. An individual whose records showed that he was not a cooperative inmate was less likely to be approved. In some instances the Elmwood Commander would suggest reconsideration at a further date during which time the inmate could demonstrate his willingness to cooperate.

Once the individual's plan had been developed and approved, he would be transferred to a work furlough barracks which housed people going out of the facility on work furlough. A card was prepared which designated the daily times that he must leave and return, his destination, who his supervisor in the training facility was and his mode of transportation. Supplemental expenses were provided by the Department of Rehabilitation to provide for transportation, lunches and cigarette money.

#### PHASE OUT

In the early fall of 1970 it was decided to phase the DR Counselor position out of Elmwood. Sufficient data had been accumulated for the purpose of the study. From this point on, intake into the rehabilitation program was drastically curtailed. Only those inmates were accepted for the program who could be served within that period of time. For the clients who continued beyond the termination dates, however, responsibility for these individuals at Elmwood was taken over by one of the

Assistant Rehabilitation Officers on the Elmwood staff. Arrangements were also made for Assistant Rehabilitation Officers to refer inmates to the District Office downtown where they would be served like any other individual applying from the community. This practice is being continued, but service to inmates of Elmwood has been reduced tremendously. To the present time there has been no effort on the part of the Sheriff's Department or Department of Rehabilitation to reinstate a DR counselor at Elmwood.

#### LOOKING BACKWARD

As in any such project an evaluation is an essential part. Statistical comparisons will be made in a succeeding Chapter. However, a comparison of the Elmwood program with both the San Jose Public Offender Program and the district average would indicate that Elmwood was relatively a high cost and low production venture.

#### COMPARATIVE WORK LOAD DATA, 1968-1970, FOR TWO TYPES OF DR COUNSELORS COMPARED WITH THE DISTRICT AVERAGE

DR Counselor	Referrals		Plans		Successful Closures <sup>1</sup>	
	68-69	69-70	68-69	69-70	68-69	69-70
Elmwood Public Offender,	160	63	52	29	22	17
San Jose	135	125	64	67	42	53
Dist. Average	139	132	49	51	27	27

DR Counselor	Dollars Encumbered		Dollar Cost per Closure <sup>1</sup>		Case Load 1 July	
	68-69	69-70	68-69	69-70	68-69	69-70
Elmwood Public Offender,	45,920	34,360	2,088	2,021	51	42
San Jose	50,899	43,195	1,133	815	113	124
Dist. Average	31,640	30,707	1,173	1,156	115	127

Source: Cumulative summary records, California Department of Rehabilitation, San Jose District Office.

1. The term "closure" means in general that the client completed a plan and was employed as a result of that plan for at least three months. At that time, if there are no further crises his case is closed and the client is regarded as rehabilitated.

The figures show the comparatively low number and high cost of Elmwood closures.

The San Jose Public Offender Program is a cooperative program between the Department of Rehabilitation and the California Department of Corrections. Funds are provided in a special budget with matching federal funds. Clients have been released on parole from various facilities of the Department of Corrections. Referrals are made by DR counselors working within the institutions and by parole agents in

the community. Even by comparison to the district average it appears to be a productive program.

Factors behind these figures are more relevant than the data themselves. The first DR counselor at Elmwood is presently in the San Jose Public Offender Program. His comments about the two programs are very pertinent. He mentions the following differences between them. In the Public Offender Program, he works only with individuals who have been released from state institutions on parole. This has a number of advantages. First, the client is already in the community. Making the transition from institution to community living has already taken place or is an initial part of the rehabilitation plan. In the Elmwood program this transition takes place in the middle of the rehabilitation plan frequently during the time an individual is still in training. This transition appears to be a difficult one, during which a client may sacrifice his vocational pain. Clients who are on state parole are also subject to more intensive supervision than those on county probation, the latter being the status of many Elmwood releasees. The parole period may be terminated at any time by the client's parole agent if he feels that the individual's adjustment to society is not proceeding satisfactorily. County probation is not usually terminated unless the subject has been rearrested on new charges.

The clients applying under the Public Offender Program frequently failed early in their plan because they are not able to "make it." Thus they may be closed out before any funds are spent. The initial control provided by the Elmwood Program enables those individuals who cannot "make it" under their own supervision to continue in a program much longer initially. This may explain the large number of people who dropped out of the rehabilitation plan once they were released from Elmwood. In comparing the individual applicants of the two programs, the DR counselor at Elmwood saw only those people with the lowest potential. Some of the factors used to estimate potential for rehabilitation are stability of employment record and institutional adjustment, meaning that he was able to do his work and conform to the rules of the institution and to his probation or parole. In the Public Offender Program, the DR counselor is able to use these factors to screen out applicants whom he feels are not feasible. If he is uncertain, he may give them enough time to screen themselves out. Throughout the Elmwood Program, the counselor continued to get a large share of applicants with low potential for rehabilitation. Many of these individuals referred themselves upon being denied work furlough or upon being approved for work furlough and not finding a job. The Elmwood Rehabilitation Officers more frequently referred those individuals with a poor potential because these individuals obviously needed rehabilitation.

Additional factors contributed to the high production rate of the Public Offender Program. As mentioned before, individuals with poor potential, approximately 25 percent of the applicants will screen themselves out early in the plan before much money is spent. As high as 60 percent of the applicants need only minimal services such as tools and an initial amount of maintenance. Many of these

individuals already have jobs or the promise of jobs. Thus case expenditures per client are smaller than average. Another consideration which is very important in evaluating the Elmwood Program is the turnover of counselors. This turnover amounted to almost one counselor per year. This effect cannot be measured but studies in the Department of Rehabilitation indicate that it is very significant.

#### THE CLIMATE FOR REHABILITATION

Elmwood exemplifies the present attitude of the community towards criminals and what should be done about them. The buildings and grounds look more like a small college campus than a jail. The gates are usually opened during the daytime. The inmate quarters look like a military barracks on the inside and military regimentation serve as the primary source of control. As one acquires a more intimate knowledge of this facility the dichotomy between the concepts of imprisonment and rehabilitation become apparent.

In terms of staff there are two separate and distinct sections, the custody section and the rehabilitation section. Custody is composed of deputy sheriffs and custody officers. They wear uniforms and are housed in the Administration Building which is a new addition to the compound. Their primary function is to carry out the detention and custodial aspects of the facility. The Rehabilitation Officers, some of whom are retired military officers, wear normal business attire and are housed in a temporary military building of the World War II vintage. Their function is to develop work furlough plans for inmates who apply. In the process of conducting their duties these two sections sometimes see each other as adversaries where the treatment and conduct of inmates is concerned. Custody officers frequently regard inmates participating on work furlough or training as unworthy of the privilege. Rehabilitation Officers frequently feel that work furlough participants are returned to the main jail and hence removed from the program for minor infractions of institution rules which would be overlooked had they not been on work furlough.

The attitudes of the staff vary widely regarding concepts and methods of rehabilitation. There is the attitude among some custody officers that punishment and strict regimentation are the best means of rehabilitation. On the other hand, most of the Rehabilitation Officers and a good number of the custody officers, are comfortable with the concept of providing extensive rehabilitation service to inmates. There have been many attempts to institute various rehabilitation programs at Elmwood. Most have died for lack of any real support by the administration. Some of the individuals who initiated them have become cynical as a result. Others are still trying. They encourage outside agencies to bring their services into the compound. They conduct group counseling sessions although they have had no formal training in this procedure. Once a week they can attend group sessions for the staff conducted by a psychologist. These sessions serve primarily to keep morale up, discuss problems and plan new strategies. Such practices on the part of Rehabilitation Officers are readily accepted. When a custody officer becomes involved, however, he is

subject to petty harassment by fellow officers of a more regimented conservative point of view.

Elmwood Rehabilitation Center was one of the first correctional facilities to allow inmates to participate in a work furlough program. Basically, it has not moved beyond this initial step. There has been talk at times of discontinuing it. The financial saving to the county prevents this, however.

#### OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

"Behavior disorder" distinguishes those who have made an unsatisfactory adjustment to society. After compiling a number of personal histories, reviewing offense records, and working with individuals, it is apparent that a simpler and more descriptive label would be "failure." One thing these individuals have in common is that they have failed in their major social endeavors. Their long "rap sheets" demonstrate that they are not even successful as criminals.

The chronicle of a given individual's failures can usually be traced back to broken homes or homes where control was repressive, lacking, or an inconsistent combination of both. Concomitant with failure, lack of self-control and the need for immediate gratification are frequently exhibited by the inmate.

Although these individuals have demonstrated their need for help throughout their lives, society has been unable to deal with them in a constructive manner. The primary response has been punishment and the provision of "correctional" control which they lack. Jails and prisons fulfill this role.

Institutionalization has frequently been the major stabilizing influence in these individual's lives -- "going to jail is not so bad." They are guaranteed board and room. Thus, from the individual's point of view, jail, and particularly Elmwood, is not just imprisonment, but a refuge. He is relieved of all responsibility, not only for his basic existence, but also for his family and many other social commitments he has made. He may suffer considerable personal and financial loss, but the responsibility is no longer his. His daily routine is determined for him. That these methods of treating individuals with such a disability have little or even negative rehabilitative effect, is hardly surprising. It is highly irrational to confine an individual in an institution, where he is relieved of all responsibility and subjected to an extremely regimented way of living, and expect him to readjust without considerable problems. That having a beer is grounds for violation of probation is evidence that we expect such an individual to be immediately more responsible than the the average citizen.

As this chapter suggests, a large number of people with behavior disorders are so severely disabled that they can not succeed in the "usual" rehabilitation program. Many are young, intelligent, talented, and healthy in every other respect. Helping them become responsible

creative citizens is an impelling challenge.

Any program which attempts to assist these individuals will have to take into consideration the fact that they have been failures all their lives, that they are convinced society is against them, and that they will go to considerable lengths to prove this. It is imperative to keep them in the community as long as possible where they will get the best practical experience as responsible citizens. Assistance must be directed toward helping them recognize and develop fulfilling goals and healthy relationships. Many have a warped sense of pride and loyalty. They would rather steal than accept welfare. They can be strongly committed to those with whom they identify. Unfortunately their associates are frequently people like themselves, "losers," and the relationship is a destructive one. Many recognize this and move to new communities to try to escape it. Professionals alone can not accomplish the task of their rehabilitation. The personal involvement of private citizens is very important. If employers, co-workers, churches and such conventional groups become a part of a rehabilitation plan, it helps the individual develop a realistic understanding of what is and is not expected of him. It gives him a variety of models of acceptable behavior. It gives the community a realistic understanding of the offender and a personal stake in his rehabilitation. Such a program must encompass the major areas of an individual's life such as religion, work, family, play and other major segments.

When an individual fails or is re-arrested, it should be made clear to him that he is expected to try again to eventually succeed. Such a program should use incarceration as a rehabilitative tool, to provide the external control and support when the individual needs it while developing his own inner control mechanisms. Such a program should be staffed by individuals who are sincerely interested in the individual's welfare, but are not easily manipulated. Many inmates find these qualities in custody officers many of whom they respect and admire. The responsibility and potential for effective rehabilitation is widely diffused.

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## CHAPTER XII A MODEL WORK FURLOUGH PROGRAM

The work furlough program had its genesis within a theoretical framework that emphasized a punitive and economic approach to the handling of criminals. Within this perspective it has managed some success. From a rehabilitative point of view, its success is at best very limited for some and perhaps even pernicious for others. A model program needs to originate with a more appropriate theoretical perspective from which ensues some change in organizational structure, community involvement, and inmate cooperation.

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

If one traces the concept of work furlough to its early conception the motivation was far from rehabilitative or even humanitarian. Instead the motivation was essentially righteously punitive. Officials saw inmates lying around the jails seemingly fractious and lazy, certainly sluggards. This seemed to grate upon an ethic which valued hard work and saw dependency as un-American, perhaps even criminal, but certainly sinful. If "good" people have to work, so should "bad" people. Thus work furlough was launched within the compass of a punitive philosophy.

However, it is difficult to wrestle intellectually with the notion that work is punishment within an ethic that lauds it, even though it might be considered punishment for those who do not want to work. Thus a subtle shift occurred where the work could be rationalized in economic or materialistic terms. Work furlough then became justified on the basis of the "pay your own way" scheme. It could be described as a program that saves the taxpayer money, which it does. Justification on economic terms did not always satisfy everyone as it tended to ignore the human element--an element gaining considerable force in recent years.

The next conceptual step then was to incorporate into the theoretical sphere the notion of rehabilitation. Work furlough was not only economically sane. It was also humanely rehabilitative. But nothing fundamentally changed in the program with the exception that it was expanded to include more inmates, reflecting a popular notion that an increase in anything is synonymous with change. What did change then was the justification for the program rather than the program itself. Still, the reality did not keep pace with the ideology, as the latter was rehabilitative, the former remained largely economic and punitive and continued to shape the program's destiny. In practice, the kind of job became less important than simply being employed, with some safeguards against obviously unscrupulous employers and blatant exploitation. These safeguards certainly prevailed at Elmwood, but perhaps this is less true for other programs. Candidly, can one say that it thrives in the shadow of the old system of convict labor dressed

up in modern attire?

Whatever the theoretical emphasis, punitive, economic, or rehabilitative, the basic assumption is that the universe of inmates is a criminal one. The theory then is one of criminality. The evidence seems to be that the staff and, by extension, the community identify them as criminals, yet the inmates seem to be resisting this image as they struggle to maintain an identity as unfortunate but non-criminal citizens. There are other "unfortunate individuals" who are not stigmatized as criminals, particularly those who are handicapped or disadvantaged. Perhaps a better philosophical view if not a theoretical perspective is one that is also not criminally oriented. In other words, the county jail inmate should be viewed within a non-criminal framework supporting his self-image and focusing on upward mobility.

#### ORGANIZATION

Many sheriff's departments, including to some extent Santa Clara County, are on the verge of a radical organizational change from the traditional paternalistic or fraternal pattern to the more modern bureaucratic or professional model. One function that is likely to expand in the future is the institutional one, with a consequent expansion in rehabilitative services. The state seems determined to continue to push the responsibility for the offender back down to the community level. Presently this is partially accomplished with the use of a subvention program that subsidizes the Probation Department to keep the offender out of the prison system. The county jail, the sheriff's responsibility, is a natural target for expansion of the principle of subvention. The jail has been used in the past for the housing of state prison inmates while they participate in work furlough programs. This precedent is likely to be expanded. The sheriff of the future then is likely to focus more and more on the jail system as a prime responsibility and perhaps less and less on law enforcement.

All this may or may not be the sheriff of the future, but how can the present organizational structure be improved to enhance the work furlough program? The most imperative change, clearly seen in the present study, is the need for the establishment of an institutional and rehabilitation division with another undersheriff on the same line of authority as the present one so that he can compete on equal terms for a share of the scarce resources. This would lift Elmwood and the work furlough program out of its secondary status and place all correctional and rehabilitation staff on a more favorable career plane.

## COMMUNITY

Any program directed toward the upgrading of handicapped or disadvantaged persons requires a significant amount of resources, a need unlikely to be fulfilled in the midst of the present and probably long-time urban financial crisis. In addition, the present system is not equipped with the resources in trained personnel to carry out this task--but the community is.

There exists in the community a host of agencies and resources directed toward the rehabilitation and servicing of several categories of disadvantaged, handicapped, and deviant groups. Yet it is rare that these services are extended to county jail inmates. The inmate has been implicitly written off by the community and there is therefore the tendency to forget that the county jail inmate, unlike the state prisoner, has not lost his civil rights. Therefore, it would seem that he has the equal right to the community resources. However, though occasionally serviced, he receives the lowest priority in spite of the highest need. Several attempts to bring these resources to the inmate failed because the agency would not bring the service to the inmate, or the resources were committed without considering the inmate's needs, or it was sporadically offered and was quickly terminated. It should be clear that this did not involve any evil intent by an agency that was already suffering from a scarcity of resources, but by a lack of recognition that the inmate was entitled to equal access to these services.

If the work furlough program is to be guided by a rehabilitative framework, and it is unlikely that the resources necessary to achieve this will be made available, within the jail itself because this would duplicate services already existing in the community, and if the inmate has a right to those resources, why not make the community available to the inmate? In other words, why cannot the inmate use existing community services rather than duplicating them in the institution?

A model work furlough program would divorce control and management from rehabilitation. The institution would maintain responsibility for the control and management of the inmates while the community would assume the responsibility for the rehabilitation of the inmate through the application of its existing resources. Those inmates on work furlough would either be working in the community or on furlough to participate in the various community programs. In either case, the inmates would return to the institution, as they now do, where they would continue to be housed. This community focus and participation should help enhance the inmates self-image as a non-criminal in addition to breaking the disadvantaged cycle and facilitating upward mobility.

This division of responsibility might require the development of two kinds of inmate orientation. The first would occur in the institution and be directed toward the rules of incarceration.

The second would occur in the community where representatives of the various community programs could develop a system of diagnosis and prescription for each inmate for the program he would follow in the community, be it counselling, vocational training, education, or any combination of these and others. Marital visits in the community might also be a possibility worth exploring. Work furlough could be extended to most of the inmates, including those who usually do not volunteer, with the goal of raising status and reinforcing the non-criminal self-image. The major task of the sheriff's department would be to control and manage the inmates while in the institution and move them in and out of the community.

#### INMATES

The results of this study clearly show the overwhelming acceptance of the principle of work furlough by those inmates who do not, as well as those who do, participate. The study also shows that the selection process, particularly with its emphasis on the volunteer, eliminates many inmates who would be acceptable to the system and would profit from the experience. The cases of addiction, alcohol, and drugs, constitute a large number of the universe of inmates. Some could work, others could be funnelled to the community for special programs for this particular group.

The inmates should not be pressured, implicitly or explicitly, into jobs that are downwardly mobile. They may pay their way for the moment, but in the long run it costs the community more in continual trouble and incarceration. If the inmate is furloughed to the same type of work he did prior to incarceration, and it is an unskilled or at best semi-skilled task, this may help perpetuate his existing status. He can work at it in the day and be permitted to be trained in the community for more skilled work, or he can be trained in the day as part of the work furlough program.

Finally, as a kind of reciprocity and means of solidifying the community-institution relationship, a special group of inmates could be organized to perform various community services. These "Inmate Volunteers In Service To The Community" could take on numerous community tasks, somewhat like VISTA and including ecological projects, work with minorities and the poor, perhaps even with alcoholics and drug addicts, recreation, park areas, and others.

#### COST

The cost of work furlough program presently is shared by the Sheriff's Department and the inmates through their payments for room and board. The program as outlined above could be financed with a minimum amount of new monies and shared with the community by the extension of existing services to the inmate

population. The cost could be divided as follows:

1. Those inmates who work would pay the cost of room and board.
2. The extension of the program to many more inmates would increase room and board payments.
3. The room and board payments (just the increased amount if not all) should be put back in the program and not deducted from the Sheriff's Department budget.
4. Some of the monies collected as fines could be returned to the program.
5. Closer coordination between the welfare department and the program could reduce these costs to the county.
6. The State could introduce a similar form of subsidy for the work furlough project as it does for the subvention program with the Probation Department.
7. The Department of Corrections could participate and pay its share by transferring prison inmates at the proper time to the county jail for participation in work furlough as a modified form of half-way house.
8. Federal aid may be forthcoming through the development of grants.

#### SUMMARY

Summarizing the model program, it encompasses the following points.

1. The theoretical framework for work furlough should define inmates as disadvantaged or handicapped rather than criminal and the emphasis should be on rehabilitation rather than on work as some subtle form of punishment.
2. A program with a rehabilitative focus should have organizational support. This would require some administrative restructuring, particularly through the addition of an Undersheriff with the major responsibility of rehabilitation. His major effort would be directed towards coordinating the community and institution in a mutual effort.
3. With the organizational restructuring, some programs could be developed in the institution, but the primary rehabilitative task should be performed in the community. Community resources should be made available to the inmate. This would maintain the institutional concern with

control and management, with rehabilitation a community affair. The effort would be coordinated by the Under-sheriff for Rehabilitation.

4. Inmates endorse work furlough. They maintain the self-image of a non-criminal. The inmate involvement in work furlough should be expanded, particularly by seeking participants rather than depending solely on volunteers, and should also include female offender. The inmates should be given the opportunity to form community service groups, thus reciprocating the community services for inmates with inmate services for the community.
5. The cost of the operation should be shared. The inmates can contribute through room and board and fine payments, reduced welfare costs, and hopefully improved recidivistic characteristics. The community can contribute by extending services to inmates--as a right and not a privilege. The state should share through a subvention-type program and use of the county facility as a half-way house. The federal government can be requested to participate through the grant procedure.

## CHAPTER XIII - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### SUMMARY

The fundamental purpose of this study was to assess the effectiveness of the Work Furlough Program of the Santa Clara County Jail, operated at the Elmwood Rehabilitation Center, a minimum security facility. The theoretical perspective for the program is best described in terms of an integrative theory of punishment where there is a compromise between the popular demand for exacting some form of pain for the crime and a minimization of the demoralizing and debasing experience of incarceration. A series of hypotheses was developed as a guide for the study and involved the evaluation of the program in terms of the organization, staff, inmates, inmates' significant others and cost to the community. In examining these areas, many variables were used such as demographic, personality, attitudes and opinions, and recidivistic characteristics. The design was essentially experimental and comparisons between those on work furlough and those not on work furlough on a before and after basis.

The resulting analysis was both extensive and encouraging. The organization is in transition from the fraternal to the professional type with increased use of technology. The major organizational goals are seen as breadth, flexibility, and a strong community focus. The staff is middle class oriented, constructively conservative, relatively well educated, satisfied with their occupations, stable and mature, and stalwart supporters of the system of justice and the Protestant ethic. As far as inmates are concerned, their attitudes are somewhat paradoxical as they believe in the persistence of criminality in an individual but at the same time they also believe in the value and possibility of rehabilitation.

Although not a participant in the work furlough program, data relative to the female offenders were analyzed. Chronologically mature, they came from an unstable background, and are socio-psychologically immature. They perceived themselves and were perceived by others as females first and offenders second. They viewed incarceration as situational, and the future uncertain. They were not career oriented as they reflected the traditional role of the female in our culture.

The relatives of the inmates were also examined through a questionnaire. Their background and attitudes were somewhere between that of the staff and the inmates themselves. The families were relatively intact, and not particularly handicapped educationally. However, they were economically disadvantaged and had drinking problems, and were involved in behavior leading to arrests.

The male offenders were the major focus of the study. Their background was ubiquitously trying. Economically, occupationally and educationally handicapped, they had trouble with family, alcohol, drugs, and the police. The work furlough group was somewhat better off as the selection process, in addition to other factors, tended to eliminate the heavy drinkers and the drug users. Apparently generated by their own experiences, the inmates were skeptical of the system of justice, but while angered at some individuals, were more accepting of the institution. They identified themselves as non-criminals and perceived their present status as transitory. The work furloughes, at inception, were more

positively disposed to the system and more rejecting of a criminal identity than the non-work furlougees. Scores on the personality inventories were within normal limits. Within these limits, there was a moderate tendency toward lower scores in the areas of socialization, maturity and responsibility. The work furlougees tended toward a more positive profile a general aggravation of some of the negative characteristics and a disenchantment with the entire judicial and correctional process. The work furlougees changed more than their counterparts and in the same retrogressive direction. The negative changes seemed to be the result of the institutional experience, perhaps anchored in the rivalry between staff and inmates for the latter's self-image. The inmates perceive themselves as noncriminals, the staff saw them as criminals. Finally, in spite of this crucial contest, perhaps because it is situational and is short-lived, the inmates have significantly lower recidivism rates in the 18-month period after release than the 18-month period before the instant incarceration. The work furlough group fared better than the non-work furlough group in such characteristics as arrests and convictions. This better recidivism record was partially due to the selection process and probably also partially due to the work furlough experience.

The traditional economic justification for work furlough was again obvious in this study. The work furlougees earned money, paid for their room and board and other assessments, and contributed to the support of their families. There was no evidence of a reduction in welfare costs as the tendency was for the contributions of the furlougees to supplement rather than to reduce the welfare benefits.

The project introduced the services of a Vocational Rehabilitation Counsellor. These special services were applied to a select group of inmates. The selection process produced a kind of elite inmate, amenable to the services, who tended to be more successful after release, primarily because of selection and possibly because of the services. However, in terms of the criteria of the California State Department of Rehabilitation, the results could be characterized as a high-cost and low-production venture.

As a result of the project experience, several recommendations were made relative to what might be termed a model work furlough program. The theoretical framework for the program should define the inmate as disadvantaged or handicapped rather than criminal. The program should focus on rehabilitation with organizational support through an Undersheriff for that purpose. The primary rehabilitative effort should occur in the community with existing resources. The inmate participation should be expanded to include those who do not volunteer and the female offender. Finally the cost should be shared between the inmate, community, state and federal government.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Perhaps for the first time, a fairly complete picture of a minimum security operation and its work furlough program has been portrayed.

The results indicate that it is certainly a worthwhile enterprise. It passes the test of most measures, from financial to recidivism. However, there is clearly much room for improvement, as the program has its pernicious elements and much more can be done to achieve rehabilitative goals.

The system selects the better inmates for work furlough, but it also defines them as criminals while the inmates do not so define themselves. The result is a contest for the image of the inmate, the system pulling in one direction the inmates in another. As a consequence, the inmates, particularly those on work furlough, become embittered. In addition, the system focuses on a job and not on the man and the job. The consequence is perpetuation of low status and in some cases downward mobility, even precipitated. Continued exposure to the system could then predictably lead to the point where the inmates begin to accept themselves as criminals and the game would be lost. If they accept themselves as criminals, they are apt to become inmates of prisons rather than jails.

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## APPENDIX

The following publications, papers, and reports are a direct out growth of the Work Furlough Study, supported in whole or in part by SRS Grant No. 12-P-55261/9-04.

### Published Papers -

Alvin Rudoff, T. Conway Esselstyn, George L. Kirkham, and George K. Williams, "Jail Inmates on Work Furlough," Criminologica, American Society of Criminology, Vol. III, No. 3, November 1969.

Alvin Rudoff, T. C. Esselstyn, and George L. Kirkham, "Evaluating Work Furlough," Federal Probation, Vol. 35, No. 1, March 1971, pp. 34-38.

### Working Papers - mimeographed

- I. T. C. Esselstyn - "Selection For Work Furlough," September 1967.
- II. Alvin Rudoff, George L. Kirkham, T. C. Esselstyn, "A Study of Work Furlough: Prolegomena," January 1970.
- III. George L. Kirkham, "History of the Work Furlough Study," September 1970.
- IV. T. C. Esselstyn and Dennis Judd, "The Vocational Counselor at Elmwood," February 1971.

### Special Report -

Alvin Rudoff, and T. C. Esselstyn, "The Corrective Surgery Project of the Work Furlough Study." September 1968.

### Papers Presented

Alvin Rudoff, George Kirkham, and Dale Sechrest, "The Jail Inmate and the World of Work," Annual meeting, Pacific Sociological Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, April 1971.

T. C. Esselstyn, "Changes in the Concept of Crime," Annual meeting, Pacific Sociological Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, April 1971.

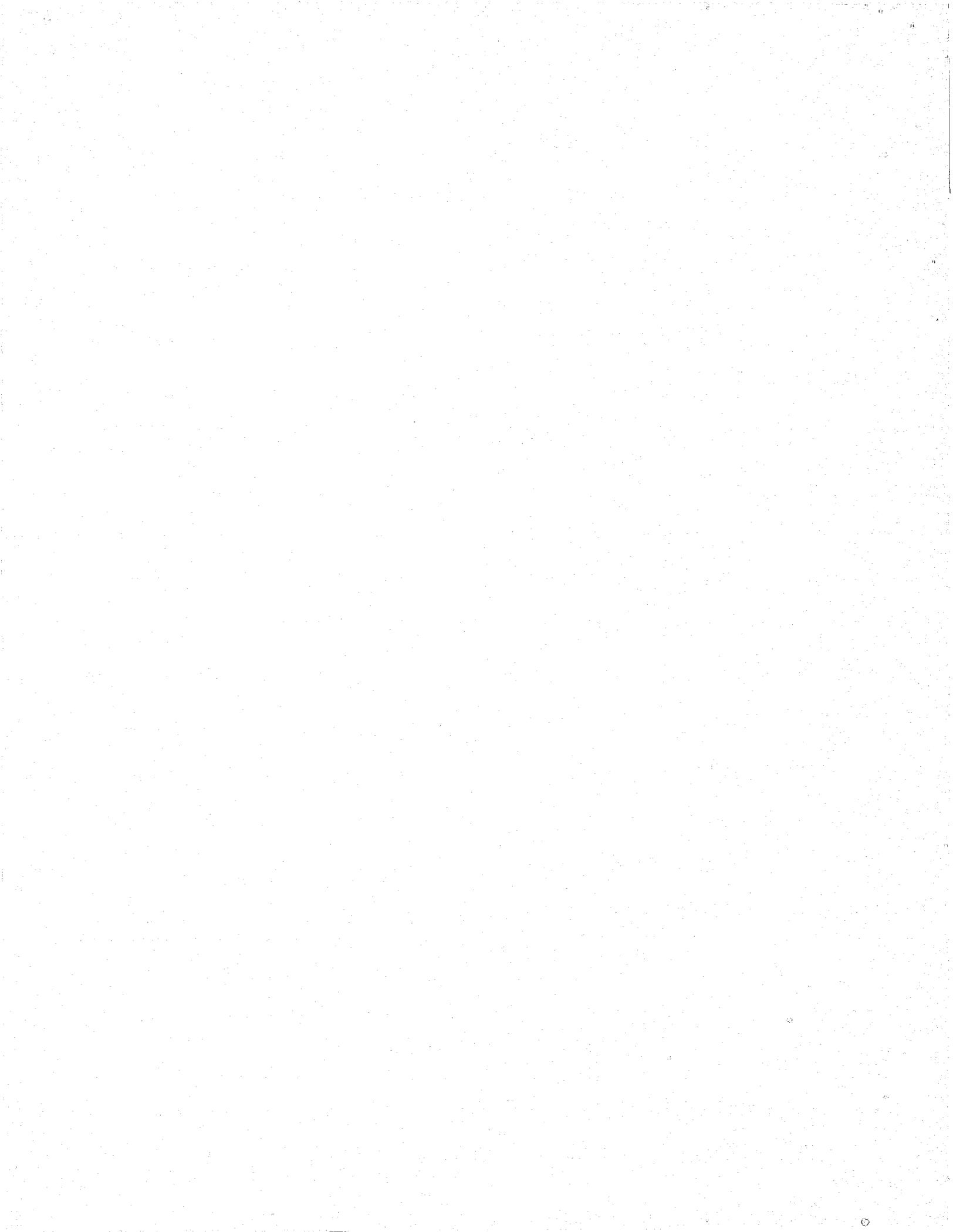
T. C. Esselstyn, Alvin Rudoff, George L. Kirkham, George K. Williams, "Jail Inmates on Work Furlough," Annual meeting, American Society of Criminology, Dallas, Texas, December 1968.

George L. Kirkham, T. C. Esselstyn, Alvin Rudoff, and Dale Sechrest, "The Potential of Work Furlough Programs for Jail and Prison Inmates," annual meeting, American Society of Criminology, Columbus, Ohio, November, 1969.

Technical Supplement

Alvin Rudoff, et. al., Jail Inmates at Work, Final Report -  
Technical Supplement, September 1971.

In addition, at least one doctoral dissertation in Criminology and one master's thesis in Psychology have thus far been based on data derived from the Work Furlough Study.



**END**