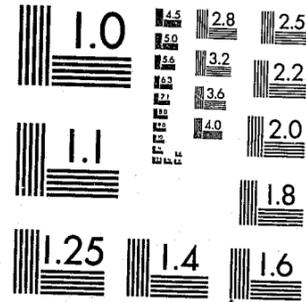


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BOSTON UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK.

A STUDY IN A COEDUCATIONAL CORRECTIONAL FACILITY:  
DIFFERENTIAL EFFECTS OF PSYCHOTHERAPY AND OTHER PROGRAMS

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A STUDY IN A COEDUCATIONAL CORRECTIONAL FACILITY:  
DIFFERENTIAL EFFECTS OF PSYCHOTHERAPY AND OTHER PROGRAMS

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ACQUISITIONS

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ABSTRACT  
A STUDY IN A COEDUCATIONAL CORRECTIONAL  
FACILITY: DIFFERENTIAL EFFECTS OF  
PSYCHOTHERAPY AND OTHER PROGRAMS

This study of MCI-Framingham was divided into four general areas for investigation: a recidivism follow-up, including an analysis of background characteristics and recidivism; an analysis of the effect of selected programs on recidivism; an analysis of data collected by conducting inmate and staff interviews; and, an analysis of differential effects of selected programs on recidivism. A focus of this study was on the Division of Legal Medicine Counseling Program at MCI-Framingham.

Recidivism Follow-up

Overall, the Framingham experience had a significant impact in reducing recidivism for the 255 men and women who were followed up for one year subsequent to their release to the community. The actual recidivism rate for these individuals (16.5%) was significantly lower than their expected recidivism rate (28.2%), which was derived from base expectancy categories. The impact on recidivism tended to be greater for women, who had an expected recidivism rate of 32.0% and an actual recidivism rate of 17.1%, than it was for men, who had an

Our analysis of the furlough program revealed that participation in furlough program was associated with significantly lower recidivism rates. The inmates who seemed to benefit most from this program were older, white, from non-urban areas, with a higher level of education and with extensive criminal histories. Most of these characteristics were generally associated with a higher socio-economic background.

As in the furlough program, participation in the work release program was shown to relate positively to lower recidivism rates. The inmates who seemed to benefit most from work release were older, less educated, from urban areas, with less stable work histories and more previous adult incarcerations. Some of these characteristics are associated with a lower socio-economic background which is in direct contrast with the findings for the furlough program.

Overall, participation in the DLM counseling program was found to be associated with higher recidivism rates. Also, no one type of offender was found to have benefited significantly from participation in DLM counseling. A major finding for this section was that younger inmates and inmates with a lower level of education who participated in the DLM counseling program were found to have

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
READER'S APPROVAL PAGE	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	ix
LIST OF TABLES	
Differential Effects on Recidivism	52
A Comparison of Recidivism Rates of Counseling	59
and Non-Counseling Inmates	64
A Comparison of Recidivism Rates of Furlough	68
and Non-Furlough Inmates	105
A Comparison of Recidivism Rates of Work Release	
and Non-Work Release Inmates	
Responses to Likert-Type Questions	
<u>Chapter</u>	
I INTRODUCTION	2
II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	6
Introduction	6
"Era of Treatment"	8
"Era of Disillusionment"	15
Differential Treatment Studies and Classification	24
Typologies	35
III METHODOLOGY	35
Recidivism Follow-up	35
Definition of Recidivism	35
Sample	35
Data Collection	36
Data Analysis--Base Expectancy Design	36
Background Characteristics and Recidivism	38
Methodology for Program Analysis	38
Furlough Program	39
Work Release Program	39
Education Release Program	40
DLM Counseling Program	40

	<u>Page</u>
DLM Counseling Program . . . . .	130
Responses to Likert-Type Items . . . . .	140
<b>VI SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</b>	<b>144</b>
Review of the Literature . . . . .	144
Recidivism Follow-up . . . . .	145
Program Analysis . . . . .	147
Furlough Program . . . . .	147
Work Release Program . . . . .	148
Education Release Program . . . . .	148
DLM Counseling Program . . . . .	148
Differential Effects of Treatment Programs . . . . .	149
Furlough Program . . . . .	149
Work Release Program . . . . .	150
DLM Counseling Program . . . . .	151
Inmates and Staff Interviews . . . . .	151
<b>APPENDICES</b>	<b>155</b>
Appendix A: Background Characteristics and Recidivism Rates of Framingham Releasees and Comparison Group Releasees . . . . .	156
Appendix B: Interview Schedule . . . . .	167
<b>FOOTNOTES</b>	<b>181</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>184</b>

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

## INTRODUCTION

In 1975 a group of graduate students from Boston University School of Social Work undertook a study of the Massachusetts Correctional Institution at Framingham (MCI-F), one of the two coeducational prisons in the United States at that time (Almy et al, 1975). The numbers of men and women inmates at MCI-F were approximately equal then, making the research a valuable exploratory contribution describing the prison environment, inmate culture, and recidivism rate as reflecting the special characteristics of the coeducational situation. Last year, the study was expanded by extending the recidivism analysis by 6 months, resulting in a full one year follow-up and by evaluating in more detail the various treatment programs available at MCI-F (specifically the furlough, work-release, education-release, and Division of Legal Medicine Counseling programs). (Benedict, et al, 1976). The relationship between participation in these programs and recidivism was examined, along with identifying the types of individuals who were successful and unsuccessful in completing the total program. The literature review concentrated on the historical framework of various correctional approaches and MCI-F's position within this framework.

This year, 1977, we are again expanding the recidivism analysis in order to examine the differential effects of the four different programs on different types of inmates. The historical trend in corrections first espoused the idealistic "treatment works" attitude, while a prevailing "null hypothesis" now says that nothing works. We are interested in exploring the differential effects of treatment, thus modifying both of these rather simplistic, extreme attitudes. The literature review will trace the roots of both the "idealistic" and the "cynical" viewpoints towards correctional treatment as now practiced. Some of the ethical issues regarding treatment will also be discussed. Then the current state of the research which does emphasize differential evaluations of treatment programs will be assessed, along with the various types of classification schemes being proposed for implementing the differential treatment approach.

While looking at the differential effects of treatment programs, we want to pay particular attention to the Division of Legal Medicine (DLM) Counseling Program at MCI-F. The previous two theses raised additional questions regarding this program as a result of their research findings. The first thesis (1975) revealed ambivalent, vague perceptions

by the inmates towards the program, while the second thesis (1976) resulted in data that actually indicated a higher recidivism rate for those who had participated in the counseling program. We shall apply the differential principle especially carefully to the DLM counseling program, evaluating it in depth as to type of inmates participating, type of counseling given, points during the course of incarceration when counseling appears to be especially helpful or appropriate, and other areas of concern.

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

### Introduction

The fundamental theories and practices of the correctional system in the U. S. are now undergoing a period of intense, critical reappraisal. "Cynicism and public mistrust permeate the criminal justice system;"<sup>1</sup> the rising crime rate, the recent incidents of violence and riots in our prisons, and an exposure of the realities of the correctional situation by civil rights, research, and evaluation groups have all provoked the changing attitudes. American prisons are described as being "mere warehouses that degrade and brutalize their human baggage . . . and the conditions of confinement coupled with unrealistic expectations of rehabilitation"<sup>2</sup> have contributed to the general air of chaos and futility.

The goal of this thesis is to address some of this despair over the American correctional system through the medium of evaluative research of the correctional treatment programs as specifically practiced at MCI-F. Part of the prevailing attitude towards American correctional rehabilitation practices stems from being initially introduced to the criminal justice system as the answer to all our correctional problems. The "panacea frame of reference"<sup>3</sup>

thus fostered has simply not lived up to its stated goals or expectations. Now, in reaction to this perceived failure of treatment in rehabilitating all criminals, a new attitude has arisen which states the opposite viewpoint. Robert Martinson serves as the major spokesman for the position that "nothing works."

The major focus of all correctional evaluative research, in response to the "panacea frame of reference," has been to regard the various treatment programs as being of equal value to all participants. The value of the program itself is emphasized, without taking into account the characteristics of the individual inmates who participated in the program. In other words, the prevailing view has been that all inmates benefit equally from all programs. Thus, for example, a particular institutional group therapy program may be found to reduce recidivism by 30% during the first year. Nothing is said of particular inmates who may have found it especially helpful--or of those whose likelihood of recidivism may have actually increased as a result of participation in that group therapy program. In summary, little consideration is made for differential effects of different programs on different types of inmates.

The literature review will first take a historical look at the initial philosophies and optimism regarding the

introduction of contemporary rehabilitation techniques to the American correctional system. Examples of the traditional type of correctional research (undifferential) will be given. Then, the opposite viewpoint, represented particularly by Robert Martinson, will be reviewed. In considering the subject of correctional rehabilitation treatment, it is also important to note some of the more fundamental conflicts which are now being raised. For instance, aspects of mandatory treatment and the question of the viability of any treatment at all within the prison environment, where the goals of custody and rehabilitation are seen to conflict, are both issues being seriously discussed at this time. Finally, the current state of the research which does consider differential effects of treatment will be explored, along with the various types of classification schemes being developed.

#### "Era of Treatment"

The basic philosophy of our present correctional system was laid down more than 100 years ago, at the First Congress of the National Prison Association in 1870. An explicit declaration stated that the goals of the criminal justice system were to stress treatment and rehabilitation rather than retribution and punishment. The techniques

of treatment have changed over the century, becoming increasingly sophisticated as our knowledge of behavior, sociology, and psychology has increased. The 1930's were especially influential; as the studies of Freud and subsequent others revolutionized the view of the individual, pathology, and treatment methods. By 1939, this new scientific approach to treatment was described as "the new penology:"

Today there is much discussion of what is commonly called the "new penology." The basic underlying concept in the new penology is that men are sent to prison as punishment rather than for punishment. Security is still of first importance: the prison is a place wherein convicted criminals are incarcerated in order that society may be protected from their continued depredations, as well as a place wherein criminals may be protected from themselves. But such incarceration is only a means to an end. That end is the final protection of society through a change of the attitudes and behavior of prisoners. Thus, incarceration becomes classification and segregation for treatment. Treatment takes the form of casework. Penologists are confronted with the problem of what to do for individual prisoners in contrast with the old problem of what to do with them. This introduces a new approach in caring for the inmates of penal institutions which is characterized by an attempt to use "scientific techniques." In application, these techniques involve the services of such specialists as psychiatrist, psychologist, sociologist, physician, and educator as well as administrative officers, parole officers, guards, and others. There is a diagnosis of "treatment needs" after thorough study of the life history and personality of each prisoner. A treatment prescription results. What happens to the convict is to be in terms of some kind of therapy which aims to reconstruct him in order that he may live a properly adjusted life, at least free from further criminal activity, after his release into the free community.<sup>4</sup>

The California prison system has been widely praised as one of the most progressive and innovative correctional systems in the U. S. and the World. The governorship of Earl Warren in 1944 and the correctional administration of Richard McGee provided the impetus for the changes in that state. The following list of services offered give an idea of the scope and activity of the treatment programs as now practiced in the "new penology:"

1. The professionalization of adult correctional work as a career in California, through the introduction of the civil service and the improvement of salaries, hours, and other conditions of work.
2. A well-planned program of in-service training for all employees in the prisons and parole division considered administratively as part of their regular work.
3. An increase in number and kinds of clinical and other diagnostic and treatment personnel, including medical, dietetical, vocational, psychiatric, psychological, social service, religious, recreational, and educational.
4. The expansion of correctional industries and maintenance operations together with the recruitment of skilled supervisors and foremen and the payment of inmate workers.
5. The establishment of reception-guidance centers staffed by clinical specialists.
6. The development of individual and group counseling and psychotherapy.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the above, Mr. Fenton (then deputy director in charge of treatment in the state of Calif.) was responsible for a new treatment program which oriented and counseled the families of inmates and parolees. He wrote a booklet for the families entitled Treatment in Prison: How the Family Can Help, which gives a glowing endorsement of the treatment programs in the California correctional system.

The treatment program for the inmate in the prison is planned in terms of an understanding of him as a person . . . human kindness pervades the things that are done in attempting to help him in the prison . . . with understanding help in an atmosphere of kindness this purpose can best be accomplished. When a person goes to a hospital, he expects treatment. Unfortunately, most men who are sent to prison still expect punishment . . . Nothing which the families can do is more important than to try to change their loved-one's attitudes toward the prisons and to try to accept them as places for treatment not unlike hospitals.<sup>6</sup>

Karl Menninger provides another recommendation of the progressive system as practiced in Calif. In his book The Crime of Punishment, he describes the life at the state prison at Chino:

The days of men in penal institutes like Chino are filled with creative work, the evenings with study and diversion. Each man is assigned to a job for which he is best fitted, or he is trained in vocational work for which he shows an aptitude. He is assigned to an industry where he learns good work habits and for which he is paid.

Men in prison are addressed and referred to as inmates instead of convicts; the guards are correctional officers. A well staffed and equipped hospital is provided.

An athletic coach will help him choose his games. The library has all the current books and magazines. Volumes of fine books are available to the men. His living quarters are equipped with a two-channel radio receiving headset. The television programs are the best. The latest movies are screened and members of his family and friends are urged to visit regularly.<sup>7</sup>

In addition, Menninger talks about a program set up to break up the existing convict structure, thus allowing the "reconstruction of the individual's personality, so that, instead of blaming the prisoner for his failure, they tried to enlist his cooperation in making a scientific study of what went wrong in his life and what was needed to change it."<sup>8</sup>

The above historical and contemporary sources reveal the optimistic attitude towards the varieties of new treatment programs that have reigned for the past four decades. Treatment was and often still is seen as a cure-all, with the only problem being to line up the inmate with the most appropriate vocational skill for him. Education and therapy and employment are all beneficial for all inmates in order to rehabilitate them to a non-criminal way of life after release from prison.

Three research studies will be cited here which show the effects of this "panacea frame of reference" on the typical design of evaluative research. Again, inmates participate and are evaluated regardless of an individual characteristic.

In 1974, Thomas Graf did a study entitled "The Relative Effects of a Pre-Release Group Counseling Experience on the Recidivist Rates of a Sample of Unconditionally Released Inmates from the Mississippi State Penitentiary." The purpose of this study was to compare the relative effects of an intensive group counseling experience on the recidivist rates of unconditionally released inmates, using a sample group of 50 inmates who were to be released within a 3 month time span. They were selected and divided randomly into two groups. The experimental group participated in a counseling program that met for five weeks, two times each week, for three hours per session. Recidivism was the measure for evaluating success. Inmates in both groups were followed up for one year. Significant differences ( $p < .05$ ) were found in the following areas: recidivist rates between the experimental group and the control group differed significantly and recidivist rates between the experimental group and the prison population differed significantly. He concluded that those inmates from the Miss. Corr. Inst. who participate in positive group experiences will be less likely to become recidivists.

A similar study was done by Man Keung Ho who used a

therapeutic technique known as "fishbowl therapy" with prison inmates as a form of group therapy suitable for application in a prison environment. He describes the therapeutic technique and length of participation and then uses voluntary participation and interest in vocational and education activities as indicators of success. The inmates were seen as having improved their social and interpersonal skills, their understanding, and acceptance of themselves. This experimental group realized significant gains in obtaining parole. He concluded that inmates who participate in programs obtain more paroles as well as having a positive, beneficial experience.

Finally, Ernest Shelly and Walter Johnson researched the effects of a combination of individual counseling and group work, publishing their results in an article entitled "Evaluating an Organized Counseling Service for Youthful Offenders." Using the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) to measure anti-social attitudes, they found some decrease in negative attitudes in the experimental group. Those with the greatest decrease in attitudes had the best success rate regarding parole. They concluded that the study provides direct evidence that casework and groupwork are associated with parole success and that treatment lowers anti-social attitudes.

### "ERA OF DISILLUSIONMENT"

The literature now abounds with criticism and doubts regarding the effectiveness of the current correctional treatment situation. These criticisms range from: (1) some programs don't work; and (2) not enough time, money, and energy has been expended to give treatment a fair chance; to (3) no treatment programs work; (4) the forced treatment method is immoral and illegal; and, (5) it is absolutely impossible to conduct any sort of positive rehabilitation treatment in the custodial confines of a prison. Korn and McCorckle summarize the overall observation when they say:

If one were to draw graphs charting the rise in prison improvement, the increase and liberalization of parole, the extension of freedom and conditions of dignity within the walls, and if one were to compare these graphs with the rise in recidivism and the increase in riots and prisoner violence, the factual conclusion would be inescapable. Side by side with the slow fulfillment of the dreams of the reformers there has rapidly grown up a penological nightmare.<sup>9</sup>

Robert Martinson has provided the most support and evidence for the "null hypothesis" which states that, at least given the present state of research, nothing works. He, along with Douglas Lipton and Judith Wilks researched all studies of correction treatment programs published since 1945, resulting in approximately 230 accepted studies and 285 findings. Their conclusions were published in 1975 in an 800-page volume entitled The Effectiveness of

Correctional Treatment: A Survey of Treatment Evaluation Studies. In an article entitled "The Paradox of Prison Reform: II, Can Corrections Correct?" he summarizes his conclusions by saying:

On the whole, the evidence from the survey indicated that the present array of correctional treatments has no appreciable effect--positive or negative--on the rates of recidivism of convicted offenders.<sup>10</sup>

Some of Martinson's conclusions address the poor quality of correctional research and some, the philosophy and approach of treatment itself. First of all, he criticizes the quality of the research evaluating correctional treatment programs. He says that the design, construction, and results of the studies have not been replicable and that they do not consider enough variables affecting the success or failure of programs. For instance, definitions of terms such as recidivism vary among the studies. Also, some programs "have been tested only on undifferentiated offenders or on a restricted number of offender types, in a variety of noncomparable settings measuring changes on only a few dimensions of behavior. Even the best studies often employed few subjects for limited lengths of time and followed up their performance for variable, noncomparable, and generally short lengths of time if there was any follow-up at all. In many treatment programs, problems of organiz-

ation, the training of new personnel, and the like could have been sufficient to cancel any gains produced by the treatments."<sup>11</sup>

In his discussion of specific research studies, Martinson does recognize some studies which take into account differential effects of treatment on different types of inmates and he notes the differential rates of success or failure. But, as Ted Palmer points out in his article, "Martinson Revisited," Martinson ignores these clues provided by these differential studies and their results and instead emphasizes the indisputable fact that no sure way of reducing recidivism has been found in connection with any of the treatment categories under consideration. He, in effect, omitted these patterns from his conclusions.

Martinson categorizes his conclusions according to type of treatment and recidivism. The following list summarizes some of his results:

1. Individual psychotherapy. Although Martinson, on the one hand, discounts any positive effects from psychotherapy when he concludes, "From an overall perspective, no clearly positive or negative general statement can be made as to the effectiveness of individual psychotherapy in reducing recidivism,"<sup>12</sup> he then proceeds to mention some

positive differential treatment effects in his book. For instance, a study by Adams (1961) differentiates between amenable and nonamenable offenders, with amenability to treatment being a significant factor in the success rate.<sup>13</sup> He concluded that amenable boys who received treatment did better than non-treated boys. On the other hand, "non-amenable" boys who were treated actually did worse than they would have done if they had received no treatment at all. Martinson also differentiates between individual insight-oriented psychotherapy and casework which provides concrete guidance and help or advice in problems with daily living. He says that casework is more beneficial than psychodynamically oriented therapy especially if it is specifically designed for different offender types, based on knowledge of deviant subcultures, criminal behavior patterns and the daily problems encountered by each type.

2. Group psychotherapy. Martinson notes that only those programs that involve exceptionally skilled and empathetic group leaders showed any significant success in terms of the recidivism rate. As a result, he felt that beneficial group psychotherapy could not be generalized to every prison because that sort of staff person is not usually available.
3. Work release. Martinson found no convincing evidence

that work release programs have any significant impact on the recidivism rate, vocational adjustment, or community adjustment of its participants. Nor was there any evidence to indicate that work release contributes to the preservation of family unity, change in attitudes, or the identification of offenders with the free community.

Some positive aspects of work release programs and some differential effects were indicated, however, in the following statements:

- a. earnings of inmates on work release may offset some of the welfare costs of their dependents and operating costs of the program.
  - b. where on-the-job training is provided and where men are suitably placed, success increases.
  - c. employers are likely to be favorably impressed by half of the inmates and may hire one-third after release.
  - d. differential effects are seen in the higher success rate of older inmates (25 and older).
4. Total therapeutic environment. Although this term was never clearly defined, the results showed no significant improvement in recidivism rates.
5. Length of sentences. Martinson cited a study by Donald L. Garrity,<sup>14</sup> who divided a group of male inmates into three personality types: prosocial, antisocial, and

manipulative. He found that prosocial men had lowest recidivism rates regardless of length of sentence. Antisocial men had lower recidivism rates with shorter sentences and manipulative men had lower recidivism rates with longer sentences. Martinson suggests from this study that perhaps personality types rather than treatment affected recidivism rates.

6. Community based treatment. There was no evidence that this form of treatment produced any better results than traditional incarceration. However, Martinson also noted that community-based treatment often cost much less to administer so that "if we can't do more for (and to) offenders, at least we can safely do less."<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the above conclusions regarding specific types of treatment and the quality of correctional evaluative research, Martinson makes some more general criticisms regarding the philosophy and structure of the entire treatment approach. These attitudes are corroborated by other critics as well. One argument accounting for the failure of the existing treatment program is that "the field of corrections has relied too heavily on treatment programs designed to help persons suffering from medical or mental illness and therefore has not developed programs based on knowledge of the correctional process . . . The

attributes associated with medical or mental illness may not be the same as those associated with criminal behavior."<sup>16</sup>

The bases of correctional treatment are simply not connected to any theoretical rationale from the field of criminology and social work.

An even broader-based argument against treatment concerns the present mixture of punitiveness and treatment. For decades doubt has persisted concerning the realistic possibility of superimposing effective treatment over a custodial and punishment-oriented prison system. As Lloyd Ohlin states, "a rhetorical and superficial overlay of allegiance to the rehabilitative ideal masks the basic organization of corrections around custodial and punishment objectives. The result is a system especially vulnerable to charges of hypocrisy in its attachment to treatment goals."<sup>17</sup> Martinson holds that "favorable attitude change cannot take place in a context of general punitiveness."<sup>18</sup>

Another problem with the individualized treatment model is the resulting enormous discretionary power now invested in corrections officials. Ohlin describes this inherent contradiction when he says that "the administration of punishment relies for its acceptance and effectiveness on the fairness with which it implements the principles of equal treatment and "just deserts." In contrast the

achievement of treatment goals relies on a flexible adaptation of rehabilitation resources and opportunities to individual needs and problems."<sup>19</sup> The argument is now being advanced for a separation of these two goals--punishment and rehabilitation--in favor of a system where fixed penalties are administered to fit the crime rather than the criminal.

Perhaps some of the above arguments (the perceived hypocritical existence of treatment in addition to punishment, the discretionary power over release in the form of indeterminate sentences and parole recommendations and the forced treatment model) have contributed to the cynicism expressed by the inmates themselves in regard to the treatment programs that they experience. Jessica Mitford says that, "from the convict's point of view, "treatment" is a humiliating game, the rules of which he must try to learn in order to placate his keepers and manipulate the parole board at his annual hearing: "I have gained much insight into my problems during the past year."<sup>18</sup> John Irwin, an ex-convict from San Quentin Prison in Calif., says that the coercion of inmates into treatment only fosters resentment, suspicion, and lack of commitment to treatment goals. Inmates have the attitudes that treatment programs must be attended (at least tokenly) in order to be paroled

and that the programs are phony and ineffectual. Some of the phrases thrown around are--"I'm going to get a program." "Get a program and you'll get a parole next time." "Look at \_\_\_\_\_, he's programming."<sup>21</sup> Irwin describes a technique used by inmates to reduce the length of sentence. At the classification stage of imprisonment, the inmates manifest rather serious behavior problems; they continue these through the first phase of imprisonment, and then, about six months before the estimated minimum release time, reveal a drastic improvement in behavior. In group therapy, the inmates are fearful that if they reveal anything truly significant about themselves, they will damage their chances for parole. So, the discussions rarely move beyond the "bland and trivial."<sup>22</sup> All in all, resentment builds up because "the offender must not only pay his debt to society in the old-fashioned way of "doing his time," but in addition he must prove that the modern treatment method has worked, that he is cured, rehabilitated, and ready for parole."<sup>23</sup>

The above moral dilemmas regarding the applicability of any treatment at all are important to note and recognize. This thesis, realizing both the optimistic, "panacea"

viewpoint and the resulting cynical, "nothing works" viewpoint is more realistically investigating the differential effects of treatment on different types of inmates. Whether treatment is voluntary or no, it is vital to try to learn what kinds of treatment are beneficial and what types are harmful to what kinds of inmates.

#### Differential Treatment Studies and Classification Typologies

It is now time to investigate current research studies which take into account differential aspects of correctional treatment. This type of research would "lead away from a panacea approach to a prescriptive approach within which an inmate could be guided into programs that have been found to benefit other inmates with his characteristics and steered away from those programs that have had no impact, or even a detrimental impact, on other inmates like him."<sup>24</sup> Along with these studies, it is important to discuss some of the classification typologies which have been developed in order to apply treatment programs differentially.

One of the earliest research projects in the area of differential treatment has been of the Community Treatment Program (CTP) in Calif., run by Marguerite Q. Warren. She applied an Interpersonal Maturity Level, or I-level, system in order to assign types of juvenile delinquents to certain

types of institutional or community-based programs. This classification typology will be described in more detail later, but suffice it to say here that the application of this system to the CTP has resulted in findings which show "lower recidivism rates, lower unfavorable discharge rates, higher favorable discharge rates, and improved pre-post psychological test scores compared to the institutionalized subjects."<sup>25</sup>

Another important differential treatment research study is the "PICO Project," which looked at the effects of intensive counseling on older juvenile offenders in a medium security setting. (This study is briefly mentioned in the section discussing Martinson's conclusions.) Stuart Adams classified the offenders into amenable (corrigibles) and nonamenable (incorrigibles) at the time of intake. Amenable were described as "bright, verbal, anxious, showing an awareness of problems, insight, desire to change and acceptance of treatment."<sup>26</sup> Control groups were used with both categories and offenders were randomly assigned into treatment or no treatment groups. Adams states three conclusions: (1) treated amenable were decidedly superior to control amenable in avoiding return to custody; (2) control non-treated amenable and control nonamenable had

identical rates of lock-up after parole; and (3) there was no significant difference between lock-up rates for treated and non-treated nonamenable.<sup>27</sup> In questioning whether "wrong treatment" perhaps was given to nonamenable offenders, Adams quotes from R. L. Jenkins (1960) when he says, "If one attempts to treat the unsocialized aggressive child by the methods suitable for the overinhibited, neurotic, withdrawn child, his behavior will typically get worse."<sup>28</sup>

A work-furlough program was the treatment program investigated by Jeffrey and Woolpert for its differential effects on different types of inmates. This study used a control group and an experimental group, matched according to age, race, marital status, type of occupation, number of prior convictions, current offense and length of sentence. Although they did find a "nondifferential" result that the work furlough (experimental) group did significantly better after release than the control group, there were also several interesting results indicating differential effects.

1. The work furlough program clearly reduced recidivism for offenders convicted of assault, disturbing the peace and petty theft.

2. Work furlough clearly reduced recidivism among men with moderate (2-5 prior convictions) and extensive

(6 or more prior convictions) criminal records, but it had no reliable effect on those sentenced for first or second offense.

3. W-f program clearly reduced recidivism among men sentenced for 0-30 days. W-f men sentenced for 91 or more days also had significantly fewer convictions after release.

4. W-f clearly reduced arrests and convictions after release for men in the 19-25 age group. There was no significant finding for older inmates.

5. W-f reduced recidivism among unmarried men.

6. W-f reduced recidivism among men who had no specific job training or skills.

7. Minority inmates did substantially better in w-f than Caucasian inmates.

Finally, after four years, the recidivism rate of the experimental group was nearly half that of the control group and w-f seemed to be most effective within one year of release, when the risk of recidivism is highest.

Two studies noting differential treatment effects have been done under the auspices of the Massachusetts Department of Correction. The psychotherapy program at Walpole State Prison and the Fellowship Program at MCI-Norfolk were evaluated in 1968 and 1969, respectively. First of all, the psychotherapy evaluation did show a generally decreased recidivism rate for

the psychotherapy sample. But the differential effects are more important to discuss here, in that the author was able to delineate the general characteristics of inmates who tended to benefit from psychotherapy from those who tended not to benefit. Younger inmates (33 or under) with longer records (6 or more prior arrests) were not affected much by psychotherapy--they were referred to as the "no impact" group. Two other subgroups, who did benefit from psychotherapy were combined to form an "impact" group which consisted of those with shorter records (5 or fewer prior arrests) and of those with longer records but who were older (34 or above). Another issue explored was the relationship between recidivism and the length of time spent in therapy for both the "impact" and "no impact" groups. Rather strikingly, "the recidivism rate of the "impact" group decreased as the length of time in psychotherapy increased, while the recidivism rate of the "no impact" group increased as the length of time in therapy increased."<sup>29</sup> This finding has important implications for the referral of younger inmates with long records to psychotherapy when it has been shown that extended exposure to that type of treatment may actually increase the likelihood of recidivism.

The second study, that of the Fellowship Program at MCI-Norfolk, contained some other differential treatment effects. For instance, black inmates seemed to benefit more from the program than white inmates. Married, or formerly married, inmates benefited more than single inmates and service in the military had a favorable effect. Inmates who were incarcerated for a criminal offense did better than those incarcerated for a parole violation--in fact, those in prison for a parole violation may have been adversely affected by the Fellowship Program. Finally, older inmates (30 years and above when incarcerated) benefited more than younger inmates (29 and under).

While this thesis is not restricting itself to any particular classification typology, it is important to mention a couple of the leading systems now in use. These suggest ways to analyze and interpret the data collected, either leading to further support of the existing typologies or to possible new directions for classification categories. As mentioned above, the Interpersonal Maturity Level, or I-level system, has been widely used as a basis for differential programming in community settings. Marguerite Q. Warren pioneered the application of this system and describes it thusly: "According to the theory, seven successive stages

of interpersonal maturity characterize ego development. They range from the least mature, which resembles the interpersonal, nondifferentiated reactions of a newborn infant, to an ideal of social maturity which is seldom or never reached. Each of the seven stages, or levels, is defined by a crucial interpersonal problem which must be solved before further progress toward maturity can occur."<sup>30</sup> Additional research has been able to apply specific types of treatment appropriate to the particular I-level placement of an offender.

Don C. Gibbons has developed a classification system based on type of offense alone rather than character personality types which are based on interpersonal styles of relating. He suggests 15 types of adult offenses, ranging from professional to naive, and from varieties of property offenses to varieties of personal violence crimes. He then links up type of treatment to type of offender.

Clarence Schrag attempts to combine interpersonal characteristics with offense types (and many other variables) to form four major role configurations which deal primarily with issues involving social relations. He describes his categories (in prison language) below:

Briefly, inmates who fall within the "square John" configuration consistently define role requirements in terms of the prison's official social system. By contrast, "right guys" just

as regularly perceive requirements according to the norms of prisoner society. "Con politicians" shift their frame of reference from staff norms to inmate norms with great alacrity. "Outlaws," deficient in aptitude for identification, are in a perpetual anarchistic rebellion against both normative systems and against affective involvements in general.<sup>31</sup>

He labels the above types as prosocial, antisocial, pseudo-social, and asocial, respectively.

Schrag then applies career characteristics to each social type. Prosocial inmates, for example, are most often convicted for a violent crime against the person or for naive property offenses, such as forgery. Their offenses are situational and reflect strong environmental pressures of some sort. Antisocial inmates are recidivistic with long criminal careers which often pass through juvenile stages of truancy, group membership, etc. They come chiefly from families with other delinquent members, living in underprivileged urban areas. Pseudosocial inmates are primarily involved in sophisticated, subtle, profit-oriented crime such as embezzlement or fraud. They are facile role-players, having learned young, and often come from positions of respectability in the community. Asocial inmates, again quite recidivistic, exhibit more behavioral disorders in a variety of offenses, often bizarre and apparently committed for no reason. They come from a background,

again often poor, of rejection and instability.

These four social types have been seen to participate in different treatment programs to different degrees. The prosocial type participates more than the others, followed by the pseudosocial, antisocial, and asocial groups. Prosocial inmates gain more from psychotherapy while pseudosocial and antisocial inmates participate in recreation or other expressive activities. Carroll Miller has hypothesized the following types of treatment as being most effective and appropriate for the particular social role:

For prosocial inmates, recidivism rates are decreased by psychotherapy and graduated release, and increased by education, outside volunteers groups, and self-help groups. For antisocial inmates, recidivism rates are decreased by education, outside volunteers groups and self-help groups, increased by psychotherapy, but not affected by graduated release. For pseudosocial inmates, recidivism rates are decreased by psychotherapy and self-help groups, but not affected by other program types. For asocial inmates, recidivism rates are not affected by any program type.<sup>32</sup>

In summary, the current system of correctional treatment as practiced in the United States has provoked widespread criticism, questioning, and doubt. These attitudes have put increasing pressure on the system, calling for fundamental change in its theory and practice. Treatment philosophy began in the 1880's under the assumption that all treatment offered is helpful and appropriate to all

inmates, regardless of individual characteristics or need. Although the treatment model became more elaborate in the 1930's with the introduction of the medical model ascribing all criminal behavior to individual pathology, the "panacea frame of mind" prevailed. Now, in response to the increasing crime rate and recidivism rate which are seen as observable failures of our present correctional system, an opposite viewpoint has arisen stating that all treatment is a failure. Research studies reflecting both positions were then cited.

The philosophical basis of this thesis rests on the concept of differential treatment. In other words, some treatment is seen to be helpful and appropriate for some kinds of inmates. In order to discover the proper alliances between type of inmate and type of treatment, it is necessary to research the differential effects of past treatment efforts on the various inmates who participated. In attempting to accomplish this, we have used the two years of previous study at MCI-Framingham to expand our sample and to provide greater validity and evaluative experience.

Thus, the literature review has provided theoretical and historical background in addition to a discussion of the various types of research studies already published. Now, we shall move into the methodological chapter of this thesis.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### METHODOLOGY

## METHODOLOGY

The methodology chapter is divided into three general sections. The first section is concerned with the recidivism follow-up. This section includes the operational definitions, sampling procedures, data collection methods, and analytical techniques.

The second section describes the approach for the analysis of differential program effects. The third section describes the approach used in designing and conducting the interviews with the Framingham inmates and staff.

### Recidivism Follow-up

Definition of Recidivism. As this study is a continuation of Almy, et al. and Benedict, et al., our definition of recidivism was the same on as was used in these earlier studies. "Any individual returned to a Federal or State prison or to a County House of Correction or jail for thirty days or more was considered a recidivist." In accord with Benedict, et al., our follow-up period was one year from the date of an inmate's release.

Sample. The sample for recidivism analysis consisted of 181 women and 74 men who were released from MCI-Framingham between May 1, 1973 and November 1, 1975.

Data Collection. The information from Almy, et al. and Benedict, et al. was available for our use. Department of Correction's pre-punched data cards on background characteristics and criminal history for each inmate provided us with essential data. Master cards on all individuals in our sample were reviewed to determine if the individuals were recidivists. For a small number of individuals who either, (1) served their entire sentence and were not subject to parole follow-up or, (2) had ended their parole follow-up and, consequently, had no available rearrest information, it was necessary to attempt to investigate their records at the Board of Probation. Unfortunately, the Board of Probation could not respond to our informational requests.

After the available data mentioned above had been assembled for the entire sample population, a code was developed and the information was coded and keypunched.

Data Analysis--Base Expectancy Design. As noted by Almy, et al. and Benedict, et al., in any relatively innovative program such as MCI-Framingham, it is possible that those individuals selected to participate will constitute those most likely to succeed. This factor is of particular importance when looking at the male inmates at MCI-Framingham since only a small number of the total

male prison population is housed at MCI-Framingham. To provide a systematic way of separating the effects of the selection process from the actual impact of the program at MCI-Framingham, predictive tables called Base Expectancy Categories were used. (Carney, 1967 & 1971)

The Base Expectancy Categories were developed from those factors that had been found to be most highly associated with recidivism. The relative probability of recidivism has been identified for various categories of inmates and the categories range from the lowest to the highest risk groups. Therefore, if an overrepresentation of the lowest risk group appears at Framingham, the expected recidivism rate will also be low. Consequently, if a significant difference is found between the actual and expected rate of recidivism for the Framingham sample, this is a good indication that the difference is related to the program rather than the inmate population. The Base Expectancy Categories were available at the Department of Correction and were based on all persons released in 1971.

The expected recidivism rate for the Framingham sample was determined and comparisons were made to the actual return rate. For the males, the combined and validated Base Expectancy Categories of the male institutions, Walpole, Concord, Norfolk and forestry camps, were

used to determine the expected rate of recidivism. For the female subjects, the Base Expectancy Categories of MCI-Framingham were used. In overall expected rate of recidivism was then calculated by combining the expected rates from each of the categories in our sample.

Background Characteristics and Recidivism. In accord with Almy, et al. and Benedict, et al., our approach was to obtain cross tabulations on background characteristics and recidivism rates for Framingham men and women. This allowed us to examine the relationship between a number of background characteristics and recidivism.

With the background characteristics held constant, we compared recidivism rates of our sample population with the recidivism rates of men and women released from Department of Correction facilities in 1971. The 1971 figures reflect recidivism rates before pre-release programs and the coeducational aspect were introduced to Framingham. The individuals in the 1971 study will from here on be referred to as the comparison group.

Methodology for Program Analysis. One of the main thrusts of our study was to analyze the effects of four MCI-Framingham programs on recidivism. These programs are the Furlough Program, Work Release Program, Education Release Program and the DLM (Division of Legal Medicine) Counseling Program. While we did look at all four programs,

our main focus was the DLM Counseling Program.

Again, coinciding with Benedict, et al., we attempted to examine the following questions:

(1) Do certain programs have a greater/lesser impact on recidivism than others?

(2) Do different inmates benefit more/less from certain programs in terms of recidivism reduction?

Furlough Program. In order to evaluate this program, we examined the furlough records of all inmates in the sample population. The following steps were necessary to carry this out:

(1) A list of names and numbers of all individuals in our sample was obtained;

(2) A computer printout of furlough histories of all individuals in the recidivism sample was obtained;

(3) A code was developed for furlough data (Appendix); and,

(4) Furlough data was coded and keypunched.

Work Release Program. In accord with Benedict, et al., the subjects in this sample included all inmates who had participated in work release. The following steps were taken to obtain the necessary information:

(1) A list of names of individuals in work release was obtained;

(2) A code for work release data was developed (Appendix); and,

(3) Work release data was coded and key-punched.

Education Release Program. The subjects in this sample included all inmates participating in education release. As will be noted in the results section, the number of individuals participating in this program was very small. Because of this factor we had difficulty gathering necessary information. However, the following steps were taken in our attempt to examine this program:

(1) A list of names of individuals in education release was obtained;

(2) A code for education release data was developed; and,

(3) The education release data was coded and keypunched.

DLM Counseling Program. Subjects for this sample included all individuals who had participated in the DLM Counseling Program. Participation was defined as having had one or more interviews with a DLM counselor. The following steps were taken to gather information:

(1) A list of names of names of individuals involved in DLM counseling was obtained;

(2) All available information on each of these individuals was collected; and,

(3) A code was developed and the data was coded and keypunched.

In accord with Benedict, et al. an approach was to examine the relationship between program participation and recidivism. Degree of participation in a program was also considered to be an important variable.

#### Differential Program Effects

In order to analyze the differential program effects at Framingham, the relationship between three treatment programs--counseling, furlough, and work release--and recidivism was examined with fourteen background and criminal history variables held constant. These included: present offense, age at incarceration, race, marital status, address prior to incarceration, level of education, drug use, age at first arrest, total number of court appearances, number of narcotic offenses, number of juvenile incarcerations, number of state and federal incarcerations, number of furloughs, number of weeks on work release, and for work release only, time at most skilled position.

The method used was to cross tabulate participation vs. non-participation in each of these programs, with the inmate variables. Significant relationships (p .05) were noted and analyzed.

#### Inmate and Staff Interviews

The interview schedule was constructed by all members of the thesis group. Each of the group members drew up a list of questions he or she thought would be important to the study. The questions were then reviewed and sorted into categories by the group.

The interview schedule was composed of four parts: (1) general questions; (2) questions specifically for subgroups within the institution, including correctional staff, DLM staff, DLM counseling participants, and DLM counseling non-participants; (3) Likert-type questions on the counseling program; and, (4) several background questions for both staff and inmates. The general questions section was divided into four sub-parts. All respondents were asked questions dealing with: (1) the furlough program; (2) the work release program; (3) the education release program; and, (4) the DLM counseling program.

The questionnaire was pretested on 3 inmates and revisions were made. Initially, staff and inmates were to be selected by means of a random sampling technique. However, this turned out to be unfeasible due to the problems involved in scheduling interviews within the institution. Therefore, quotas were set up to insure

that an approximately equal number of counseling and non-counseling inmates would participate and to secure a cross section of the staff (by job title). In order to alleviate the scheduling difficulties, an inmate was hired with the help of the Director of Social Services to schedule interviews.

Staff interviews were held, for the most part, in staff members' work areas. Inmate interviews were held in private offices in the counseling area of the main prison building. The breakdown of respondents was as follows:

Staff Interviews

Administrators	4
Correction Officers	9
Correction Social Workers	4
DLM Staff	3
Clerical Staff	6
Other Staff	5
Total Staff	31

Inmate Interviews

Counseling Participants (Female)	18
Counseling Participants (Male)	3
Counseling Non-Participants (Female)	11
Counseling Non-Participants (Male)	8
Total Inmates	40

In analyzing the results of the interviews, responses of inmates and staff were compared. Within the staff interview data, the responses of DLM staff and other staff were compared. Within the inmate interview data, responses

of DLM counseling program participants and non-participants were compared. Data on participants was further broken down according to the length of time in counseling--i.e., 20 or more counseling sessions vs. 19 or fewer. Finally, an effort was made to examine male vs. female responses on many questions.

Likert-Type Items. Included in the interview schedule were 15 Likert-type questions on the DLM counseling program. These items generally reflected questions which have been raised by the literature (especially by the previous Framingham studies) towards psychotherapeutic intervention in a prison setting.

The items were read to the subjects who were then asked to respond by choosing one of five categories:

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
- Don't Know

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

RESULTS

The results are presented in three general parts: the overall data on the relationship between the Framingham experience and recidivism; the differential program effects of furloughs, work release, and counseling; and, the data from the interviews with Framingham inmates and staff.

Overall Recidivism Results

This section has two main objectives. The first objective deals with the overall impact of the coeducational correctional experience on recidivism. This can be seen by comparing the consistently lower "actual recidivism rate" with the "expected recidivism rate."

Expected vs. Actual Rates for Framingham Releasees

	<u>N</u>	<u>Ex. RR</u>	<u>Actual RR</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Total Sample	255	28.2%	16.5%	-11.7
Total Women	181	32.0%	17.1%	-14.9
Total Men	74	19.7%	14.9%	-4.8

Total Sample:  $X^2 = 17.32, p < .001$

Men :  $X^2 = 1.11, n.s.$

Women :  $X^2 = 17.55, p < .001$

Secondly, an indication will be given of the types of inmates who are more (or less) likely to benefit from the Framingham experience in terms of recidivism reduction.

This can be described as the basic differential treatment

effects of the overall Framingham treatment program. The recidivism rates of Framingham men and women were compared with the comparison group men and women with a number of variables held constant.

The most general finding was that 84% of the Framingham releasees were non-recidivists.

	N	%
Non-recidivists	153	84%
Recidivists	40	16%
Parole Violators	22	9%
New Commitments	18	7%

As already noted in the methodology chapter our findings are being compared with the 1971 Department of Correction study. This study includes recidivism rates of those individuals released from state correctional institutions in 1971 prior to the implementation of co-educational facilities and community based programs such as work release, education release, and furlough. The results of this comparison are presented in Appendix A and B.

A. Present Offense (Refer to Appendix A). The category of present offense includes seven variables: institution committed to, offense, minimum sentence, age

at incarceration, length of incarceration, type of release, and age at release.

Looking at these variables for the men in our sample, one variable proved to be statistically significant. Those male inmates who were twenty-one or younger at incarceration had a recidivism rate of 0% as compared to 27% from the comparison group ( $X^2 = 4.54, p < .05$ ). Though not statistically significant, due to small sample size, those men who were sentenced for a drug offense had a recidivism rate of 0% as compared with the 29% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 3.15, p < .10$ ). Men who were sentenced for more than five years had a recidivism rate of 5% as compared to 19% in the comparison group.

Considering the same variables for women there were two significant findings. The recidivism rate for drug offenders was 12% as compared with 40% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 6.77, p < .01$ ). As with the men, those female subjects who were twenty-one or younger at incarceration had a lower recidivism rate, 13%, than their counterparts, 33%, in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 4.96, p < .05$ ).

Those variables which were not significant included institution committed to, minimum sentence, length of incarceration, type of release, and age at release.

B. Background Characteristics (Refer to Appendix A).

Eight background characteristics were looked at in this section. They included: race, marital status, last address, occupational status, length of time on most skilled job, longest period on one job, last grade completed, and drug use.

Several statistically significant variables became apparent when we examined the relationship between background variables and the recidivism rates for the male Framingham sample and the comparison group.

Non-veterans had a recidivism rate of 13% as compared to 27% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 4.09, p < .05$ ).

Men who listed their last address as Boston had a recidivism rate of 6% as compared with a recidivism rate of 20% for their counterparts in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 4.11, p < .05$ ).

Men who reported using drugs had a significantly lower recidivism rate, 8%, than those in the comparison group, 25% ( $X^2 = 6.12, p < .02$ ). Men who reported use of heroin had a recidivism rate of 7% as compared with 39% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 5.73, p < .02$ ).

There were also several statistically significant background characteristics for the women.

Single women had a recidivism rate of 14% as compared with 31% for women in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 7.03, p < .01$ ).

Women who reported their last address as Boston had a recidivism rate of 14% as compared with 34% recidivism rate in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 8.25, p < .01$ ).

Women whose last grade completed in school was between seventh and eleventh had a recidivism rate of 19% as compared with a recidivism rate of 37% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 6.24, p < .02$ ).

Women who reported no drug use had a recidivism rate of 13% as compared with a recidivism rate of 26% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 4.20, p < .05$ ).

Those background characteristics for the men which were not statistically significant included race, marital status, length of time on most skilled job, longest period on one job, and last grade completed.

For women the non-significant categories included race, occupational status, length of time on most skilled job, and longest period on one job.

C. Criminal History (Refer to Appendix A). The

nine variables that comprise the criminal history category included: age at first arrest; number of court appearances; prior arrests for person offenses, property offenses, narcotic offenses, and drunkenness; number of juvenile incarcerations: House of Correction incarcerations: and State incarcerations.

For both men and women there are many significant characteristics.

The most significant finding was that men with one or more arrests for narcotic offenses had a recidivism rate of 4%, compared with 32% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 9.86, p < .01$ ).

Men who were twenty-one or younger when first arrested had a recidivism rate of 14% compared with 26% for the comparison group ( $X^2 = 4.27, p < .05$ ).

Men who had six or more court appearances had a recidivism rate of 15% compared with 27% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 4.34, p < .05$ ).

Men with no prior arrests for drunkenness had a recidivism rate of 5% compared with 21% in the comparison group. ( $X^2 = 6.64, p < .02$ ).

Men with one or more juvenile incarcerations had a recidivism rate of 10% compared with 33% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 5.00, p < .05$ ).

Men with no prior incarcerations in a House of Correction had a recidivism rate of 7% compared with 20% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 4.62, p < .05$ ).

Many variables in the women's criminal history also proved to be significant.

Women who were between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one at their first arrest had a recidivism rate of 20% compared with 38% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 5.82, p < .02$ ).

Women who had six or more court appearances had a recidivism rate of 18% compared with 29% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 5.98, p < .02$ ).

DIFFERENTIAL EFFECTS ON RECIDIVISM: WOMEN

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Framingham Women</u>		<u>Comparison Group</u>		<u>Difference</u>	<u>Level of Significance</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>		
Total	181	17%	92	29%	-12	p < .02
1. Drug offense	49	12%	20	40%	-28	p < .01
2. 21 or younger at incarceration	52	13%	36	33%	-20	p < .05
3. Marital status: single	108	14%	54	31%	-17	p < .01
4. Residence: Boston	94	14%	53	34%	-20	p < .01
5. Past grade completed: 7-11	103	19%	59	37%	-18	p < .02
6. No reported drug use	72	13%	69	26%	-13	p < .05
7. Age 16-21 at 1st arrest	82	20%	55	38%	-18	p < .02
8. 6 or more court appearances	109	18%	53	29%	-8	p < .02
9. 0-1 prior arrests for person offenses	112	19%	61	36%	-17	p < .02

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Framingham Women</u> <u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	<u>Comparison Group</u> <u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>Level of Significance</u>
10. 0-2 prior arrests for property offenses	95	15%	49	33%	-18	p < .02
11. 1 or more prior arrests for narcotic offenses	77	19%	33	45%	-26	p < .01
12. No juvenile incarcerations	139	17%	81	30%	-13	p < .05
13. 1 or more house of correction incarcerations	42	10%	14	43%	-6	p < .02
14. No state incarcerations	114	12%	70	30%	-18	p < .05

Women who had zero or one prior arrest for person offenses had a recidivism rate of 19% compared with 36% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 6.34, p < .02$ ).

Women who had zero, one or two prior arrests for property offenses had a recidivism rate of 15% compared with 33% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 6.29, p < .02$ ).

Women who had one or more prior arrests for narcotic offenses had a recidivism rate of 19% compared with 45% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 7.86, p < .01$ ).

Women who had no juvenile incarcerations had a recidivism rate of 17% compared with 30% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 4.59, p < .05$ ).

Women who had one or more previous incarcerations in a House of Correction had a recidivism rate of 10% compared with 43% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 7.95, p < .01$ ).

Women who had no previous State incarcerations had a recidivism rate of 12% compared with 30% in the comparison group ( $X^2 = 8.84, p < .05$ ).

Those categories of criminal history that did not prove statistically significant for the men included prior arrests for both person and property offenses and prior State incarcerations.

For the women prior arrests for drunkenness was the only category not significant.

#### Furlough Data

A statistically significant relationship was found between the total number of furloughs and recidivism. Men and women who had one or more furloughs (88.2% of the sample)

had a significantly lower recidivism rate (16%) than those who had no furloughs (29%). Even more significant (at the .01 level) was the finding that those men and women with two or more furloughs had a significantly lower recidivism rate (13.4%) than those with zero or one furloughs (27%) ( $X^2 = 6.81, p < .01$ ).

Another statistically significant finding was that those men and women who had one or more successful furloughs (84.7% of sample) had a significantly lower recidivism rate (15%) than those who had no furloughs (25%).

Also significant at the .01 level was the finding that men and women with one or more furloughs from Framingham (89.7%) had a lower recidivism rate than men and women with no furloughs from Framingham.

Although not significant, a relationship existed between total number of furlough hours and recidivism rate. Inmates who had 200 or more furlough hours (39.6%) had a recidivism rate of 11.9% which was considerably lower than the recidivism rate (19.4%) for men and women with less than 200 furlough hours (60.4% of the sample).

#### Work Release

Although not statistically significant, an interesting relationship existed between the number of weeks on work release and recidivism. Men and women who worked 12 or

more weeks on work release (41.3%) had a lower recidivism rate (8%) than those men and women who worked 11 weeks or less (58.7% of the sample) and had a recidivism rate of 17.9% ( $\chi^2 = 3.56, p < .10$ ).

#### Counseling Data

Only 19% of the total sample of men and women had had at least one counseling interview (23% of the women and 11% of the men). Our findings show that men and women who had 20 or more counseling interviews had a significantly higher recidivism rate (39%) than those with 19 or fewer interviews (15%) ( $\chi^2 = 4.72, p < .05$ ).

Although not statistically significant it was interesting to note that men and women who were perceived by their therapists to be improved after treatment (49% of the counseling participants) had a much higher recidivism rate (35%) than men and women who were perceived to be unchanged by their therapists after treatment (51%) who had a recidivism rate of 13%.

#### Differential Program Effects

Counseling Program. As previously stated, the overall relationship between counseling and recidivism was an inverse one in that those inmates who had twenty or more counseling sessions had a significantly higher recidivism rate than

those who had nineteen sessions or less.

When we cross-tabulated participation in counseling (1 or more sessions) vs. non-participation (no sessions) the recidivism rates of participants was higher than that of the non-participants. There was no instance in which participation in counseling was associated with a statistically significant reduction in recidivism. In fact, certain variables were related to a statistically significant increase in recidivism rates.

Inmates who were 21 years of age or younger at incarceration and who participated in counseling showed a significantly higher recidivism rate, 27.3%, as compared to 2.2% for the non-participants ( $\chi^2 = 7.62, p < .01$ )

Those inmates who participated in counseling and who had 9 years or less of education had a recidivism rate of 37.5% in comparison to 12.8% for non-participants with the same level of education ( $\chi^2 = 4.28, p < .05$ )

The only other statistically significant finding in the counseling program related to participants who had gone on 2 or more furloughs. Their recidivism rate was 17.1% as compared to 1.1% for the non-participants ( $\chi^2 = 15.3, p < .01$ )

Although not statistically significant, there were 3 inmate variables which when related to participation in

COMPARISON OF RECIDIVISM RATES OF NON-COUNSELING AND  
COUNSELING INMATES

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Non-Counseling</u>		<u>Counseling</u>		<u>Differences</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	
<u>Offense</u>					
Person	83	10.8%	19	21.4%	+10.2
Property	40	37.5%	17	23.5%	-14.0
Narcotic	50	8.0%	11	18.2%	+8.2
Prostitution	21	4.8%	1	100.0%	
Other	12	16.7%	1	0.0%	
<u>Age at Incarceration</u>					
21 or younger	46	2.2%	22	27.3%	+25.1*
22 and older	151	17.2%	26	19.2%	+2.0
<u>Race</u>					
Black	98	18.4%	32	25.0%	+6.6
White	99	13.1%	15	13.3%	+0.2
<u>Marital Status</u>					
Married	43	14.0%	7	42.9%	+32.9
Single	110	12.7%	33	21.2%	+9.4
Div., Sep., Wid.	44	20.5%	8	12.5%	-8.0
<u>Address prior to Incarceration</u>					
Boston	105	10.5%	23	17.4%	+6.9
Other	101	19.8%	26	26.9%	+7.1
<u>Education</u>					
9th grade or less	86	12.8%	16	37.5%	+24.7*
10th or more	103	16.5%	30	16.7%	+0.2

\*Statistically significant difference in recidivism rates  $p < .05$ .

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Non-Counseling</u>		<u>Counseling</u>		<u>Differences</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	
<u>Drug Use</u>					
None	94	12.7%	22	27.3%	+14.6
Heroin	60	21.6%	15	20.0%	-1.6
Other	27	7.4%	7	14.3%	+6.9
<u>Age at First Arrest</u>					
21 or younger	135	16.3%	38	18.4%	+2.1
22 or older	57	14.0%	9	33.3%	+19.3
<u>Total of Court Appearances</u>					
5 and less	62	13.0%	17	29.4%	+16.4
6 or more	132	16.7%	31	19.4%	+2.7
<u>Prior Arrests for Narcotic Offense</u>					
0	120	15.8%	30	23.3%	+7.5
1 or more	86	14.0%	19	21.1%	+7.5
<u>No. of Juvenile Incarcerations</u>					
0	168	14.9%	37	24.3%	+9.4
1 or more	38	15.8%	12	16.7%	+9.9
<u>No. of State and Federal Incarcerations</u>					
0	138	10.1%	30	20.0%	+9.9
1 or more	68	25.0%	19	26.3%	+1.3

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Non-Counseling</u>		<u>Counseling</u>		<u>Differences</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	
<u>No. of Furloughs</u>					
0-1	39	25.6%	14	35.7%	+10.1
2 or more	167	1.1%	35	17.1%	+16.0
<u>No. of Weeks Worked</u>					
0-3	109	17.4%	28	28.6%	+11.2
4 or more	97	12.4%	21	38.1%	+15.7

the counseling program showed a reduction in recidivism.

First, inmates who were counseling participants and who were convicted of a property offense had a recidivism rate of 23.5% as compared to 37.5% for their counterparts.

Second, participants in counseling whose marital status was divorced, widowed or separated showed a recidivism rate of 12.5% compared to the non-participants who had a 20.5% recidivism.

Finally, counseling participants who were heroin users had a recidivism rate of 20.0% as compared to 21.6% for the non-participating heroin users.

Furlough Program. In contrast to the results of the counseling program we recall that there was a positive relationship between furloughs and recidivism. That is, there was a significant reduction in recidivism for inmates who participated in the furlough program.

When we cross-tabulated participation in the furlough program (2 or more furloughs) vs. "non-participation" (0-1 furloughs) with each of the variables, there was no instance in which recidivism increased significantly. Conversely, there were many instances in which participation in the furlough program related to a statistically significant reduction in recidivism.

Inmates who were within the age group of 22-30 who had not been on furloughs had a recidivism rate of 30.8%

compared to 18.2% for the participants ( $X^2 = 7.03, p < .01$ )

When the age of the inmate was 31 or over, non-participants showed a recidivism rate of 42.9% and for their participating counterparts it was 7.2% ( $X^2 = 4.83, p < .05$ )

It was statistically significant that whites who had not been on furloughs had a 38.5% recidivism rate and those who had participated recidivated at 15.4% ( $X^2 = 6.92, p < .01$ )

Another significant finding was that people who had an address other than Boston and who were not participants had a 42.9% recidivism rate as compared to 17.0% for their counterparts who had been on furloughs ( $X^2 = 5.55, p < .02$ )

Inmates who had a 10th grade education or higher and who did not participate in the furlough program had a recidivism rate of 31.0%. Recidivism decreased significantly to 12.6% for the participants with the same level of education ( $X^2 = 4.38, p < .05$ )

It was statistically significant that non-participants with 6 or more court appearances had a 30.3% recidivism rate as compared to their participant counterparts whose recidivism rate was 13.8% ( $X^2 = 5.01, p < .05$ )

Non-participants who had no prior narcotic offenses had a recidivism rate of 27.5% as compared to a significantly lower 13.6% for the participants ( $X^2 = 3.93, p < .05$ )

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When we cross-tabulated participation in the furlough program (2 or more furloughs) vs. "non-participation" (0-1 furloughs) with each of the variables, there was no instance in which recidivism increased significantly. Conversely, there were many instances in which participation in the furlough program related to a statistically significant reduction in recidivism.

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A. COMPARISON OF RECIDIVISM RATES OF FURLOUGH  
AND "NON-FURLOUGH" INMATES

<u>Variable</u>	<u>0-1 Furloughs</u>		<u>2 or More Furloughs</u>		<u>Differences</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	
<u>Offense</u>					
Person	12	33.3%	54	16.7%	-16.6
Property	15	40.0%	42	31.0%	-9.0
Narcotic	6	16.8%	55	9.1%	-7.7
Prostitution	13	9.0%	9	0%	
Other	7	28.6%	6	0%	
<u>Age at Incarceration</u>					
21 or younger	19	15.8%	49	8.2%	-7.6
22-30	26	30.8%	88	18.2%	-12.6*
31 or over	7	42.9%	56	7.2%	-35.7*
<u>Race</u>					
Black	26	18.5%	104	11.5%	-7.0
White	27	38.5%	87	15.4%	-23.1*
<u>Marital Status</u>					
Married	8	25.0%	42	16.7%	-8.3
Single	34	26.5%	109	11.0%	-15.5
Div., Wid., Sep.	10	30.0%	42	16.7%	-13.3
<u>Address Prior to Incarceration</u>					
Boston	32	18.8%	96	9.4%	-9.4
Other	21	42.9%	106	17.0%	-25.9*
<u>Education</u>					
9th Grade or Less	13	30.8%	89	14.6%	-16.2
10th Grade or More	10	31.0%	104	12.6%	-18.4*

\*Statistically significant difference in recidivism rates  $p < .05$ .

<u>Variable</u>	<u>0-1 Furloughs</u>		<u>2 or More Furloughs</u>		<u>Differences</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	
<u>Drug Use</u>					
None	22	22.7%	95	13.7%	-9.0
Heroin	16	37.5%	59	16.9%	-20.6
Other	1	0%	31	9.7%	+9.7
<u>Age at First Arrest</u>					
21 or younger	36	33.3%	136	13.2%	+7.6
22 and older	11	27.3%	55	14.5%	-12.8
<u>Total No. of Court Appearances</u>					
5 or less	14	35.7%	65	12.3%	-23.4
6 or more	33	30.3%	130	13.8%	-16.5*
<u>Narcotics Offense</u>					
0	40	27.5%	110	13.6%	-13.9*
1 or more	13	30.8%	92	13.0%	-17.8
<u>No. of Juvenile Incarcerations</u>					
0	42	26.2%	163	14.1%	-12.2
1 or more	11	36.4%	39	10.3%	-26.1
<u>No. of State and Federal Incarcerations</u>					
0	33	12.1%	135	11.9%	-.2
1 or more	20	55.0%	73	23.2%	-31.8*
<u>No. of Weeks Worked</u>					
0-3	47	29.8%	90	14.4%	-15.4*
4 or more	6	16.7%	112	12.5%	-4.2

\*Statistically significant difference in recidivism rates  $p < .05$ .

Inmates not in the furlough program who had worked 3 weeks or less on work release had a recidivism rate of 29.8%. In comparison, furlough participants with 3 weeks or less recidivated at 14.4% ( $\chi^2 = 4.59, p < .05$ )

The only other statistically significant reduction in recidivism occurred with inmates who had one or more state or federal incarcerations. Those with prior incarcerations who were non-participants in the furlough program had a recidivism rate of 55.0% as compared to 16.4% for the participants who had prior incarcerations ( $\chi^2 = 7.50, p < .01$ )

One finding which approached statistical significance related to inmates whose marital status was single. Single people who were not participants in the furlough program had a recidivism rate of 26.5% as compared to 15.5% for those in the program ( $\chi^2 = 3.79, p < .10$ )

Another near significant relationship existed between furloughs and number of juvenile incarcerations. Non-participants who had no juvenile incarcerations recidivated at 26.2% compared to 14.1% for the participants ( $\chi^2 = 3.52, p < .10$ )

Work Release. As stated previously, participation in the work release program was associated with low recidivism.

When we cross-tabulated participation in the work release program (4 or more weeks worked) and "non-participation" (0-3 weeks worked) with each of the inmate variables, there was no instance in which recidivism increased significantly. However, there were instances in which participation in the work release program related to a statistically significant reduction in recidivism:

Those non-participants in work release whose address prior to incarceration was Boston had a recidivism rate of 17.5% compared to 4.3% for participants from Boston. ( $\chi^2 = 4.56, p .05$ )

People who had not participated in work release and whose age was 22 or older recidivated at 24.1% as compared to 11.7% for their counterparts ( $\chi^2 = 4.69, p .05$ )

A statistically significant relationship also existed between work release and time spent at most skilled position prior to incarceration. Non-participants who spent 12 months or less at their most skilled position had a recidivism rate of 25.4% compared to 11.1% for the participants with 12 months or less. ( $\chi^2 = 3.89, p .05$ )

Although not statistically significant, people convicted of offenses against the person and who had not participated in work release had a recidivism rate of 20.0%

A COMPARISON OF RECIDIVISM RATES OF WORK RELEASE  
AND "NON-WORK RELEASE" INMATES

Variable	0-3 Weeks on Work Release		4 or More Weeks on Work Release		Differences
	N	RR	N	RR	
<u>Offense</u>					
Person	40	20.0%	62	8.06%	-11.4
Property	35	31.4%	22	36.4%	+5.0
Narcotics	30	13.3%	31	6.4%	-6.0
Prostitution	21	9.5%	1	0%	-9.5
Other	11	18.2%	2	0%	-18.2
<u>Age at Incarceration</u>					
21 or less	46	10.9%	22	9.0%	-1.9
22 or more	83	24.1%	94	11.7%	-12.4*
<u>Race</u>					
Black	72	15.3%	42	9.8%	-5.5
White	58	10.4%	72	13.9%	+3.5
<u>Marital Status</u>					
Married	24	25.0%	25	12.0%	-13.0
Single	79	16.5%	64	12.5%	-4.0
Div., Wid., Sep.	27	26.0%	25	12.0%	-14.0
<u>Address Prior to Incarceration</u>					
Boston	80	17.5%	46	4.3%	-13.2*
Other	55	25.5%	72	18.1%	-7.4
<u>Education</u>					
9th Grade or Less	53	20.8%	49	12.2%	-8.6
10th Grade or Higher	65	20.0%	68	13.3%	-6.7

\*Statistically significant difference in recidivism rates  $p < .05$ .

Variable	0-3 Weeks on Work Release		4 or More Weeks on Work Release		Differences
	N	RR	N	RR	
<u>Drug Use</u>					
None	57	15.8%	60	15.0%	-.8
Heroin	49	24.5%	26	15.4%	-9.1
Other	10	10.0%	21	4.8%	-5.2
<u>Age at First Arrest</u>					
21 or Less	95	21.0%	77	13.0%	-8.0
22 or More	26	23.0%	40	12.5%	-10.5
<u>Total of Court Appearances</u>					
5 or Less	39	20.6%	40	12.5%	-8.1
6 or More	85	21.1%	68	14.9%	-6.3
<u>Narcotic Offenses</u>					
0	85	18.9%	65	15.4%	-3.5
1 or More	52	21.2%	53	9.5%	-11.7
<u>No. of Juvenile Incarcerations</u>					
0	110	18.2%	95	14.8%	-3.4
1 or More	27	26.0%	23	33.3%	+7.3
<u>No. of State and Federal Incarcerations</u>					
0	85	11.7%	83	12.0%	+3
1 or More	52	32.9%	35	14.3%	-18.6
<u>No. of Furloughs</u>					
0-1	47	29.8%	6	16.7%	-13.1
2 or More	90	14.5%	112	12.5%	-2.0

\*Statistically significant difference in recidivism rates  $p < .05$ .

<u>Variable</u>	<u>0-3 Weeks on Work Release</u>		<u>4 or More Weeks on Work Release</u>		<u>Differences</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	
<u>Time at Most Skilled Position</u>					
12 Months or Less	63	25.4%	54	11.1%	-14.3*
1 Year or More	38	18.5%	48	16.7%	-1.8

\*Statistically significant difference in recidivism rates  $p < .05$ .

in comparison to 8.06% for person offenders who were participants. ( $\chi^2 = 3.11, p = .10$ )

Again, approaching significance, inmates who were not on work release and who had one or more state or federal incarcerations, had a recidivism rate of 32.9%, compared to 14.3% for participants with the same number of incarcerations. ( $\chi^2 = 3.75, p < .10$ )

#### Results of Inmate and Staff Interviews

Furlough Program. When inmates were asked generally what they thought of the furlough program at Framingham, approximately two-thirds of those inmates who said they knew something about the program felt favorably towards it. The remaining one-third thought that the program was either bad or unfair in some way or that it had other unfavorable aspects. Of the total number of inmates interviewed (40), approximately one-fourth stated that they either knew nothing about the furlough program or had no opinion about it. Half of the inmates had participated in the program and half had never been on a furlough at Framingham.

In contrast to inmate reaction, all but four of the total staff members interviewed (31) clearly felt that the furlough program was a very good program. Of the remaining four, three staff members said they did not have an opinion

about the program.

Responses to the question of what inmates viewed as the main benefits of the furlough program fell into three main categories. These included an opportunity to maintain contact with family, a chance to maintain social contacts in the community, and the opportunity to get away from the institution for a while. Eight inmate respondents saw no benefits or couldn't think of any benefits to the program.

A majority of staff members thought inmate contacts with family and the outside community were the main benefits of the furlough program. In addition, some staff members cited the use of the furlough program as a management tool for controlling inmates as an important benefit of the program. A few also felt that furloughs were useful in reducing tension in some inmates, thereby contributing to the maintenance of peace in the institution. Finally, two staff members cited a reduction in recidivism as a benefit of the furlough program.

In response to the question of what they saw as the main problems with the furlough program, a majority of both inmates and staff members interviewed felt that problems with the program at Framingham were the result of administrative practices and unfair rules and regulations. Most often cited by inmates were complaints concerning the

arbitrary nature of the selection process, unfair rules and regulations such as the prohibition against drinking on furloughs, and the requirement that men, who have been transferred from other institutions, must reapply for furlough permission. Some inmates also mentioned the length of time between application and approval or denial of furloughs, "rigged" urinalysis tests, and no second chances for escapes as problems.

Problems with the furlough program most often mentioned by staff members included the lack of uniform eligibility criteria for furlough approval and the resultant arbitrary selection of inmates, poor inmate screening procedures, a lack of adequate supervision, unrealistic rules and regulations, such as no drinking on furloughs, and the length of time between application and eventual approval or denial of furloughs. In addition, several staff members mentioned negative public opinion regarding the furlough program as a problem.

Work Release. When asked what they thought of the work release program, a large majority of the inmates interviewed felt it was a good program. The few inmates who did not have a positive opinion of the work release program either said they didn't know anything about the

program or felt negatively about it.

Only five of the inmates interviewed had actually participated in this program. For these five participants there was a considerable turnover in jobs, with most jobs lasting only a few months.

The main benefits of the work release program most often cited by non-participants included the chance to reintegrate into the community, the chance to earn and save money, thus enabling inmates to support families and pay back fines, and the chance to obtain vocational training and to develop good work habits for future jobs after release. Some non-participants felt that participation in work release would afford a chance to feel responsible and independent, and the remaining few felt either that participation would favorably affect an inmate's parole status or that it would give an inmate a chance to get out of the institution for a while.

When those inmates who had participated in the work release program were asked what they thought were the main benefits of the program, however, four out of five said it gave them a chance to get out of the institution and to improve their status with the parole board.

Inmates cited mainly administrative issues when asked what they saw as the main problems with the work release

program. Most often mentioned were the arbitrary selection of participants, the long waiting list, the difficulty of finding a job, the lag time in being approved for work release and actually starting work, and the 15% slice the state took from their paycheck.

As with the inmates interviewed, a large majority of the staff members interviewed expressed a positive opinion of the work release program. In addition, many staff members mentioned benefits of the program similar to those mentioned by non-participant inmates. These included the chance for gradual community reintegration and the chance to get job training and experience as well as the opportunity to save money and to develop good work habits for future employment. Several staff members also said they saw the work release program as a good management tool to control inmates. Specifically cited in this regard was its usefulness as a reward system to motivate acceptable behavior.

A wide range of problems with the work release program was mentioned by staff members. Those most often mentioned included poor screening procedures, a lack of preparation of inmates prior to job placement, and the need for more on-the-job supervision of inmates. In addition, another problem often mentioned concerned the fact that inmates don't remain in jobs long enough to gain a credible work history.

Education Release. Thirty-seven of the forty inmates interviewed were not involved in the education release program. Only three had personal experience with the program.

Although about one half of the inmates surveyed professed no knowledge of the program, those that did respond overwhelmingly felt that the program was a good one. Many felt that it gave inmates a chance for an education for which they may not have otherwise had an opportunity. Comments included feelings that this program was "a way out" and an opportunity to readjust to the outside community.

The few criticisms included feelings that: there should be time flexibility for inmates who return late from class; some inmates enter the program to get out of prison work; and, there is not enough staff and administrative support for the program.

Although a surprising one-fourth of the staff expressed a lack of knowledge of the program, the staff who did offer comments regarding it overwhelmingly viewed it as a good program. Generally, they too felt the program helped to further their education, reintegrate with society, set up non-criminal patterns and lower their chances of returning to prison.

**CONTINUED**

**1 OF 3**

On the negative side, however, some staff members felt that applicants to the program should be screened better and that often education release has been looked upon erroneously as a "panacea" approach, when actually it does not work for everyone. In addition, some staff members mentioned that inmates who were selected should be better prepared by the institution to make use of the experience. Finally, many staff members felt that inmates could use more supervision and more structure so that they would spend their time outside advantageously.

DLM Counseling Program. In response to the question asking what they thought of the DLM counseling program, a majority of inmates who had an opinion felt positively about the program and a slight minority thought it was not helpful or felt negatively about it. This was true for both men and women. It should be noted that of the respondents who had not participated in the DLM program, seven out of eight of the men and seven out of eleven of the women said they did not know enough about the program to give an opinion.

When staff members were asked the same question, twenty out of twenty-eight respondents felt the DLM program was a good program. The other eight people had no opinion about the program.

When asked what they saw as the main benefits of the DLM program, many of the inmates who had participated in the counseling program said that it was a place where they could talk about their problems, get to know themselves better, and have someone to talk to. In addition, several of the participants felt that it would look good for parole board review.

Of the non-participants in the DLM program, all of the men and half of the women indicated that they had no opinions about the benefits of the program. The remainder of the non-participant women said that they thought counseling in the DLM program might be a place to talk about problems and to release anger and frustration.

A majority of staff members interviewed included such benefits as support with problems, a chance to relieve tensions, and an opportunity for personal growth. Others suggested that it was a chance to be introduced to therapy, that it reduced isolation, and that it was an opportunity to build a healthy relationship.

The opinions of the DLM staff relative to the benefits of the DLM program were similar to other staff members except for one distinguishing comment. Because the DLM program is separate from the Department of Correction, there was the

perception that inmates felt more freedom to talk without punitive consequences.

When asked to cite the main problems with the DLM counseling program, half of the female and all three of the male DLM counseling participants responded. Generally, their criticisms fell into three categories. First, several inmates felt that often implied in staff pressure to participate in counseling was the suggestion that their parole status was dependent upon their participation. Second, various objections were voiced concerning the counseling method used by the DLM staff. The most frequent complaints were that it was too personal, that it dwelt too much on the past, that the counselors were not verbally active, and that sessions were time-limited. Third, a few inmates had complaints about the counselors which involved such things as a lack of empathy and personal respect for inmates, and the lack of minority representation on the DLM staff.

Of the inmates who had not participated in the program all of the men and most of the women said they didn't know about problems in the DLM program. Those women who did respond to this question expressed concerns about confidentiality, fears of dealing with "heavy problems", and the

time-limited nature of being involved in counseling while in prison.

There was a variety of staff responses to the question regarding problems with the DLM counseling program. Those problems most often mentioned included such things as the need for more communication and exchange of information between the DLM counselors and other staff members, staff pressure to participate in counseling, and difficulties associated with motivating inmates to work seriously on their problems. In general, correctional officers were the ones most concerned about the need to exchange information about inmates.

In response to the same question, DLM counselors unanimously mentioned as a problem the fact that termination of counseling is determined by an inmate's release date rather than being therapeutically determined. In addition, the same DLM staff member who saw separation of DLM from the Department of Correction as a benefit, also identified this as a partial disadvantage, resulting in a physical and administrative isolation of DLM from the rest of the staff of the institution.

When asked what they thought of the DLM counselors, three inmates who had participated in counseling gave

unqualified positive responses about the counselors, five inmates felt they didn't like them, and one didn't answer. The remaining 12 inmates indicated some ambivalence towards the counseling staff, stating that while some counselors were "helpful", others "were out of touch" or "don't care".

Among the non-counseling inmates, most either gave no answer or said they were not familiar with the counseling staff when asked the same question.

In contrast to inmate reaction, staff response to the question of what they thought of the DLM counselors was almost unanimously favorable. Such descriptions as "honest", "professional" and "dedicated" were often mentioned.

When asked why they thought inmates participated in the DLM counseling program, counseling participants' responses fell into two categories. These included internal reasons, such as the desire to work on problems or the need to talk to someone, and external reasons, such as "it looks good for parole", "I get good time", or "I was told by the parole board that I couldn't get paroled without it."

Out of the 18 non-counseling inmates interviewed, 12 didn't answer when asked the same question about reasons inmates go for counseling. The answers of the remaining six respondents were similar to the internal and external

reasons given by the counseling participants.

In contrast to the inmates who gave unilateral responses to this question, staff members interviewed generally perceived inmate participation to be the result of both internal and external factors.

When asked how they thought the staff viewed the DLM counseling program, inmates who had participated in counseling generally felt that most of the staff looked upon the program favorably. One notable exception to this, however, was inmate perception of how the custodial staff views the DLM program. Such statements as "there's a lack of communication between the custodial staff and the DLM counselors;" "the custodial staff feels that counseling aggravates inmates so that they act out;" and, "there's jealousy between the custodial and DLM staff;" were typical responses. Several inmates felt, however, that the newer custodial staff members looked more favorably on the DLM program than those who had been in custodial positions for a long time.

Most of the inmates who had not participated in the counseling program offered no response to this question. Eight of the 31 staff respondents also gave no reply. Of the staff members who did answer, however, responses were

similar to those of the inmates. Most felt that their fellow staff members generally supported the program. As with the inmates, there was a feeling among the staff members interviewed that many of the veteran custodial officers didn't understand counseling, felt that counseling didn't work, or thought that the idea was too liberal. Several staff members felt that the newer custodial officers had a more open view of the DLM program.

All but three counseling participants, when asked if they saw any difference in the work of the DLM counselors and the work of the correctional social workers, answered affirmatively. Generally, they perceived the social workers as providing concrete, practical services, and the DLM counselors as providing services of a more psychological nature. There seemed to be a small change in an inmate's perceptions of these two departments as he/she progressed through counseling. One half of those inmates who had been in counseling for less than 20 sessions felt that the correctional social workers did more for the inmates than the DLM staff. However, among those inmates who had been in counseling for more than 20 sessions, there was a slightly more positive feeling towards the DLM counselors than the correctional social workers.

Most of the inmate respondents who had not participated in counseling either did not see any difference between the work of the correctional social workers and the DLM counselors or did not offer a response. The remaining few cited differences similar to those of the counseling participants.

Several staff members (9 of 31) could not identify differences in the duties of the correctional social workers and the DLM counselors. Most staff members, however, generally saw the DLM counselors as dealing with interpersonal and intrapsychic issues within a psychotherapeutic setting, and the correctional social workers as being responsible for case management. The correctional social workers were seen as the inmates' liaison with the system, helping inmates with such task-oriented problems as filling out the necessary paper work, getting into programs, and making phone calls.

One difference mentioned by a small number of both staff members and inmates was the recognition that the social workers were not necessarily bound by confidentiality, whereas the DLM counselors were.

DLM Counseling Program Participants. A total of 21 DLM counseling participants were interviewed. When asked

how they heard about the DLM counseling program, participants indicated that they learned about it through both formal and informal processes. Half of the participants said they had learned about the program from their social workers. The remaining half of the responses were equally divided among the classification board, the doctor, other inmates, and various other staff members.

There was a wide variety of responses to the question of how long each inmate had been in prison before participating in counseling. In comparison to the rest of the sample, the three male counseling participants had spent the longest amount of time (5 years, 2 years, 8 months) in prison before participating in the DLM program. Four of the six female inmates interviewed who had had 20 or more counseling sessions, had been in prison for about six months prior to their entry into counseling. The remaining two female inmates in this group had been in prison for one month or less before engaging in counseling.

Those inmates interviewed who had been in prison for the shortest amount of time before participating in the DLM program were the female inmates who had been in counseling for less than 20 sessions. About half of the women in this group entered therapy about two or three months after their arrival at Framingham, and the other half entered counseling

within a month after being incarcerated.

In response to the question, "Why did you decide to try it at this time?", 11 out of the 21 participants said they had been motivated to enter counseling for external reasons, such as staff pressure or early parole. Seven participants said they were motivated by personal problems to seek counseling, citing the need for someone to talk to "to straighten things out", or the need for a place to ventilate emotions. Of the remaining responses, one inmate cited curiosity as a reason for entering counseling, one chose individual counseling instead of a drug group, and one inmate did not answer the question.

When asked what kinds of things they talked about with their counselors, participants cited such topics as family, spouse, self, life in prison, and life on the street after release.

The amount of time that inmates had participated in counseling varied greatly. Four of the 21 counseling participants had been in counseling for more than one and a half years. Four others had been in counseling for a period of six months to a year. The remaining 13 participants had been in counseling less than six months.

Nine inmates had between 20 and 400 counseling sessions and 12 inmates had 16 or less sessions. There was some

variation in the frequency of these sessions. 14 of the 21 participants were seen on a weekly basis, two were seen twice a week, one was seen bi-weekly, and two were seen on an irregular basis.

The question, "If you stopped, why did you stop?" applied to five counseling participants who had been seen for more than 20 sessions. Two stated that they left because counseling was not helpful; one was paroled; one was "cured;" and, one gave no reason for terminating counseling.

Four of the six counseling participants who had participated in fewer than 20 sessions and had terminated counseling, stated that they had stopped going because it was not helping them. These inmates gave a lack of communication and a lack of understanding between them and their counselor as reasons for termination. Of the two remaining inmates in this group, one had terminated upon release from Framingham, and the other had been admitted to a hospital.

When participants were asked how other inmates had reacted to their participation in counseling, approximately half of the respondents felt that there had been no reaction by other inmates. The remaining responses varied

from feeling that other inmates "thought I was sick" to feeling that other inmates viewed their participation in counseling positively.

In response to the question of how the staff had reacted to their participation in counseling, nine inmates felt the staff had had no reaction, eight felt that the staff had reacted positively, and four said that they did not know how the staff had reacted.

Eleven of the 21 counseling participants said they had friends who were also in counseling and all but three of these 11 had six or more friends in counseling. Eight participants said they did not have friends who were in counseling (six of these were inmates who had been in counseling for less than 20 sessions) and two participants said they didn't know if their friends were in counseling. Those inmates who had been in counseling for more than 20 sessions seemed more likely to have friends who were also in counseling.

When asked if there was any staff pressure to participate in counseling, about half (11) of the counseling participants felt that there was pressure to participate, and about half (10) felt there was no pressure either way.

Similarly, of those who had had less than 20 sessions (11), half felt there was staff pressure to participate, and the other half felt there was no staff pressure either way.

Of those who had been in counseling for more than 20 sessions, six felt there was staff pressure to participate and three felt there was no pressure either way.

The three male inmates all felt that there was staff pressure to participate in counseling.

When asked if there was any inmate pressure to participate or not to participate in counseling, all but two counseling participants interviewed felt there was no inmate pressure either way. One felt that there was inmate pressure not to get involved with counseling and one did not know.

In response to the question asking if counseling had made a difference in their lives at Framingham, 13 of the 21 counseling participants said no. Of those inmates who had more than 20 sessions, however, more than half (5 out of 9) felt that counseling had made a positive difference in their lives, whereas a large majority (10 out of 12) of those inmates who had less than 20 sessions felt that counseling had made no difference in their lives at Framingham. Of the remaining four inmates who had had

more than 20 sessions, three felt that counseling had made no difference in their lives in prison and one felt counseling had had a negative effect. The two remaining inmates who had had less than 20 sessions felt that counseling had made a difference in their lives at Framingham. Thus there seemed to be a slightly positive correlation between the number of counseling sessions an inmate had had and the feeling that counseling had made a difference in their lives in prison.

When participants were asked if they thought counseling would make a difference in their lives back on the street, 14 felt it would not make a difference, 4 felt it would and 3 said they didn't know. When the responses of inmates who had been in counseling for less than 20 sessions were compared with those who had been in counseling for 20 sessions or more, there was a slightly more positive feeling among those who had been in counseling for a longer period of time that counseling would make a difference in their lives on the street.

In response to the question of whether they intended to continue counseling when they were back on the street, 10 of the 21 counseling participants felt they would not, nine felt they would, and two said they did not know. When

responses of inmates who had had more than 20 sessions were compared with those who had less than 20 sessions, two of the nine counseling participants with more than 20 sessions and 7 of the 12 counseling participants with less than 20 sessions felt that they would continue with counseling after release. However, three of the seven who expressed an interest in continuing, specified that they would be seen in private agencies other than DLM.

When participants were asked if they had ever been in any other counseling program, seven of the 12 counseling participants who had participated in DLM counseling for less than 20 sessions had had previous counseling experience. Three of the seven felt that their prior experience had been better than at Framingham, one felt it was not as good, and three declined to make a comparison.

Three of the nine inmates who had been in DLM counseling for 20 sessions or more had had previous counseling experience. One said that the prior experience had not been helpful, one said it had been as good as DLM, and one did not offer a comparison.

A variety of suggestions were made by counseling participants when they were asked if there were ways in which the DLM counseling program could be improved. Several inmates made suggestions concerning the counselors. Typical

comments indicated that many participants felt that counselors should be more "real", should participate more in counseling sessions, should be more caring, or should reveal more of their own personalities. Other suggestions were more program oriented and included the desire for use of a more "self-help" treatment model, more groups, and more minority counselors in the program. Two inmates felt that the whole DLM program should be eliminated.

DLM Counseling Program Non-participants. A total of 19 inmates who had not participated in the DLM counseling program were interviewed. When asked how they had heard about the DLM counseling program, a large majority of both men and women in this group said they had heard about it through either the correctional social workers or other staff members. In response to the question of whether they had ever considered trying the DLM counseling program themselves, half of the men and women said yes and half said no. Most of the women said they thought participation in the DLM program would be negative in some way, giving such reasons as "It's a big game to look good;", "I can deal with my own problems;", and, "It's a waste of time." A few women said they did not know what it would be like and two said they thought it would be helpful. Most of the

men said they did not know what it would be like to be in counseling at Framingham and three men though it might be helpful.

Most of the women, who were not DLM program participants, said, "No," when asked if there was any way they thought the program could be helpful to them, while a majority of the men who had not participated said "Yes," when asked the same question.

In response to the question of whether they had any friends who were participants in the DLM program, about half of the women said "Yes," while a majority of the men said, "No". Most of those who did have friends in DLM said either that they didn't think it was helping them or that they didn't know if it had helped them.

A clear majority of both men and women non-participants felt there was no staff or inmate pressure to participate or not to participate in the DLM counseling program.

When asked how they felt the DLM counseling program could be changed, a majority of the women interviewed said they didn't know how or felt that there was no need for any changes in the DLM program. The one woman who did make a suggestion said that the counselors should make more of an effort to view each client as unique. Nearly all of the men made suggestions for changes, mentioning

the need for such things as more drug counselors, more group experiences, and more of a self-help treatment model, as well as the wish to talk more about their problems rather than the reasons for being in prison. The remainder of the men said that there were no changes needed or that they didn't know what changes were needed.

When asked if they had ever participated in other counseling programs, a slight majority of the women said, "No". Those women who said, "Yes," mentioned drug counseling, Alcoholics Anonymous, and marriage counseling, but all but one person felt these were not helpful to them. Most of the men interviewed, however, said they had participated in other counseling programs such as other prison programs, drug programs, family counseling, and a state hospital program. Most felt that these programs had been helpful. Two men and six women had never participated in any counseling program.

#### DLM Counseling Program: Results of Staff Interviews.

When asked what they thought were the main goals of the counseling program, staff members gave a variety of responses. Approximately half of the staff members interviewed suggested that main goals of the counseling program were to promote personal growth and self-understanding, and to

provide a place to talk about problems. Other responses indicated variously that counseling should help an inmate to adjust to prison life, to build a trusting relationship, and to prepare an inmate for reintegration into society. Goals mentioned by the DLM staff members were similar to other staff responses, although one DLM staff member added that another goal of the counseling program was to help inmates to take responsibility for their own lives.

In response to a question asking how they thought inmates learned about the DLM counseling program, most staff members mentioned the classification process as the main source of knowledge about DLM. Other sources mentioned included word of mouth, and furlough and parole boards who exert pressure on inmates to participate in counseling.

About two-thirds of the staff members interviewed said they had referred inmates to the DLM Counseling Program. Reasons they cited for referral of inmates to counseling included adjustment to prison, suicidal tendencies, gross dysfunctioning, marital, familial, drug, and alcohol problems, and preparation for return to the street.

When asked if they felt there was staff pressure to participate or not to participate in the DLM Counseling Program, two-thirds of the staff members interviewed stated that they thought there was staff pressure on

inmates to participate in counseling, although many added that such pressure was strongest on those inmates who act out. Most staff members also mentioned that counseling was often a precondition for paroles and furloughs. DLM staff members interviewed also recognized the various forms of pressure as a reality for their clients.

Most staff members interviewed felt that there was little peer pressure on inmates either to participate or not to participate in counseling. One DLM staff member felt that inmate pressure either to participate or not to participate in counseling tended to go in cycles where there were periods of pressure or lack of pressure either way.

When asked if they thought the DLM Counseling Program was geared more towards one sex than the other, the staff responded in several ways.

About one-third of the staff members interviewed including the DLM staff, felt that the DLM Counseling Program was oriented equally towards both men and women. Another third of the staff members recognized that there were more women inmates in the program and attributed this to the fact that the DLM staff is all female and that there are more women inmates than men inmates at Framingham.

Some also attributed the larger female participation in counseling to basic differences in the intrapsychic make-up of men and women, stating that women are more emotional than men.

Staff member's perceptions of what kinds of topics were discussed in counseling sessions were similar to those mentioned by the DLM staff. These included family, self, life in prison, sexual issues, and post-release problems.

When asked whether or not they felt that counseling makes a difference in the lives of inmates at Framingham, about half the staff members interviewed including the DLM staff members felt it did make a difference in their lives in prison. About a third of the staff members felt that the effectiveness of counseling depended on both the counselor and inmate. One staff member said that counseling made inmates act out or makes them moody, and the remaining staff members said they didn't know.

When asked whether or not they thought counseling made a difference in the lives of inmates after release, staff members generally felt that it depended on the individual inmate whether or not they benefited from counseling. One DLM staff member felt that the effectiveness of counseling was somewhat proportional to the length

of time an inmate was in the DLM counseling program. Most staff members did not feel that inmates would continue counseling once they were released.

Staff members' answers were divided in response to the question asking how they thought most inmates viewed the DLM Counseling Program. Some felt that inmates like it, others felt that inmates either distrusted the program or felt they didn't need it, and some staff members had no opinion. Comments ranged from, "It gives them someone to talk to", to "They see it as a process to get out", or "They view it with suspicion--they feel that someone is just trying to mess with them."

Staff members were asked if they thought there were certain "types" of inmates for whom counseling was particularly helpful or not helpful. A wide spectrum of "types" were mentioned as most likely to be helped by counseling. These included short-termers, long-termers, disturbed females, young, straight females, murderers, introverts, sexual deviants, suicidal inmates, character disordered inmates, depressed inmates, and inmates who act out. Most staff members mentioned repeat offenders, gangster-types, and unmotivated inmates as those least

likely to benefit from counseling. A few staff members felt, however, that everyone could benefit somewhat from counseling.

When asked whether they thought there was any particular period during an inmate's incarceration when counseling would be most beneficial, staff opinions were equally divided between pre-release counseling and counseling offered immediately upon an inmate's entrance into the institution.

Staff members interviewed overwhelmingly felt that the DLM staff members closely abided by their commitment to worker-client confidentiality. However, opinion was divided on whether or not the issue of confidentiality was a barrier to inmates' participation in counseling.

Finally, staff members were asked if there were any changes they would like to see in the DLM Counseling Program. Suggestions for change included the need for more communication between the DLM staff and other staff members, the need for more of an investment on the part of the DLM staff in the day-to-day routine of the institution, the need for male counselors, the need for more of a focus on severely disturbed inmates, the need for groups (perhaps as facilitators of cottage meetings), and the need to reach a broader spectrum of the inmate population.

Two additional questions were asked of the DLM staff members specifically. First, they were asked what kind of counseling they did. All three DLM counselors interviewed indicated a psychoanalytic orientation. One counselor added that in reality counseling is mostly supportive and confrontative, and another counselor added that while her orientation was psychoanalytic, her approach was eclectic and she did "whatever works."

The DLM staff members were also asked what recommendations they would make for changes in the DLM Counseling Program. All counselors interviewed stated that they would like to see some form of group work. In addition, two felt the need for more family involvement. One also suggested the need for more money to hire additional staff members which would allow for closer work with the correctional social workers.

Two additional questions were asked of the DLM staff members specifically. First, they were asked what kind of counseling they did. All three DLM counselors interviewed indicated a psychoanalytic orientation. One counselor added that, in reality, counseling is mostly supportive and confrontative, and another counselor added that while her orientation was psychoanalytic, her approach was eclectic and she did "whatever works."

The DLM staff members were also asked what recommendations they would make for changes in the DLM Counseling Program. All counselors interviewed stated that they would like to see some form of group work. In addition, two felt the need for more family involvement. One also suggested the need for more money to hire additional staff members which would allow for closer work with the correctional social workers.

Likert-Type Questions. Responses to the Likert-type items were collected and compared in two categories: (1) staff responses; and, (2) inmate responses. Each of the 40 inmates and 30 of the 31 staff members interviewed also completed the Likert items. One staff member declined to answer, feeling that she did not know enough about the program to intelligently answer. For the purpose of simplicity, the "Don't Know" responses were

combined with the "Did Not Answer" responses in the table.

A table including the Likert items and a breakdown of inmate and staff responses is presented on a following page. Here, we will briefly mention some of the highlights of these responses.

Item #1. Eighty percent of the inmates responded negatively (either disagreeing or strongly disagreeing) to their proposition that all inmates should be involved in the DLM program. Only 60% of the staff felt similarly.

Item #2. Both staff and inmates responded in the negative that going to counseling is a sign of weakness. However, the staff felt more strongly about it (80% expressing strong disagreement) than did the inmates (50% expressing strong disagreement).

Item #3. Inmate responses showed a slight trend towards a greater feeling that adjustment to prison was the goal of counseling than the staff did. 32% of inmates were in agreement as opposed to 19% of the staff.

Item #4. A significant difference was seen with respect to inmates' vs. staff's perceptions of confidentiality in counseling. 73% of the staff felt that everything in counseling is kept confidential as opposed to only 42% of the inmates holding this view.

Item #5. Seventy-two percent of the inmates agreed with the statement, "The main reason for going to counseling is that it looks good for the parole board." Only 33% of the staff agreed with this statement, however, which was a significant difference and consistent with interview findings.

Item #6. Twenty-seven percent of the inmates saw counseling as a waste of time as opposed to 0% of the staff. This difference was significant. Twenty percent of the inmates strongly disagreed with this, while 73% of the staff strongly disagreed with the statement.

Item #7. There was agreement by two-thirds of both inmates and staff that counseling is used to reduce tensions in the prison.

Item #8. Both staff and inmates saw counseling as a means by which inmates could gain a better understanding of himself/herself (77% inmates, 89% staff). This was also cited in the interview data.

Item #9. Both inmate and staff respondents were divided in their opinions around the issue of whether counseling at Framingham was set up more for women than for men. Those in agreement with the statement that counseling was set up more for women than for men approximately equaled those not in agreement with a large

number of "No Answers" or "Don't Know" responses.

Item #10. Seventy percent of the staff agreed that counseling helps to reduce recidivism, while only 22% of the inmates agreed. However, strong agreement was noticeably absent (1 inmate and 1 staff member); 40% of the inmates strongly disagreed with this statement.

Item #11. Thirty-seven percent of the inmates agreed that counseling was used to keep inmates under control. Only 10% of the staff agreed to this.

Item #12. This item elicited the strongest opinion from the staff and the widest difference between the two groups. 90% of the staff felt that inmates can trust the counselors. Only 30% of the inmates felt similarly and none of the inmates expressed strong agreement, compared to 56% of the staff.

Item #13. Both groups generally disagreed with the statement that counseling is for people with mental problems.

Item #14. This question also elicited a large positive response from the staff. 90% felt that counseling will help an inmate to readjust to the outside world (43% strongly agreeing). 50% of the inmates felt similarly, although only one inmate expressed strong agreement.

Item #15. Forty percent of the inmates saw no difference between the DLM counselors and the correction

social workers. Only one staff member (3%) felt there was no difference. Responses to this item were notable in the relatively large number of "Don't Know" responses (20% of the inmates and 16% of the staff). This response was also similar to data gathered in the interviews.

RESPONSES TO LIKERT-TYPE QUESTIONS

<u>Item #</u>	<u>Strongly Agree</u>		<u>Agree</u>		<u>Disagree</u>		<u>Strongly Disagree</u>		<u>Don't Know or No Answer</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
1. All inmates in Framingham should be involved in the DLM counseling program.										
Inmates	0	(0)	7	(17)	22	(55)	10	(25)	1	(2)
Staff	3	(10)	7	(23)	15	(50)	3	(10)	2	(6)
2. Going to counseling is a sign of weakness.										
Inmates	1	(2)	0	(0)	18	(45)	20	(50)	1	(2)
Staff	0	(0)	0	(0)	4	(13)	24	(80)	2	(6)
3. The goal of counseling should be to help an inmate adjust to the prison.										
Inmates	2	(5)	11	(27)	13	(32)	12	(30)	2	(5)
Staff	1	(3)	5	(16)	16	(53)	7	(23)	1	(3)
4. Everything discussed in counseling is kept confidential.										
Inmates	7	(17)	10	(25)	10	(25)	9	(22)	4	(10)
Staff	13	(43)	9	(30)	4	(13)	2	(6)	2	(6)
5. The main reason for going to counseling is that it looks good for the parole board.										
Inmates	13	(32)	16	(40)	8	(20)	2	(5)	1	(2)
Staff	2	(6)	8	(26)	13	(43)	6	(20)	1	(3)
6. Counseling is a waste of time.										
Inmates	4	(10)	7	(17)	20	(50)	8	(20)	1	(2)
Staff	0	(0)	0	(0)	7	(23)	22	(73)	1	(3)

Item #	Strongly Agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Don't Know or No Answer	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
7. Counseling is used to reduce tension in the prison.										
Inmates	4	(10)	20	(50)	8	(20)	3	(7)	5	(12)
Staff	4	(13)	14	(46)	10	(33)	0	(0)	2	(6)
8. Counseling can help an inmate gain a better understanding of himself/herself.										
Inmates	14	(35)	17	(42)	8	(20)	0	(0)	1	(2)
Staff	19	(63)	8	(26)	0	(0)	2	(6)	1	(3)
9. Counseling at Framingham is set up more for women than for men.										
Inmates	5	(12)	13	(32)	13	(32)	3	(7)	6	(15)
Staff	2	(6)	10	(33)	10	(33)	5	(16)	3	(10)
10. Counseling helps keep an inmate from coming back to prison.										
Inmates	1	(2)	8	(20)	13	(32)	16	(40)	2	(5)
Staff	1	(3)	20	(67)	5	(16)	2	(6)	2	(6)
11. Counseling is used to keep inmates under control.										
Inmates	2	(5)	13	(32)	16	(40)	8	(20)	1	(2)
Staff	0	(0)	3	(10)	21	(70)	3	(10)	3	(10)
12. Inmates can trust the counselors.										
Inmates	0	(0)	12	(30)	13	(32)	11	(27)	4	(10)
Staff	17	(56)	10	(33)	2	(6)	0	(0)	1	(3)

Item #	Strongly Agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Don't Know or No Answer	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
13. Counseling is for people with mental problems.										
Inmates	1	(2)	6	(15)	23	(57)	9	(22)	1	(2)
Staff	0	(0)	6	(20)	15	(50)	8	(26)	1	(3)
14. Counseling will help an inmate to make the adjustment when he/she is back on the street.										
Inmates	1	(2)	18	(47)	14	(35)	5	(12)	1	(2)
Staff	13	(43)	14	(46)	1	(3)	0	(0)	2	(6)
15. DLM counselors and correctional social workers do pretty much the same thing.										
Inmates	2	(5)	14	(35)	11	(27)	5	(12)	8	(28)
Staff	1	(3)	0	(0)	16	(53)	8	(26)	5	(16)

DISCUSSION

Overall findings from the recidivism follow-up indicated that : (1) the total correctional experience at MCI-Framingham relates positively to a significant reduction in recidivism (as noted by the comparison between the lower actual recidivism rate (16.5% for the total sample) and the higher expected recidivism rate (28.2% for the total sample); and, (2) when programs are looked at individually, the community-oriented programs (furlough and work release) relate positively to a lower recidivism rate as opposed to the institutionally-oriented program (the DLM counseling). The analysis of differential program effects resulted in a wide variety of additional correlations between the types of inmates who seemed to benefit from a particular program (and, conversely, those inmates who were negatively affected by participation in a particular program). The interview responses provided data on inmate and staff perceptions (subjective impressions) of the quality, purpose, and success of the individual treatment programs.

The discussion section of this thesis will present significant results of this research, attempt to draw together some of those findings into a broader set of conclusions, and suggest possible explanations for some

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

of those conclusions. Recommendations for alternative treatment methods which might help improve some of the areas where negative results occurred will also be given. The discussion section outline will follow the three basic research sections of this thesis: (1) overall recidivism rates of Framingham inmates and programs; (2) differential effects of programs on different types of inmates; and, (3) perceptions of the four treatment programs, obtained by interviewing present inmates and staff.

#### Overall Recidivism Rates

This section summarizes the recidivism rates of inmates incarcerated at MCI-F, regardless of any particular program participation. Three categories of characteristics were explored: present offense, demographic background characteristics, and criminal history.

Present Offense. In relation to present offense there were only two areas that either approached significance or were significant. Those individuals that were twenty-one or younger at incarceration (28% of the sample) had a lower recidivism rate than their counterparts in the comparison study. This held true for both men and women.

Commitment to Framingham on a drug offense was the

other significant area. The women in our study with a drug offense (27% of the pop.) had a lower recidivism rate than those in the comparison group. Although not significant, men committed for a drug offense (16%) also had a lower recidivism rate than their counterparts in the comparison study.

The Framingham program seems to be successful with young men and women and drug offenders. These findings are in accord with Benedict et al.

Background Characteristics. This category gives a picture of those individuals who benefited most from their incarceration at Framingham.

The successful male was a non-veteran, whose last address was Boston and who reported using drugs, particularly heroin.

The successful female was the single woman whose last grade completed was between seventh and eleventh. She too reported Boston as her last address and reported some drug use.

One of the trends that emerged in Benedict et al., and which was confirmed by our own findings was that the successful male was a non-veteran involved with drugs, especially heroin. In both studies the successful female was single and previously resided in Boston.

Criminal History. In the category of criminal history, there were a number of significant findings for both men and women, some of which are in accord with the findings of Benedict et al.

Significant findings for men which agreed with the findings of Benedict et al., included those who had one or more arrests for narcotics, one or more juvenile incarcerations and no arrests for drunkenness. In addition to these findings our study showed that the successful male was twenty-one or younger at first arrest, had six or more court appearances, and had no House of Correction incarcerations.

For the women there were also several findings consistent with those of Benedict et al. These findings included those women who had one or more arrests for narcotics, one or more House of Correction incarcerations, zero or one prior arrests for person offenses, and no juvenile incarcerations. In addition, the successful women in our sample were between sixteen and twenty-one at first arrest, had six or more court appearances, zero to two arrests for property offenses, and no state incarcerations.

Consistently, the successful individuals were those who were young, as indicated by age at incarceration; had

more extensive criminal histories, as indicated by number of court appearances, age at first arrest, and prior juvenile incarcerations; and a history of drug involvement, as indicated by prior and present drug offenses and self-reported drug use. These findings were in agreement with the Benedict study.

The most important trend to note in this section is that, traditionally, in corrections literature and research, these individuals are considered to be among the highest recidivism risks. However, these were the individuals in our study who benefited most from the Framingham experience, at least in terms of recidivism reduction. We shall try to keep in mind special, "nontraditional" aspects of the MCI-F incarceration experience which may help account for this unusual recidivism rate finding.

#### Framingham Programs and Recidivism

In this section the recidivism rates of inmates who participated in the various treatment programs offered at MCI-F were examined and compared to the rates of their non-participant counterparts. The four programs studied were the furlough program, work-release program, education-release program, and the DLM counseling program.

Furlough. In reviewing the furlough data, we found that a significant relationship existed between furloughs and recidivism reduction. In the furlough categories of number of furloughs, number of furloughs from Framingham, and number of successful furloughs, the greater the participation in the furlough program, the lower the recidivism rate. These three findings were statistically significant and held true for men, women, and the total sample population. It should be noted that 88.2% of the sample population had at least one furlough so our results reflect a large number of inmates. These results indicate that the furlough program, a program which permits inmates to keep in touch with the community, is effective in reducing recidivism. Not only is the furlough program successful in lowering recidivism rates, but the small percentage of escapes on furlough (1.7%) suggests that the program itself is efficiently and successfully administered.

Work-Release. The statistics for the work-release program, which also provides inmates with community contact, reflect findings similar to those of the furlough data. Although it was not a statistically significant finding, the results indicated that men and women who had participated in work-release longer (12 weeks or more) were less likely

to recidivate than those inmates with shorter work-release records. Those inmates who had participated 12 weeks or more represented 41.3% of the total sample population. Again, seemingly the greater the inmates' contact with the community outside Framingham, the less likely he/she is to recidivate.

Education-Release. Statistics from the education-release program were also analyzed. However, due to the small sample size (N=18: 7% of total sample population), no conclusions and/or trends could be determined. The recidivism rate for program participants was 17%, and for the nonparticipants (N=237), the recidivism rate was 16%.

DLM Counseling. The analysis results of the DLM counseling program are not similar to the furlough or work-release findings. However, it should be noted that the percentage of men and women who participated in the DLM counseling program (only 19% of the total sample population had one or more interviews) was considerably lower than the participation in either furlough or work-release. The findings from the DLM counseling program do indicate that those inmates who had the greatest contact with DLM counseling (20 or more interviews) were more likely to recidivate than inmates with less DLM contact or with no contact at all.

Although it was not a statistically significant finding, it was noted that those inmates perceived by their DLM counselors to be improved after treatment (N=23: 49% of sample population) had a higher recidivism rate (35%) than those inmates who were perceived by their DLM counselors to be unchanged after treatment (N=24: 51%, recidivism rate = 13%).

A special note should be made in regards to the male inmates at MCI-F. They were all originally incarcerated at another MCI facility, and most were transferred to Framingham in order to participate in the pre-release programs there, such as furlough, work-release, and education-release. Our statistics indicate that in work-release (93% of Framingham men and 47% of Framingham women participated), education-release (15% of Framingham men and 4% of Framingham women participated) and furlough program (96% of Framingham men and 85% of Framingham women participated), there is a consistently greater participation of men than women in these pre-release programs. We could speculate that the pre-release programs are geared more towards men than women. The DLM counseling program statistics are reversed, however. Twenty-three percent of the sample women participated in DLM counseling as compared with only

11% of the males in the sample.

In general, the results from this section indicate that, for both men and women, participation in the community-based programs (furlough and work-release) was more effective in lowering recidivism rates than participation in the institutionally-based program (the DLM counseling program). The next section's results enable speculation as to why such success or nonsuccess rates may occur, as we analyze the types of inmates who seem to benefit from participation in particular programs (the differential effects of treatment programs).

#### Differential Program Effects on Recidivism

This section discusses the differential effects of three treatment programs on the different types of inmates who participated. As indicated in the literature review section, this type of analysis has not been pursued much in corrections research. This lack of differentiation has resulted in two basic, opposing viewpoints--either "all treatment works for everyone" or "treatment doesn't work for anyone." We are investigating a middle ground of differential application of treatment programs. Also important to remember is the fact that community-oriented, pre-release programs are relatively recent in corrections

history. These programs, differing from the more traditional parole programs which do not fully bridge the gap between incarceration and release, offer various types of transitional experience between these two extremes. So, not as much evaluative research has been done on these community-oriented programs as on the more traditional treatment programs, which are institutionally oriented.

This section is organized around three of the four Framingham treatment programs analyzed above (the education-release program conclusions were hindered by the small sample size).

Furlough. As stated previously, the overall results of the furlough program data indicated that participation in the furlough program was related to a significantly lower recidivism rate. Some inmates, however, benefited to a greater degree than other inmates.

Those inmates who benefited most significantly from the furlough program were older, white, from non urban areas, with a higher level of education, and with extensive criminal histories, as reflected by the number of court appearances and state and federal incarcerations. It is interesting to note that these inmates appear to have characteristics associated with a higher socio-economic

background. In looking at the influence of previous environment on participation in prison treatment programs, one might speculate that inmates who return on their furloughs to their homes in non-urban areas may return to a more stable, "less tempting" community structure than those who return to urban areas. An urban environment may present greater opportunities and, perhaps, more intense peer pressure to commit crimes and to return to a pre-incarceration life style. The significance of intensive criminal histories for these people remains unclear.

Work-Release. As in the furlough program, participation in the work-release program has been shown to relate positively to a lower recidivism rate. Again, some inmates benefited more than others.

The type of offender who seemed to benefit most significantly from work-release was one who was older, less educated, from an urban area, with a less stable work history, and who had previous adult incarcerations.

We can observe that the person who benefited most from work-release appeared to be from a lower socioeconomic background. This directly contrasted with those who benefited most from the furlough program, whose background characteristics suggested a higher socioeconomic status.

Two tentative suggestions will be offered to explain these results, which indicated that different types of inmates benefited most from each community-oriented program. First of all, the work release program can be viewed as an attempt to affect the environment by providing a full-time job and job skills, which in turn can create a new lifestyle and structure. The higher socioeconomic characteristics that seemed to be reflected in the backgrounds of the inmates who benefited most from the furlough program may offer better education and more opportunities for jobs and careers that are more fulfilling and skilled than those typical of the lower socioeconomic environment. The inmate from the urban environment, who may not have had much successful previous work or education history, may benefit more from a basic job experience and the steadier lifestyle that can result. In effect, the work-release program can manipulate an environment which has been detrimental to job success; the non-urban environments, in already providing more educational and career opportunities, do not create a similar need. And, as stated above, the non-urban environment is "less tempting" to inmates returning home for short periods of time on a furlough, while those from the poorer, urban environment who go back only briefly to their old neighborhood face stronger peer pressure and

conditions with fewer resources which could counterbalance the pull to commit more crimes.

A second explanation results more simply from the observation that the inmates who benefit most from the work-release program are those with less stable job histories and a lower level of education. For those inmates with a stable work history and a higher level of education, the work-release experience does not have as significant an impact. It seems that the work-release program does benefit those inmates who, given their pre-incarceration histories, characteristically have high recidivism rates. The experience of working at a stable job, perhaps for the first time, makes a significant difference for that type of inmate in terms of reducing recidivism. Those inmates who have already demonstrated some success in the job market are not as affected by the work-release experience as a deterrent to committing more crimes after release from prison.

DLM Counseling. A review of the differential effects of the DLM counseling program on recidivism revealed several distinct trends.

There were no identifiable characteristics associated with a significant reduction in recidivism. That is, no one type of offender was found to have

benefited significantly from participation in the counseling program. Further, two background characteristics--age and level of education--reflected a significant increase in recidivism when related to participation in the counseling program.

For the first characteristic, age, the results showed that inmates 21 years of age or younger at incarceration were more likely to recidivate with some counseling than with none.

The orientation of the counseling program at Framingham is based on the psychoanalytic model of psychiatry, according to the responses by inmates and DLM counselors. This approach tends to emphasize client introspection, insight, and understanding. Clients are urged to remember their childhood and relive the feelings associated with early experiences. The understanding thus gained of the past enables clients then to understand present attitudes, which in turn prompts change in present behavior. The therapist tries to remain as objective and non-critical as possible when relating to the client.

A great deal has been written about the type of therapy appropriate to younger people, who exhibit acting out, nonintrospective, exploitative type of behavior.

The young inmates at Framingham who seem to be adversely effected by counseling tend to be typical of this client group. Their age and criminal records reflect this type of impulsive acting out behavior, which can be exacerbated by the adolescent and late adolescent struggle between independence and dependence, separation and individuation. Rebellion against authority is dramatically acted out as a part of this struggle. Also, a certain level of maturity generally not achieved by adolescents is important in the psychotherapeutic process. These considerations may help to explain why the psychotherapeutic counseling process at Framingham did not benefit the young inmates.

Perhaps a more appropriate mode of therapy for younger, acting out inmates, might be "reality therapy" as described by William Glasser. In this type of therapy, present behavior is the prime focus--past history-taking only leads to excuses for behavior or, even more detrimental, to an opening up of painful anxieties which are usually handled by more acting out behavior (the accustomed defense mechanism) rather than less. The relationship between therapist and client is more open and personal--the therapist must invest more energy in motivating, guiding, advising,

praising, encouraging, reaching out, and sharing of self than in conventional psychotherapy. A sense of personal investment and caring on the part of the therapist is important for the client to be able to respond to the ultimate goal of self-responsibility. It is possible that a reality oriented counseling approach, with its emphasis on the "here and now," might be more effective in reducing recidivism for the young inmates.

These results and explanations can also be supported by studies discussed in the literature review section. Adams' study in 1960 differentiated between amenable and nonamenable offenders, with amenability to treatment (conventional psychotherapy) being a significant factor in the success rate. Amenable, described again as being "bright, verbal, anxious, showing an awareness of problems, insight, desire to change and acceptance of treatment," are significantly different from the type of inmate described above, and are more appropriate for conventional types of psychotherapy. The psychotherapy program evaluation done at Walpole State Prison also reveals similar findings--the "no impact" group of inmates (younger, with longer records) experienced an increase in the recidivism rate as the length of time in therapy increased.

The second characteristic related to a significant increase in recidivism, when coupled with participation in the counseling program, was a low level of education. Two possible explanations will be offered here. First, a low level of education may be associated with a lack of skill and ease in verbalizing thoughts and feelings. Since the ability to articulate objective and subjective material is very important in most forms of psychotherapy, those with inadequate verbal skills may experience a sense of frustration and defeat. This may result in even more overt behavior problems, as well as a failure to receive much benefit from the verbal psychotherapy process. Second, a lower level of educational experience may suggest less exposure and receptivity to new ideas and thoughts. A lack of awareness in thinking about behavior psychologically, for example, may inhibit a person's thinking in terms of his/her own psychological processes, causes and effects.

#### Interviews with Inmates and Staff

This section deals with the subjective responses of present inmates and staff at Framingham to questions about each of the four treatment programs. Some of the responses suggest possible explanations or guidelines for future exploration with regard to the data presented in the previous

two sections. The interview material follows the same order of programs as presented in the above sections (with the section on the DLM counseling program receiving the most attention).

Furlough Program. In summary, many inmates and a large majority of the staff members interviewed expressed positive feelings about the furlough program. This subjective response coincides with the objective data of previous sections in its overall praise of the program. Both groups cited as a main benefit the opportunity furloughs provide for family and community contact. As an additional benefit, inmates included the chance to get out of the institution, while staff members mentioned the program's usefulness as a management tool for controlling inmates (by motivating positive behavior with a reward).

On the negative side, both inmates and staff members felt that various administrative practices and unfair rules and regulations were the main problems with the furlough program. Specifically mentioned by both inmates and staff was the perceived lack of uniform eligibility criteria and therefore arbitrary selection of inmates for furlough approval.

Of the three community based programs, inmates seemed

to feel strongest about the problems with the furlough program. One could speculate that inmates might be more invested in this program because more of them had participated or were likely to participate in the furlough program than in either the education-release or work-release programs.

Work-Release Program. In general, most of the inmates and staff members interviewed expressed positive opinions of the work-release program, again reflecting the positive data presented in earlier sections. Major benefits cited by both inmates and staff included the chance for gradual reintegration into the community, the opportunity to earn and save money, and the chance to obtain job training and to develop good work habits for future employment.

Main problems with the work-release program, cited by both inmates and staff, centered around administrative issues. Specifically, inmates mentioned arbitrary selection of participants, while staff members mentioned poor screening procedures.

Of the inmates interviewed, there was a striking difference between participants and non-participants in work-release with regard to their perceptions of the program. Whereas the non-participants tended to view the work-release program as a means of obtaining job skills and saving money, four of the five participants interviewed saw the work-release program as a chance to

get away from the prison grounds and to improve their status with the parole board.

There are several possible explanations that could account for these differences. First, the small number of work-release participants interviewed may be a result of the fact that no interviews were conducted at the work-release cottages outside the prison walls, and that all interviews were conducted during the day when work-release participants were likely to be at their jobs. Those participants who were interviewed may have been available because they had terminated from the work-release program and therefore had negative perceptions of it. Hence, these five participants may have been a biased sample.

Other possible explanations might be that perhaps the program does not meet inmates' expectations of work-release, such as good jobs, good pay, and good training. Or, since they must be within 18 months of their release dates in order to qualify for the program, inmates may simply be looking forward to their release to the exclusion of other considerations.

Education Release Program. The most notable finding concerning the education release program was that a large percentage of both inmates (50%) and staff members (25%) expressed a lack of knowledge about the program. The low

number of participants in the objective data samples may suggest one reason for this ignorance about the program. Those who did respond to questions about the program generally felt that the program was helpful to inmates. Benefits mentioned included the opportunity for some inmates to get an education they might not have otherwise had the chance to obtain, the chance to develop non-criminal patterns, and the opportunity to readjust to the outside community.

Several suggestions for changes in the education release program were proposed by both inmates and staff members. Inmates felt that there should be more flexibility with respect to the time allowed for return to the institution from class, since occasionally it may be necessary for a student to stay late at school and program rules were not viewed as permitting this. In addition, both inmates and staff members interviewed expressed the need for better screening procedures of candidates for education release, and better preparation of those inmates who are chosen. Specifically, respondents felt that some participants were either not sufficiently motivated to adequately make use of an educational opportunity, or were not academically prepared for such an experience.

DLM Counseling Program. The discussion of the DLM counseling program is divided into three sections--the results of those questions that were asked of all interviewees (staff members, inmate counseling participants and non-participants), those questions asked specifically of each of the above three subgroups, and the Likert-style questions asked of all interview participants.

(a) Results of questions asked of all respondents.

In general, inmates expressed mixed feelings about the DLM counseling program, while a majority of the staff members interviewed thought it was a good program. Both inmates and staff members felt that the opportunity it offered for help with problems and for self-understanding were main benefits.

Program participants tended to express concerns about the counseling method used by DLM counselors and the implication associated with staff pressure to participate that parole status was dependent on participation in counseling. Non-participants tended to be concerned about such issues as confidentiality, fears of dealing with heavy problems, and the time factors involved in being counseled while incarcerated.

Main problems with the DLM counseling program cited by staff members were the lack of communication between DLM and other staff members, the adverse effects on the

counseling relationship when inmates are pressured to participate, and, paradoxically, the difficulty of motivating inmates to participate in counseling. The biggest problem cited by the DLM staff members was their lack of control over the time of termination of counseling.

Overwhelmingly positive feelings were expressed by staff members about the DLM counselors. Such descriptions as "honest", "professional", and "dedicated" were common. Inmate counseling participants, on the other hand, were divided in their opinions of the counselors. Some participants felt that the DLM counselors were "very helpful", while others seemed to feel that the experience depended on "who you get", since some counselors were perceived as "out of touch" or persons who "don't care".

Both inmates and staff members felt that inmates entered the counseling program either to get help with their problems and have someone to talk to, or because they were pressured to participate by parole or furlough boards or by staff members.

With the exception of several of the custodial officers, both staff members and inmates viewed the DLM counseling program favorably. The negative reactions of some custodial officers may have been the result of a general lack of understanding about counseling, a feeling

that counseling doesn't work, or the lack of information exchange between them and the DLM staff members. Also, officers reported that they often saw inmates come out of a counseling session appearing more upset than when they entered.

Most of the inmates who were participants in the counseling program and two-thirds of the staff members interviewed, differentiated between the correctional social workers and the DLM counselors by saying that the social workers provided concrete, practical services while the DLM counselors provided services of a more psychological nature. Non-counseling participants, however, were less able to perceive such differences in the functions of the two departments. Among the counseling participants who had been in counseling for more than 20 sessions, there was a slightly more positive feeling about the helpfulness of the DLM counselors in comparison to the correctional social workers.

(b) Results of specific questions asked of each subgroup. In the analysis of the responses to specific questions asked of staff, inmate counseling participants and inmate non-participants, respondents were further divided into categories of staff, female participants, female non-participants, male participants, male non-

participants, participants who had more than 20 counseling sessions, and participants who had less than 20 counseling sessions.

Both staff and inmates were generally in agreement that inmates learned about the DLM counseling program mainly from their social workers, the classification board, or from other staff members. However, since male inmates do not go through the classification process, a lack of formal verbal introduction to the counseling program may be a contributing factor to the seemingly small number of male counseling participants.

Those inmates interviewed who chose to engage in counseling did so for a variety of reasons. About half of the inmates interviewed said they had been motivated to enter counseling by staff pressure and hopes for an earlier parole. Only one-third said they were motivated by personal problems. As with the inmates, the staff recognized that various levels of staff pressure do exist. They felt that both the parole and furlough boards use counseling as a precondition for release, and that staff pressure to participate is focused mainly on those inmates who exhibit disruptive behavior. The large number of inmates motivated by external factors may contribute to the lack of success of the DLM counseling program, at least as indicated by the high recidivism rate results

presented earlier. Although the counseling non-participants interviewed differed with the staff and counseling participants in that they felt there was no staff pressure to participate or not to participate in counseling, almost all staff and inmate interviewed were in agreement that there was no inmate pressure either way. Some staff members felt that inmate pressure to participate or not to participate in counseling goes in cycles--sometimes for and sometimes against.

Another factor that may have an impact on an inmate's attitude toward counseling was his or her prior experience with counseling. Although most of the counseling participants had had no previous experience with counseling, those who had previously been in counseling generally felt that it had been a positive experience. Among the non-counseling inmates interviewed, a slight majority of the women had never participated in any other counseling program, whereas most of the men had participated in some other counseling program. The men felt more positively towards these counseling experiences than the women, who largely felt that they had not been helped. Interestingly, most of the men generally thought participation in the DLM counseling program might be helpful for them, while the women generally thought that the program could never be of any

assistance. From this data, one could assume that the inmates' present attitudes towards the DLM counseling program are influenced by their past experience with counseling.

Of those inmates interviewed who did participate in the DLM counseling program, more than half felt that counseling had not made a difference in their lives at Framingham. However, there seemed to be a slight positive correlation between time spent in counseling and the amount of impact that counseling had on life in prison. Most of the staff felt that counseling did make a difference in inmates' lives in prison. Counseling non-participants felt either that counseling did not make a difference in their friends' lives at Framingham or that they did not know if it had made a difference.

Many of the counseling participants felt that counseling would make no difference in their lives back on the street. Again, there was a slightly more positive feeling among those who had been in counseling for a longer period of time that counseling would make a difference in their lives after release. Inmates interviewed who had not participated in the counseling program generally felt that counseling would not make a difference in the lives of their counseling participant friends

after release. Staff members interviewed tended to feel that the impact of counseling on an inmate's life after release depended upon the individual. Inmates generally felt that counseling would make more of a difference in their lives at Framingham than their lives back on the street. This seems to indicate that inmates tended to perceive DLM counseling as an institutionally-oriented program rather than a community-oriented program.

While staff members and non-counseling inmates tended to doubt that DLM counseling participants would continue with counseling when back on the street, half of the counseling participants said they intended to continue. Three of the nine participants who felt they would continue with counseling, stated that they would be seen in private agencies other than DLM.

One of the issues we were trying to assess in our interviews was the existence of factors that might deter inmates from entering the counseling program. A negative prior experience with counseling by non-participants seemed to have an effect on their present attitudes regarding whether or not they thought counseling might be helpful to them. Those who had negative counseling experiences tended to feel that counseling could not be helpful, whereas those who had positive prior counseling experiences tended to feel that counseling might be helpful to them.

Peer reaction to an inmate's involvement in counseling did not appear to play a major role in the decision to participate. Half of the inmates who participated in the DLM program felt there was no reaction to their participation by other inmates, and the negative reactions among the other half were negligible.

Other questions included when and with whom counseling could be most effective. The staff in general felt that most inmates could make use of a counseling experience. However, various individual staff members mentioned repeat offenders, "gangsters", professional criminals and unmotivated inmates (those who were pressured into counseling) as inappropriate candidates for counseling. Generally, staff members felt that the two most critical times for inmates to enter counseling were upon entering prison and just prior to release. This was supported by the fact that all female inmates interviewed who had participated in the DLM counseling program said they had entered therapy within six months of their incarceration, with the majority entering counseling within three months of their arrival at Framingham. Responses of male participants interviewed indicated that they tended to wait a longer period of time before seeking counseling. It is possible, however, that their responses included their total time in prison rather than their time spent at

Framingham before entering counseling.

Staff members generally saw the DLM program as beneficial to inmates, to the institution, and to society. They saw it as an opportunity for inmates to participate in a personal growth experience which would help them learn to deal with their problems, adjust to prison and readjust to society. Among inmates, however, there was greater ambivalence about the helpfulness and effectiveness of the DLM counseling program, although certainly some individuals found counseling helpful.

Both staff and inmates offered several suggestions as to how the DLM counseling program could be improved. Several staff members and inmates expressed the need for more minority counselors, male counselors, and group experiences. Some inmates suggested that use of the self-help model of treatment would be more effective. Some staff members mentioned feeling cut off from the DLM program and suggested that the DLM staff should have more day-to-day involvement with the rest of the staff. However, the separation of the DLM program from the Department of Correction was mentioned as an advantage by some staff members, who felt that this separateness allowed inmates to talk freely without the fear of punitive consequences.

Most of the counseling participants' suggestions for improving the DLM program related specifically to the counselors. They suggested that the therapists should be more "real", more "down to earth", and more caring; they wanted the therapists to demonstrate more personal interest, and to be more active and self-revealing.

Such suggestions may reflect a general lack of trust felt by inmates rather than a lack of caring on the part of the counselors. However, these suggestions may also indicate a real need for a treatment approach that would include more therapist activity and involvement. The differential treatment section discusses the use of "reality therapy" in connection with the young age of the inmates who didn't benefit from the DLM counseling process. The interview results suggest that most of the inmates, not just the younger ones, felt the need for a more personal, involved, present-oriented type of counseling. This is supported by the literature which discusses the appropriate type of therapy for those individuals in general who exhibit impulsive acting out behavior (clinically described as "character disorders" and usually identified as being predominant in prison populations). Otto Pollak is one author who has written on this subject.

In summary, this thesis makes a major recommendation

regarding the type of counseling that might be more effective with the prison population at Framingham. Our results indicate that present-oriented therapy which emphasizes an active relationship between the therapist and client would be a beneficial addition to the DLM counseling program as practiced at MCI-Framingham.

Responses to Likert-Type Items. The overall trend elicited by the 15 Likert-type questions indicated substantial differences of opinion between staff and inmates. The staff generally felt positively towards the DLM program and counselors, while the inmates expressed a much higher degree of skepticism and cynicism.

For example, the statement "Inmates can trust the counselors" elicited the strongest opinions and widest difference between staff and inmates. Ninety percent of the staff agreed that inmates can trust the counselors, while only 30% of the inmates agreed (with 0% of the inmates indicating strong agreement, as opposed to 56% of the staff). A significant difference was also seen with respect to inmates vs. staff perceptions of confidentiality in counseling. Seventy-three percent of the staff agreed that everything in counseling is kept confidential, as opposed to only 42% of the inmates. The staff also responded quite positively (90% in agreement, with 43% of those strongly agreeing) to the statement that "counseling

will help an inmate to make the adjustment when he/she is back on the street," while only 59% of the inmates (with only one inmate feeling strongly) agreed with this.

Another significant difference emerged in answer to the statement, "The main reason for going to counseling is that it looks good for the parole board." Seventy-two percent of the inmates agreed with this statement, while only 33% of the staff agreed. The interview responses revealed the same attitudes. Finally, a perceived ineffectiveness in regards to recidivism rate reduction emerged in response to the statement, "Counseling helps keep an inmate from coming back to prison." While 70% of the staff agreed with the statement (in accordance with the manifest goals of the counseling program, perhaps), only 22% of the inmates felt that counseling helped reduce recidivism.

Some agreement between staff and inmates did occur around statements concerning counseling's benefits inside of prison. About two-thirds of both staff and inmates agreed that counseling helped reduce tensions in prison, and both groups saw counseling as a means by which an inmate could gain a better understanding of him/her self. Thus, while counseling did not ultimately reduce recidivism, it was perceived as being some help to an inmate's

adjustment to the prison experience and as providing some self-awareness.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was divided into four general areas for investigation. The first area was a recidivism follow-up including a comparison of expected vs. actual recidivism rates and an analysis of the relationship between inmate background characteristics and recidivism. The second area was an analysis of the effect of selected programs on recidivism. The third section was an analysis of the results of interviews about the Framingham experience which were conducted with inmates and staff. The fourth area was an analysis of the differential effects of treatment programs on recidivism. Our study began with a review of the literature.

Review of the Literature

The literature review section of this thesis presented the historical and conceptual framework for our research. Differential treatment, which implies the use of particular kinds of treatment for appropriate kinds of inmates was presented as a modification of the treatment philosophies which have been uppermost for the last 100 years. Correctional use of treatment began in the 1880's under the assumption that all treatment offered was helpful and appropriate for all inmates. The type of treatment

has changed over the years, from the simple provision of jobs to the use of individual and group therapy, but the "panacea" frame of reference has tended to persist.

An opposing viewpoint has arisen in the past twenty years. The panacea treatment approach has not "worked". Recidivism rates and crime rates have generally been increasing instead of decreasing. So, in reaction to this failure, treatment is now seen by some critics as a waste of time, energy, and money. In essence, "No treatment works."

Differential treatment bridges the gap between these two extremes and offers a more realistic, limited approach. Along with examples of the more usual type of research, the few studies which have indicated differential results were presented. Some of those results were used in the interpretation of this research data.

Recidivism Follow-up

The sample population for this part of the study consisted of 255 inmates, 181 women and 74 men, who were released from MCI-Framingham between May 1, 1973 and November 1, 1975.

Overall, the Framingham experience had a significant impact in reducing recidivism for the 255 men and women

who were followed up for one year subsequent to their release to the community. The actual recidivism rate for these individuals (16.5%) was significantly lower than their expected recidivism rate (28.2%), which was derived from base expectancy categories. The impact on recidivism tended to be greater for women, who had an expected recidivism rate of 32.0% and an actual recidivism rate of 17.1%, than it was for men, who had an expected rate of 19.7% and an actual rate of 14.9%.

One of the major findings of this section was that men and women with a history of some drug involvement seemed to benefit more from the Framingham experience than their counterparts in the comparison group. Men and women with the following three background characteristics had lower recidivism rates than their counterparts in the comparison group: present commitment for drug offense; self-reported drug use; and one or more prior arrests for narcotics offenses.

Another major finding in this area was that both men and women who were 21 or younger at first arrest had a lower recidivism rate than their counterparts in the comparison group.

The final major finding was that men and women in our sample who had a more extensive history of court

involvement had a lower recidivism rate than their counterparts in the comparison group.

In conclusion, the Framingham experience seemed to have the greatest impact, in terms of recidivism reduction, on the individuals who were traditionally considered to be the greatest recidivism risks--i.e., men and women who were young and who had a history of drug involvement and more frequent court appearances.

#### Program Analysis

Another aspect of this study was an analysis of the effects of treatment programs on recidivism. The following programs were examined:

- (1) the furlough program
- (2) the work release program
- (3) the education release program
- (4) and the DLM counseling program.

The approach used in evaluating the impact of these programs was to examine the relationship between participation (and degree of participation) in each program and recidivism.

Furlough Program. Eighty-eight percent of the inmates in our sample had at least one furlough. In the furlough categories of number of furloughs, number of furloughs from Framingham and number of successful

furloughs, the findings indicate that the greater the participation in the furlough program, the lower the recidivism rate. These findings were statistically significant for the entire sample population. It was also noted that the escape rate on furloughs was very low, only 1.7%. The furlough program appeared to have a very positive impact on reducing recidivism.

Work Release Program. The findings from the analysis of this program indicated that men and women who had participated in work release longer were less likely to recidivate. This finding approached statistical significance, and it was concluded that work release seemed to have a positive impact on reducing recidivism.

Education Release Program. Statistics from the education release program were analyzed. However, due to the small sample size (N= 18: 7% of sample population), no trends and/or conclusions could be determined. The recidivism rate for participants was 17%, and for non-participants, the recidivism rate was 16%.

DLM Counseling Program. In our analysis of DLM counseling program statistics it was noted that only 19% of the sample population had participated in counseling. The findings indicated that those inmates

who had the greatest contact with DLM counseling (20 or more interviews) were more likely to recidivate than inmates with less DLM contact. Although not statistically significant, it was noted that those inmates perceived by their counselors to be improved after treatment had a higher recidivism rate than those inmates who were perceived by their counselors to be unchanged after treatment.

One pattern which emerged from this data was that community oriented programs (e.g., furloughs and work release) were much more effective in reducing recidivism than the institutionally oriented program (DLM counseling).

#### Differential Effects of Treatment Programs

In this section we analyzed the different effects of three treatment programs--furlough, work release and counseling--on recidivism.

Furlough Program. The overall results of the furlough program analysis indicated that participation in the furlough program was related to a significantly lower recidivism rate. The differential analysis revealed that some inmates benefited to an even greater degree than others. The inmates who benefited most significantly from the furlough program were older, white, from non-urban areas, with a higher level of education and

with extensive criminal histories, as reflected by the number of court appearances and state and federal incarcerations. Most of these characteristics are usually associated with a higher socio-economic background.

This pattern seems to suggest that there may be a relationship between the type of environment to which a person returns on furlough and especially low recidivism rates.

Work Release Program. As in the furlough program, participation in the work release program has also been shown to relate positively to a lower recidivism rate. Again, the differential study revealed that some inmates benefited even more than others.

The type of offender who seemed to benefit most significantly from work release was one who was older, less educated, from an urban area, with a less stable work history and who had previous adult incarcerations. Most of these characteristics are usually associated with a lower socio-economic background. This directly contrasts with the inmates who benefited most from furloughs whose characteristics were associated with a higher socio-economic level.

We also observed that the work release program does benefit those inmates who, given their less stable job

histories and lower level of education, traditionally have had high recidivism rates. Some possible explanations for these results were given.

DLM Counseling Program. Overall participation in the counseling program was found to have an inverse effect on recidivism. Further, in the differential study several distinct trends became apparent. There were no identifiable characteristics associated with a significant reduction in recidivism. That is, no one type of offender was found to have benefited significantly from participation in the counseling program. Further, two characteristics, age and level of education, reflected a significant increase in recidivism when related to participation in the counseling program.

From this last trend are presented particular theories and problems to be considered for those inmates in the DLM counseling program who were younger and had lower level of education.

#### Inmate and Staff Interviews

An interview schedule was drawn up by the research group to solicit opinions concerning the furlough, work release, education release and DLM counseling programs.

Interviews were conducted with inmate counseling participants and non-participants, and representatives of all areas of the staff. Additionally, Likert-type items, measuring attitudes toward the DLM program were administered to all interviewees. The main focus of these interviews was on the DLM counseling program.

Most staff and inmates interviewed expressed positive feelings about the furlough program. However, they felt that the perceived arbitrary selection of inmates for furlough approval was unfair. The work release program was also viewed favorably by most staff members and inmates. The main problem with this program, cited by both inmates and staff centered around screening procedures.

A notable finding concerning the education release program was the large number of both inmates and staff members who expressed a lack of knowledge about the program.

Staff members interviewed tended to have positive opinions about the DLM counseling program, whereas inmates expressed a much higher degree of skepticism and cynicism. These findings were also confirmed by the Likert results. While staff members overwhelmingly described the DLM counselors as "honest", "professional",

and "dedicated," inmates were divided in their opinions. The Likert results suggested that the lack of trust and confidentiality in relation to DLM counselors was a major issue for inmates.

Those inmates interviewed who chose to engage in counseling did so for a variety of reasons. About half of the inmates interviewed said they had been motivated to enter counseling by both staff pressure and hopes for an earlier parole. The Likert results confirmed this finding. Only one-third said they were motivated by personal problems. As with the inmates, the staff recognized that various levels of staff pressure do exist. They felt that both the parole and furlough boards used counseling as a pre-condition for release, and that staff pressure to participate was focused mainly on those inmates who exhibited disruptive behavior.

Inmates' reaction to their fellow inmates' participation in counseling did not appear to play a major role in one's decision to participate in the DLM counseling program. However, a negative prior experience with counseling might be one factor that would inhibit inmates from entering the DLM program.

Inmates felt that counseling would make more of a difference in their lives at MCI-Framingham than their lives back on the street. This seemed to indicate that

inmates tended to perceive DLM counseling as an institutionally oriented program rather than a community oriented program.

With a few exceptions, the staff felt that most inmates could make use of the counseling experience, especially when entering prison and just prior to release. These opinions were consistent with the Likert results which indicated that significantly more staff members than inmates felt that the DLM counseling program reduced recidivism rates.

According to the DLM counselors, their counseling tended to be based on the traditional psychotherapeutic approach. Results of inmate responses indicated that other therapeutic models might be more helpful.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND RECIDIVISM RATES  
OF FRAMINGHAM RELEASEES AND COMPARISON GROUP RELEASEES

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND RECIDIVISM RATES OF FRAMINGHAM  
MEN AND COMPARISON GROUP MEN

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Framingham Men</u>			<u>Comparison Group</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Recid. Rate</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Recid. Rate</u>
Total	74	(100)	15%	1015	(100)	24%
<u>A. Present Offense</u>						
<u>1. Institution Committed to</u>						
Walpole	45	(61)	11%	484	(48)	19%
Concord	29	(39)	21%	531	(52)	29%
<u>2. Offense</u>						
Person	48	(65)	17%	501	(49)	21%
Sex	7	(9)	14%	61	(6)	8%
Property	7	(9)	29%	347	(34)	29%
Drug	12	(16)	0%	77	(8)	29%
Other				29	(3)	34%
<u>3. Minimum Sentence</u>						
Indefinite	29	(39)	21%	489	(48)	30%
5 years or less	23	(31)	17%	367	(36)	19%
More than 5 years	22	(30)	5%	159	(16)	19%
<u>4. Age at Incarceration</u>						
21 or younger	16	(22)	0%*	410	(40)	27%*
22-30	31	(42)	23%	414	(41)	25%
31 or older	26	(36)	12%	191	(19)	17%

\* = Statistically significant difference in recidivism rates.

Variable	Framingham Men			Comparison Group		
	N	%	Recid. Rate	N	%	Recid. Rate
<b>5. Length of Incarceration</b>						
2 years or less	34	(47)	18%	-	-	-
More than 2 years	39	(53)	10%	-	-	-
<b>6. Type of Release</b>						
Parole	72	(97)	15%	-	-	-
Discharge	2	(3)	0%	-	-	-
<b>7. Age at Release</b>						
24 or younger	20	(27)	5%	-	-	-
25-30	19	(26)	32%	-	-	-
31 or older	35	(47)	11%	-	-	-
<b>B. Background Characteristics</b>						
<b>1. Race</b>						
White	48	(67)	17%	710	(69)	25%
Black	24	(33)	13%	302	(31)	24%
Other	-	-	-	3	(0)	33%
<b>2. Marital Status</b>						
Single	35	(47)	17%	614	(60)	27%
Married	24	(32)	8%	215	(21)	20%
Div., Wid., Sep.	15	(21)	20%	186	(18)	22%

Variable	Framingham Men			Comparison Group		
	N	%	Recid. Rate	N	%	Recid. Rate
<b>3. <u>Military Service</u></b>						
Non-Veteran	45	(61)	13%*	741	(73)	27%*
Veteran	29	(39)	17%	274	(27)	18%
<b>4. <u>Last Address</u></b>						
Boston	34	(46)	6%*	373	(37)	20%*
Other	40	(54)	23%	642	(63)	27%
<b>5. <u>Occupational Status</u></b>						
Professional	1	(1)	0%	13	(1)	23%
Business	3	(4)	0%	8	(1)	0%
Clerical	2	(3)	0%	63	(6)	14%
Manual	45	(61)	9%	674	(66)	26%
Service Workers	19	(26)	37%	171	(17)	27%
Other	4	(5)	0%	86	(8)	15%
<b>6. <u>Length of Time on Most Skilled Job</u></b>						
6 mos. or less	24	(35)	21%	419	(41)	30%
7-12 mos.	11	(14)	0%	133	(13)	21%
1 up to 2 yrs.	9	(13)	33%	143	(14)	19%
2 up to 5 yrs.	20	(29)	10%	125	(12)	23%
5 yrs. or more	5	(7)	20%	60	(6)	3%
Unknown	-	-	-	142	(14)	25%
<b>7. <u>Longest Period on One Job</u></b>						
6 mos. or less	22	(32)	23%	389	(38)	33%
7-12 mos.	10	(14)	0%	137	(13)	22%
1 up to 2 yrs.	11	(16)	27%	156	(15)	17%
2 up to 5 yrs.	19	(28)	11%	131	(13)	24%
5 yrs. or more	7	(10)	14%	64	(6)	5%
Unknown	-	-	-	138	(14)	23%

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Framingham Men</u>			<u>Comparison Group</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Recid. Rate</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Recid. Rate</u>
<b>8. <u>Last Grade Completed</u></b>						
0-6	8	(11)	13%	92	(9)	18%
7-9	26	(35)	15%	521	(51)	26%
10-11	14	(19)	14%	213	(21)	26%
12 or higher	26	(35)	15%	160	(16)	18%
Unknown	-	-	-	29	(3)	21%
<b>9. <u>Drug Use</u></b>						
None Reported	45	(63)	20%	638	(63)	20%
Yes (not spec.)	4	(6)	0%	69	(7)	14%
Heroin	14	(20)	7%*	189	(19)	39%*
Other than Heroin	4	(6)	0%	56	(6)	32%
Marijuana only	4	(6)	25%	37	(4)	14%
Unknown	-	-	-	26	(3)	27%
<b>C. <u>Criminal History</u></b>						
<b>1. <u>Age at First Arrest</u></b>						
15 or younger	30	(41)	17% *	495	(49)	29% *
16-21	28	(38)	11%	407	(40)	22% *
22 or older	16	(22)	19%	113	(11)	12%
<b>2. <u>No. of Court Appearances</u></b>						
1-5	20	(27)	15%	239	(24)	13%
6 or more	54	(73)	15%*	776	(76)	28%*

Variable	Framingham Men			Comparison Group		
	N	%	Recid. Rate	N	%	Recid. Rate
<u>3. Prior Arrests for Person Offenses</u>						
0-1	28	(38)	14%	472	(47)	24%
2 or more	46	(62)	15%	543	(53)	26%
<u>4. Prior Arrests for Property Offenses</u>						
0-2	32	(43)	9%	333	(33)	13%
3 or more	42	(57)	19%	682	(67)	30%
<u>5. Prior Arrests for Narcotic Offenses</u>						
None	46	(62)	22%	765	(75)	22%
One or more	28	(38)	4%*	250	(25)	32%*
<u>6. Prior Arrests for Drunkenness</u>						
None	43	(58)	5%*	502	(49)	21%*
One or more	31	(42)	29%	513	(51)	28%
<u>7. No. of Juvenile Incarcerations</u>						
None	53	(72)	17%	659	(65)	20%
One or more	21	(28)	10%*	356	(35)	33%*
<u>8. No. of House of Corr. Incarcerations</u>						
None	44	(60)	7%*	488	(48)	20%*
One or more	29	(40)	28%	527	(52)	29%
<u>9. No. of State Incarcerations</u>						
None	53	(73)	11%	575	(57)	22%
One or more	20	(27)	25%	440	(43)	28%

**CONTINUED**

**2 OF 3**

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND RECIDIVISM RATES OF FRAMINGHAM  
WOMEN AND COMPARISON GROUP WOMEN

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Framingham Women</u>			<u>Comparison Group</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Recid. Rate</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Recid. Rate</u>
Total	181	(100)	17%*	92	(100)	29%*
<u>A. Present Offense</u>						
<u>1. Institution Committed to</u>						
Framingham	112	(100)	15%*	92	(100)	29%*
<u>2. Offense</u>						
Person	47	(26)	9%	22	(24)	18%
Property	50	(28)	34%	29	(32)	24%
Drug	49	(27)	12%*	20	(22)	40%*
Prostitution	22	(12)	9%	-	-	-
Other	13	(7)	15%	21	(23)	38%
<u>3. Minimum Sentence</u>						
Indefinite	132	(92)	18%	89	(97)	30%
Definite	12	(8)	0%	3	(3)	0%
<u>4. Age at Incarceration</u>						
21 or younger	52	(30)	13%*	36	(39)	33%*
22-29	83	(48)	20%	35	(38)	29%
30 or older	37	(22)	11%	21	(23)	24%

\* = Statistically significant difference  
in recidivism rates.

Variable	Framingham Women			Comparison Group		
	N	%	Recid. Rate	N	%	Recid. Rate
<b>5. Length of Incarceration</b>						
Less than one year	87	(51)	11%	-	-	-
1 up to 2 years	34	(20)	15%	-	-	-
2 years or more	50	(29)	20%	-	-	-
Unknown	6	(5)	50%	-	-	-
<b>6. Type of Release</b>						
Parole	133	(73)	17%	-	-	-
Discharge	48	(27)	17%	-	-	-
<b>7. Age at Release</b>						
24 or younger	82	(46)	21%	-	-	-
25 or older	96	(54)	15%	-	-	-
<b>B. Background Characteristics</b>						
<b>1. Race</b>						
White	82	(46)	22%	50	(54)	32%
Black	90	(51)	13%	42	(46)	26%
Other	6	(3)	17%	-	-	-
Unknown	3	(3)	0%	-	-	-
<b>2. Marital Status</b>						
Single	108	(63)	14%*	54	(59)	31%*
Married	26	(15)	15%	17	(18)	35%
Divorced	16	(9)	13%	3	(3)	33%
Widowed	4	(2)	25%	4	(4)	0%
Separated	17	(10)	24%	14	(15)	21%
Unknown	7	(6)	0%	-	-	-

Variable	Framingham Women			Comparison Group		
	N	%	Recid. Rate	N	%	Recid. Rate
<b>3. Last Address</b>						
Boston	94	(52)	14%*	53	(58)	34%*
Other	87	(48)	21%	39	(42)	23%
Unknown	10	(9)	0%	-	-	-
<b>4. Occupational Status</b>						
Professional	1	(1)	0%	5	(5)	0%
Business	7	(4)	14%	0	(0)	-
Clerical	52	(29)	23%	12	(13)	42%
Manual	30	(17)	23%	42	(46)	31%
Service Worker	52	(29)	13%	23	(25)	35%
Other/Unknown	39	(22)	10%	10	(11)	10%
<b>5. Length of Time on Most Skilled Job</b>						
6 mos. or less	59	(43)	22%	41	(45)	32%
7-12 mos.	25	(18)	16%	7	(7)	57%
1 up to 2 yrs.	27	(20)	22%	19	(21)	26%
2 up to 5 yrs.	17	(13)	12%	11	(12)	18%
5 yrs. or more	8	(6)	13%	3	(3)	33%
Unknown	24	(21)	4%	11	(12)	18%
<b>6. Longest Period on One Job</b>						
6 mos. or less	52	(38)	23%	41	(45)	32%
7-12 mos.	28	(20)	18%	7	(7)	57%
1 up to 2 yrs.	31	(23)	19%	19	(21)	26%
2 up to 5 yrs.	17	(12)	6%	11	(12)	18%
5 yrs. or more	10	(7)	20%	3	(3)	33%
Unknown	24	(21)	4%	11	(12)	18%

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Framingham Women</u>			<u>Comparison Group</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Recid. Rate</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Recid. Rate</u>
<b>7. <u>Last Grade Completed</u></b>						
0-6	13	(8)	23%	5	(5)	0%
7-9	55	(34)	16%	28	(30)	32%
10-11	48	(30)	23%	31	(34)	42%
12 or higher	45	(28)	11%	21	(23)	19%
Unknown	5	(4)	20%	7	(8)	14%
<b>8. <u>Drug Use</u></b>						
None Reported	72	(45)	13%*	69	(75)	26%*
Yes (not spec.)	11	(7)	9%	11	(12)	36%
Heroin	61	(38)	25%	7	(8)	29%
Other than Heroin	15	(9)	13%	3	(3)	67%
Marijuana Only	15	(9)	13%	0	(0)	-
Unknown	8	(7)	25%	2	(2)	50%
<b>C. <u>Criminal History</u></b>						
<b>1. <u>Age at First Arrest</u></b>						
15 or younger	32	(20)	19%	16	(17)	19%
16-21	82	(50)	20%*	55	(60)	38%*
22 or older	50	(30)	16%	21	(23)	14%
<b>2. <u>No. of Court Appearances</u></b>						
1-5	59	(35)	17%	39	(42)	21%
6-10	109	(65)	18%	24	(26)	42%
11 or more	109	(65)	18%	29	(32)	31%

Variable	Framingham Women			Comparison Group		
	N	%	Recid. Rate	N	%	Recid. Rate
<u>3. Prior Arrests for Person Offenses</u>						
0-1	112	(67)	19%*	61	(66)	36%*
2 or more	56	(33)	16%	31	(34)	16%
<u>4. Prior Arrests for Property Offenses</u>						
0-2	95	(57)	15%*	49	(53)	33%*
3 or more	73	(43)	22%	43	(47)	26%
<u>5. Prior Arrests for Narcotic Offenses</u>						
None	91	(54)	14%	59	(64)	20%
One or more	77	(46)	19%*	33	(36)	45%*
<u>6. Prior Arrests for Drunkenness</u>						
None	121	(72)	17%	64	(70)	28%
One or more	47	(28)	19%	28	(30)	32%
<u>7. No. of Juvenile Incarcerations</u>						
None	139	(83)	17%*	81	(88)	30%*
One or more	29	(17)	21%	11	(12)	27%
<u>8. No. of House of Correction Incarcerations</u>						
None	126	(75)	21%	78	(85)	27%
One or more	42	(25)	10%*	14	(15)	43%*
<u>9. No. of State Incarcerations</u>						
None	114	(63)	12%*	70	(76)	30%*
One or more	67	(37)	25%	22	(24)	27%

DIFFERENTIAL EFFECTS ON RECIDIVISM: MEN

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Framingham Men</u> <u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	<u>Comparison Group</u> <u>N</u>	<u>RR</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>Level of Significance</u>
1. Age at incarceration: 21 or younger	16	0%	410	27%	-.27	p < .05
2. Non-veteran	45	13%	741	27%	-.14	p < .05
3. Residence: Boston	34	6%	373	20%	-.14	p < .05
4. Heroin user	14	7%	189	39%	-.32	p < .02
Some drug use	26	8%	351	25%	-.17	p < .02
Drug offense	12	0%	77	29%	-.29	p < .10
5. 21 or younger at 1st arrest	58	14%	902	26%	-.12	p < .05
6. 6 or more court appearances	54	15%	776	27%	-.12	p < .05
7. One or more prior arrests for narcotic offenses	28	4%	250	32%	-.28	p < .01
8. No prior arrests for drunkenness	43	5%	502	21%	-.16	p < .02
9. One or more juvenile incarcerations	21	10%	356	33%	-.23	p < .05
10. No previous incarcerations in a house of correction	44	7%	488	20%	-.13	p < .05

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

BOSTON UNIVERSITY SURVEY OF MCI-FRAMINGHAM

My name is \_\_\_\_\_. I am one of a group of graduate students from Boston University who are doing a research project on corrections. I'd like to ask your help in learning about some programs here at Framingham.

I have some questions about the furlough program, work release, education release, and the DLM counseling program. I am interested in your opinions about these programs, and anything that you say will remain confidential.

Thank you.

I. Furlough Program

I'd like to begin by asking you some questions about the furlough program here at Framingham.

1. What do you think of the furlough program at Framingham?  
(If no answer, clarify with questions #3 & 4.)

\*2. Have you been on any furloughs?

\*2(a) About how many?

3. What are the main benefits of the furlough program?

4. What are the main problems with the furlough program?

\* Inmates Only

II. Work Release Program

1. What do you think of the work release program at Framingham?

\*2. Have you been on work release?

If yes:

\*2(a) About how long have you been on work release?

\*2(b) How many jobs have you had on work release?

3. What are the main benefits of the work release program?

4. What are the main problems with the work release program?

\* Inmates Only

III. Education Release Program

1. What do you think of the education release program at Framingham?

\*2. Have you been on education release?

If yes:

\*2(a) About how long have you been on education release?

\*2(b) What school(s) have you attended on education release?

3. What are the main benefits of the education release program?

4. What are the main problems with the education release program?

\* Inmates Only

IV. DLM Counseling Program

Now I'd like to talk with you about the DLM Counseling Program here at Framingham. By the DLM Counseling Program, I mean the program that is run by Ann Kirkman, Barbara Nicholson, Cathy Treece, and Paula Bass, and is located on the DLM corridor.

Are you familiar with this program?

If yes, proceed with questions below.

If no, give more details on the DLM program.

If still no, the questions on the DLM Counseling program will not be asked.

A. General Perceptions (All Respondents)

1. What do you think of the DLM Counseling Program?

2. What are the main benefits of the DLM Counseling Program?

3. What are the main problems with the DLM Counseling Program?

4. What do you think of the counselors?

5. Why do you think inmates are in this program?

6. How do you think the staff views this program?

Probe for how program is viewed by:

Administration

Custodial Staff

Treatment Staff

DLM Counselors

7. Do you see any difference in the work of the DLM counselors and the work of the correction social workers?

\*8. Have you been involved in the DLM Counseling Program?

If yes, proceed with questions in Section B.

If no, proceed with questions in Section C.

For staff, proceed with questions in Section D.

\* Inmates Only

B. Counseling Program Participants

I'd like to ask you about your experience in the DLM Counseling Program.

1. How did you hear about this program?

2. How long were you in prison before going to counseling?

3. Why did you decide to try it at that time?

4. What kinds of things do you (did you) talk about with your counselor?

For example, issues concerning:

Family

Spouse (girlfriend/boyfriend)

Self

Life in prison

Life on street after release

How long have you been (were you) in counseling? \_\_\_\_\_

About how many sessions? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you (did you) go on a regular basis? \_\_\_\_\_  
Weekly( ) Bi-weekly( ) Monthly( )

If you stopped, why did you stop? \_\_\_\_\_

5. How have other inmates reacted to your being in counseling?

6. How has the staff reacted to your being in counseling?

7. Do you have any friends in counseling?

If yes, about how many?

8. Is there any staff pressure to participate or not to participate in counseling?

9. Is there any inmate pressure to participate or not to participate in counseling?

10. Has counseling made a difference in your life here at Framingham?

11. Do you think that this counseling will make a difference in your life back on street?

12. Do you intend to continue counseling when you are back on the street?

B. Counseling Program Participants

I'd like to ask you about your experience in the DLM Counseling Program.

1. How did you hear about this program?

2. How long were you in prison before going to counseling?

3. Why did you decide to try it at that time?

4. What kinds of things do you (did you) talk about with your counselor?

For example, issues concerning:

Family  
Spouse (girlfriend/boyfriend)  
Self  
Life in prison  
Life on street after release

How long have you been (were you) in counseling? \_\_\_\_\_

About how many sessions? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you (did you) go on a regular basis? \_\_\_\_\_  
Weekly( ) Bi-weekly( ) Monthly( )

If you stopped, why did you stop? \_\_\_\_\_

5. How have other inmates reacted to your being in counseling?

13. Have you ever been in any other counseling program?

If yes, where?

How would you compare your previous counseling experience(s) with your experience in counseling here at Framingham?

14. Overall, how would you rate your experience in counseling here at Framingham?

- very helpful
- helpful
- not very helpful
- not helpful at all.

15. Are there ways in which the program could be improved?

Proceed to Section E

C. Non-Participants in Counseling Program

1. How did you hear about the counseling program here at Framingham?

2. Have you ever thought of trying counseling here at Framingham?

3. What do you think it would be like to be in counseling here?

4. Do you think there may be any ways in which the counseling program here may be helpful to you?

5. Do you have any friends in the counseling program here?

If yes, about how many?

If yes:

(a) Do you think counseling has made a difference in their lives here at Framingham?

(b) Do you think that counseling will make a difference in their lives back on the street?

(c) Do you think that they intend to continue counseling when they are back on the street?

6. Is there any staff pressure to participate or not to participate in counseling?
7. Is there any inmate pressure to participate or not to participate in counseling?
8. Are there any changes that you would like to see in the counseling program?
9. Have you every been in any other counseling program?

If yes, where?

If yes, overall, how would you rate your past counseling experience?

Proceed to Section E

#### E. Opinions About DLM Counseling

Now I'd like to read you some statements about the Counseling Program. Please tell me whether or not you agree or disagree with these statements according to the following categories:

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly Disagree

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. All inmates in Framingham should be involved in the DLM Counseling Program.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Going to counseling is a sign of weakness.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. The goal of counseling should be to help an inmate adjust to the prison.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Everything discussed in counseling is kept confidential.  
Explain \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. The main reason for going to counseling is that it looks good for the Parole Board.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Counseling is a waste of time.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. Counseling is used to reduce tensions in the prison.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Counseling can help an inmate gain a better understanding of himself/herself.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. Counseling at Framingham is set up more for women than for men.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. Counseling helps keep an inmate from coming back to prison.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. Counseling is used to keep inmates under control.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. Inmates can trust the counselors.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. Counseling is for people with mental problems.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. Counseling will help an inmate to make the adjustment when he/she is back on the street.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. DLM counselors and correctional social workers do pretty much the same thing.

F. Background Characteristics

Now, I'd like to ask you some questions about yourself, if you don't mind.

For Inmates:

1. About how long have you been at Framingham? \_\_\_\_\_
2. (For men) about how long have you been in prison on this incarceration? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Is this your first time in prison? \_\_\_\_\_
4. About how long do you have to go to your release date? \_\_\_\_\_
5. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_
6. What is your marital status?  
 Single  
 Married  
 Divorced  
 Separated  
 Widowed
7. Do you have any children? \_\_\_\_\_
8. How far in school did you go? \_\_\_\_\_  
GED? \_\_\_\_\_
9. Have you ever had problems with drugs?
10. Have you ever had problems with alcohol?
11. Check:  
Race  
 White  
 Black  
 Other; specify \_\_\_\_\_  
Sex: \_\_\_\_\_ Female; \_\_\_\_\_ Male  
Cadre: \_\_\_\_\_ Yes; \_\_\_\_\_ No

THANKS A LOT FOR YOUR HELP ON THIS RESEARCH PROJECT.

DO YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS OR COMMENTS ON THIS RESEARCH?

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Clifford C. Nelson, in Lloyd Ohlin, ed., Prisoners in America, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973, p. iv.

<sup>2</sup>ibid., p. iv.

<sup>3</sup>Francis J. Carney, "Correctional Research and Correctional Decision-Making: Some Problems and Prospects," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, (July, 1969) p. 115.

<sup>4</sup>Walter M. Walleck, Glenn M. Kendall, and Howard L. Briggs, Education Within Prison Walls, cited in Harry E. Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, eds., New Horizons in Criminology, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945, p. 649.

<sup>5</sup>Norman Fenton, The Prisoner's Family, Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books, 1959, pp. 7-8.

<sup>6</sup>Norman Fenton, "Treatment in Prison: How the Family Can Help," cited in Jessica Mitford, Kind and Usual Punishment, New York: Vintage Books, 1971, p. 109.

<sup>7</sup>Karl Menninger, The Crime of Punishment, New York: The Viking Press, 1966, pp. 232-233.

<sup>8</sup>ibid., p. 233.

<sup>9</sup>Richard P. Korn and Lloyd W. McCorkle, Criminology and Penology, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1959, p. 586.

<sup>10</sup>Robert Martinson, "The Paradox of Prison Reform: II, Can Corrections Reform?," The New Republic, (April 8, 1972), p. 14.

<sup>11</sup>Douglas Lipton, Robert Martinson, and Judith Wilks, The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment: A Survey of Treatment and Evaluation Studies, p. 627.

<sup>12</sup>ibid., p. 231.

<sup>13</sup>ibid., p. 210.

<sup>14</sup>Donald L. Garrity, "The Effects of Length of Incarceration upon Parole Adjustment and Estimation of Optimum Sentence: Washington State Correctional Institutions," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, cited in Robert Martinson, "What Works: Questions and Answers about Prison Reform," Public Interest, (Spring, 1974), p. 37.

<sup>15</sup>ibid., p. 48.

<sup>16</sup>Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks, op. cit., p. 627.

<sup>17</sup>Ohlin, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>18</sup>Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks, op. cit., p. 627.

<sup>19</sup>Ohlin, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>20</sup>Mitford, op. cit., p. 112.

<sup>21</sup>John Irwin, "Adaptation to Being Corrected: the Convict's Perspective," in Daniel Glasser, ed., Handbook of Criminology. Chicago: Rand McNally Publishing Co., 1974, p. 980.

<sup>22</sup>Mitford, op. cit., p. 112.

<sup>23</sup>Carney, op. cit., p. 116.

<sup>24</sup>Marguerite Q. Warren, "The Case for Differential Treatment of Delinquents," in Marguerite Q. Warren, Correctional Treatment in Community Settings: A Report of Current Research, Rockville, Md.: National Institute of Mental Health, 1972, p. 7.

<sup>25</sup>Stuart Adams, "The PICO Project," in Norm Johnston, Leonard Savitz, and Marvin E. Wolfgang, eds., The Sociology of Punishment and Correction, (2nd Ed.) New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1970, p. 549.

<sup>26</sup>ibid., p. 552.

<sup>27</sup>ibid., p. 561.

<sup>28</sup>Carney, op. cit., p. 117.

<sup>29</sup>Warren, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

<sup>30</sup>Clarence Schrag, "Some Foundations for a Theory of Corrections," in Donald Cressey, ed., The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1961, p. 347.

<sup>31</sup>Carroll T. Miller, "A Study of the Differential Effects on Recidivism of Participation in Nine Prison Treatment Programs," Master's Thesis, Sociology Department, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1977.

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