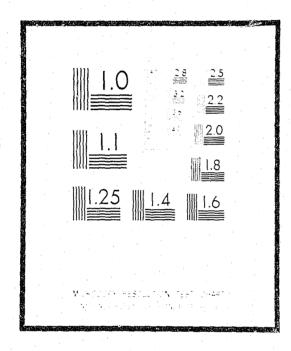# NCJRS

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CONSUMERS, PRACTITIONERS AND CITIZENS AS COLLEAGUES

A MANUAL

IN THE APPLICATION OF THE AGENCY SELF-STUDY PRINCIPLE

AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

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For

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INTRODUCTION

The efforts which this Manual seeks to codify were made in response to a pervading dissatisfaction with the typical consequences of conventional ways of dealing with social problems.

People defined as "having" - or "being" - problems are frequently viewed as victims of forces beyond their control. Because they are seen as lacking in a present ability to negotiate their fate, their own attempts at self-help are typically viewed as irrational, ill-informed or perverse - the proof of this theorum being provided by the evidence that they are either troublesome or in trouble. At some point they may drift or be pulled into the ambience of a social agency or institution.

Presumably, the mission of the agency is to assist its clients - people who have been harmfully programmed by circumstances - to achieve effective direction of their own lives. Theoretically, this objective is pursued by means of incentives, activities and relationships designed to demonstrate to them that they can, in fact, if they try, acquire the skills required to steer rather than drift.

But it is at this point that the paradoxes begin.

For, in the usual situation, the client has as little to say about the program designed to help him as he had about the conditions which compelled or immobilized him in the first place. The typical helping situation has little or no place for his initiative, his creativity and, all to often, little recognition for his dignity as an autonimous individual. What services he is afforded must be paid for by the same passivity, the same sacrifice of self-determination he is accused of demonstrating in the face of his original troubles. Just as he is seen as yielding to the force of the circumstances which oppressed him, now he must yield to the force of the institutional arrangements designed to "assist" him. In addition to the psychological damage which an acceptance of this definition may do him, it seems difficult to understand how the same process which led to his immobilization can result in his recovery of mobility.

Much of what has been said about the clients of conventional service organizations applies with equal effect to the lower and middle echelons of its own workers. How free are those at or near the ground level of contact with the client to exert their own creativity? To what extent is the agency responsive to their perceptions of its operations? To what extent can they function as exemplary models of self-determination? Or are they, more typically, clients-at-one-remove from the client himself: more or less "programmed" and almost as passive as he is? At some risk of over-emphasis of the extreme case, one has the impression of robots operating on robots - for the purpose of helping them overcome the

status of...robots. This is hardly a new problem. One astute observer of the process, the philosopher Alexander Herzen, may have accurately characterized it over a hundred years ago when he said, "We are not the doctors; we are the disease."

All of the foregoing might strike some sophisticated readers as painfully naïve. Is it actually the objective of helping agencies to assist the immobilized to achieve self-direction? Or would not a more accurate diagnosis of the problem created by "problem people" be that they are, in one way or another, excessively self-determined and - to put it more bluntly - out of control? And would it not be more honest to say that the real problem they present is not so much that they are in trouble but that they are troublesome? If this is the more accurate diagnosis, then it would seem to follow that the remedy of choice is to reduce their initiative and bring them to conformity. If this is, in fact, the agency objective - instead of an unintended effect - then it would be most honest of all to admit it, and to abandon, as rhetorical and hypocritical, the pretensions of a democratic way of life. To do so, of course, would require us to answer the indictment of Herzen, and to admit that our "cure" is identical with what he called the disease.

We do not believe this to be a valid objective; nor would we accept it if it were, in fact, the case. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that something amounting to this is very frequently a consequence of our remedial efforts. At some point or other the means begin to take priority over the ends. At some point the needs and goals of the agency begin to diverge from those of the client. At some point the problem of control is solved at the expense of the problems of the client.

A politically sensitive analysis of this situation might suggest that institutions and agencies, like most other social groups, are primarily responsive to those who can affect their operations. The democratic model of human relations presupposes a reciprocity of influence: it assumes that those who are affected by the acts and intentions of others can, in turn, affect them. The model is not one of unidirectional control but rather of a two-way negotia- tion. The citizens of a democracy are not called clients: they are called constituents. It may well be that one of the more fundamental difficulties presented by our social agencies is that those they serve are viewed as clients in the first place, rather than as constituents. (The word "client" itself has a foreboding historical connotation: it refers to the dependents of Roman patricians. During the decline of Rome the clients were bound to the land - and became serfs.)

In another publication one of the writers of this Manual sought to distinguish the various roles of the social expert and to relate these to certain consequences for those being served:

ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF THE SOCIAL EXPERT

	Expert as OPERATOR	Expert as PRESCRIBER	Expert as CO-LEARNER
Action of Expert	Does TO the client what the client cannot do	Does FOR the client what the client cannot do for himself	Does WITH the client what the client can ultimately do for himself
Role of Client	Passivity Client as OBJECT	Dependency Client as DEPENDENT	Reciprocity Client as COLLEAGUE
Relational aspects	Dominance- submission	Superiority- inferiority	Equality Role-exchange
Typical statuses	Surgeon- body of patient	Leader-follower Parent-child	Friends Brothers
Expert's skills are	Magical, uncommunicable; forbidden to client	Translated only into directives	Fully shared

We are dealing at bottom with the fateful consequences of three different attitudes toward the Other. We can do things TO him, in which case he becomes an Object. We can do things FOR him, in which case he becomes a Dependent. We can do things WITH him, in which case he has the opportunity to become an Agent. Whatever the content or intent of the action, it is the relationship between the actors that is crucial - and that defines the difference between domination, dependency and self-realization in the political, economic and social realms, as well as in the interpersonal.

It is at least an arguable proposition that many of our social problems are exacerbated by the decrease of situations enabling reciprocity on a give-and-get equal basis with our fellow men. It is also arguable that the role of patient, in its passivity, dependency and lack of mutuality, contributes to the perpetuation of the illness. Studies of institutional adjustment, whether in the prison, the hospital or the clinic suggest that situations which limit the possibilities of reciprocity between the cared-for and the caring contribute powerfully to the continuance of the need for care. *It may well be that the status of patient is half the disease.* ("The Private Citizen, the Social Expert and the Social Problem," by Richard Korn, in MASS SOCIETY IN CRISIS by Rosenberg, Gerver and Howton (Eds.) New York:Macmillian, 1964).

Should this analysis prove relevant, it would seem that a major requirement would involve the deliberate transformation of the roles of patron and client, of those serving and those being served, into constituents of each other. Such a transformation, while operationally radical, is nothing if not ideologically conservative in that it draws upon and seeks to conserve the fundamentals of the American political tradition, which is highly egalitarian and basically hostile to hierarchy.

Needless to say, the operational problems are immense. The division of labor which seems essential to the maintainance of a highly technical society requires intensive specialization, and the delegation of authority according to differential levels of competence. Nevertheless, the democratic ethic is not hostile to the delegation of authority (vide our representative form of government); it merely insists that the authority which is delegated be responsive to the wishes of those over whom it is exercised. The critical distinction here is between an authority which is accountable to its constituents and an authority which is accountable only to itself.

As for the issue of specialization: while there is no question that our material culture requires differential and separate kinds and levels of expertise, there is some reason to question whether the same requirements apply, with equal weight, to the arts and skills of human relations. Societies far less complicated than our own have dealt with the perennial problems of human relationships with degrees of success which we might well emulate, nor did they in all or in most cases require the development of specialized professions exercising parochial and exclusive forms of expertise.

With respect to the major social problems of our time, the academic and applied disciplines of psychology and sociology have not made particularly impressive contributions; there is, indeed, a growing suspicion that the disappointing results have something to do with their quasi-esoteric character and the fact that their adepts, in the process of their own professionalization, acquire a set of attitudes, a culture, a life-style and a language which, for some reason makes it difficult for them to hear, and be heard by, those they deal with. Since Veblen first advanced the notion of "trained incapacity", much has been written about the social distance which increasingly separates the highly trained professional from his client. As we suggested earlier, we suspect that this has less to do with education per se than it has to do with something intrinsically pernicious about the status of "client" itself. We shall have more to say about this in the course of this presentation.

Auspiciously during the past decade the discussion of this general problem has proceeded well beyond the mere specification of difficulties: there has been a growing consensus, a convergence of ideas from many independent sources, leading toward increasingly distinct and concrete solutions. It is too early to call this convergence a "program"; indeed, there is something about the spontaneous nature of this development and its inherent methodology which would make the term "movement" more appropriate than the term "program". Something of the spirit of this movement is captured in the following passage written by one of its prime movers, J. Douglas Grant:

> What we need are strategies that will allow the clients, staff and policy makers of our education, health and welfare programs to become participants in the development of these programs, and to contribute to their own personal development. Instead of separating program development and innovation from staff training, and staff training from giving services to clients, the three can be merged through the use of systematic program self-study. The shared experiences of developing an effective program come very close to and can be made identical with staff development and client treatment. (J. Douglas Grant, "The Psychologist as an Agent for Scientific Approaches to Social Change", Lawrence E. Abt, Ed., Progress in Clinical Psychology, Grune & Stratton, New York, 1966, pp. 24-46).

This statement is perhaps the most concise summary of the strategic principles to be elaborated in the forthcoming pages. Prior to moving toward specifics, it might be appropriate to say a few words about the problem area in which the strategy was applied by the writers.

Though we have little doubt and much faith that the strategy is applicable to a very wide range of problems, the area within which our actual experience was confined was that of crime, criminal justice and corrections. In some ways this area might have been expected to present the severest of tests, for there are few, if any realms of social life which present more powerful practical and ideological challenges to the core principles of our approach. Crime is essentially both violent and authoritarian - in that the criminal typically violates either the person or property of the victim, without his consent and contrary to his interests. Correlatively, the treatment of criminals at every point in the law enforcement and correctional process, is similarly "authoritarian" - in that the offender is given little choice in entering or leaving the system, and his interests are clearly and by design secondary to those of the community. Likewise, the organization of correctional and law-enforcement personnel and their activities partakes of a military character which is markedly different in spirit from the spirit of most civil enterprises in a democratic society. The question as to whether this is necessarily so is not, for the moment, in dispute; the fact is, with respect to the actual law-enforcement and correctional systems to which the model was applied, such were the conditions which obtained.

Such being the case, the problem area of crime, criminal justice and corrections provided an almost ideally severe test of the principles of colleagueship and reciprocity on which the strategy rests. If those principles could be effective in achieving change in this area, we felt, they could be effective anywhere.

Perhaps a few additional introductory comments are in order. In a formally organized presentation of this kind it is easy to give the impression of a secure expertise. Nothing would be less characteristic of our actual operations as they occured in fact. Like everyone else, we learned to walk by falling - and nothing we learned on any one occasion provided any certain insurance that we would not fall again. This Manual is a compendium of hindsights, arising largely out of unanticipated errors and accidental successes. We never learned the trick of converting any of those hindsights into a prodigies of foresight.

Though considerable modesty is called for in this context, it is something other than humility which constrains us to make this admission. Essentially we had two things going for us: (1) an unshakeable mistrust of formulae, together with an almost mystical belief in the superiority of spontaneity and (2) an equally firm faith that disasters were heaven-sent opportunities, designed not for our destruction but for our education by a providence more friendly than appeared to us at the moment of calamity. Fortified by these convictions, we assumed an invitational attitude toward the inevitability of tactical miscarriages, and we took the moment of panic as a sign that the time for miracles was at hand.

Failing that, we just hung in there and suffered until the next day.

STRATEGIC ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION

I. Defining the System selected for Self-Study

1. Resolving Ambiguities of Definition. Perhaps the first problem, after having selected the system designated for study, is the problem of defining it, which means, in one practical sense, deciding what its limits are - where it "begins" and "ends" - what is to be included, what can safely be left out: which, in the last analysis means who can safely be invited, and who can be ignored. Assume, for a moment that one is dealing with a school district which is "feeling urban pressures". Apart from the obvious categories of participants - students, teachers, parents, administrators - who else ought to be invited?

What about recent graduates - those who have successfully negotiated their passage and can, presumably, speak with the detachment lent by time and distance? How about the recent dropouts - those whom the system has failed- and who might be motivated to share their experience of disenchantment? Are there racial difficulties? Who will "represent" the various ethnic groups? Are problems of external disorder invading the school community? Are problems of internal dysfunction invading the surrounding community? Who will speak for the "forces of disorder - and order?"

Set aside problems, for a moment. What about hopes and ultimate objectives? Need we be only problem-oriented? How far might our imaginations stretch toward new possibilities? Whose imaginations shall we tap? May we not be overlooking resources and alternatives right on our doorstep?

It would appear that defining the limits of the system is not merely a difficult task but might well be a whole series of different tasks, depending on the interests and objectives involved.

One of the messages of our own experiences is that one dare not assume that these interests and objectives can be exhausted or even identified or defined in advance. There is a nice question about who will do this defining - and whose definitions will control. (Similar considerations apply to the "agenda" - whatever that is. But we will come to this later.)

Of the two more obvious pits into which the endeavor can fall at this juncture, the tendency or drive for "structure" and "clarity" is clearly the pitfall to be most carefully avoided. Analysis of our own findings suggests that a good tolerance of ambiguity is a primary necessity. The need for neat resolution of ambiguities is a close kin of the need for control - which is very different from the need for coordination - and the yielding to any demand for

"structure" and an "agenda" by one category of participant is likely to be taken by other participants as a bid for control and a threat of their own neutralization.

2. Toward an Initial Strategy of Definition. It seems most prudent at first to judiciously neglect the issue of what is to be defined and how it might be defined in favor of the question of who might be concerned with the defining. Once the participants are involved, the definitions will emerge from them. If they do not emerge, one might try to stimulate their emergence in various ways, but it is a serious mistake to impose them. (It might appear that we have raised the question of definition only for purposes of evading or postponing it, but this is not the case. The critical definitions involve the character of the relations between the participants: it is the "how" of these relations, more, perhaps, than the "contents" which seem to be decisive. In the last analysis, it is how people deal with each other, and the impact of these dealings on one another which seems most decisive.) This brings us immediately to the problem of participation.

3. The Cast: Who Shall Participate? With understandable hesitation we are ready to suggest a first rule-of-thumb:

   a. The self-study program should involve all those in a position either to initiate change or to impede it, together with all those who could conceivably be influential in promotion or impeding change but are currently indifferent. The program should, of course, also include those currently engaged in operating and maintaining the system, and those involved as its subjects or consumers-of-services.

      To assure credibility of the Conference, high level staff and representatives of the various levels of authority of the sub-systems of justice, together with opinion leaders from among private citizens should be invited to participate.

But the question arises: how are these persons identified: And how is their participation elicited?

   b. Given adequate advance notice, it is a safe bet that the appropriate actors will identify themselves - and each other. A variety of administrative tactics are possible at this point - and there are certain unavoidable behind-the-scenes operations which are useful and perhaps essential in those instances where the project staff are at some geographical distance from the eventual participants* - but in the ordinary case, the principle of self-selection should govern. (It is this principle which is most consistent with the basic notion of self-study in the first place.)

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*Under these conditions an on-the-scene coordinator is indispensable.

A few additional comments on this subject. It is highly desirable that the process of self-determination be validated by concrete demonstration as early as possible. People tend to be suspicious about anything which gives the impression of "rigging" and "wire-pulling" - and it is essential to avoid not only the fact but the appearance of this kind of manipulation. This caution applies especially to the solicitation of participants. Nevertheless, some one person or small group of persons must initiate the process: must issue the "call" for a Workshop.

   c. Ideally, the person or persons issuing the call should have the respect, the confidence and the credence of the widest possible number of potential participants. The "first call" should be issued by those possessing maximum visibility as well. The call itself should be heard by members of each category of potential participant - members of each sub-system critically involved. In general, those possessing high visibility are also in a position to see - and to reach - others who occupy highly visible and prestigious positions within their own systems.

Thus, for example, a Justice of a federal appeals court is in an ideal position to "invite" the participation of a federal prosecutor. Each of these gentlemen is likely to have his invitation favorably responded to by the head of a parole board. Any one of them is likely to be successful in soliciting the participation of a Commissioner of corrections who, in turn, will certainly succeed in stimulating the interest of the heads of his institutions, who, in their turn....etc., etc.

The same general strategy applies to significant leaders of the various communities which compose the Community. Each of these leaders is likely to be known - if not necessarily liked - by the others, and each will have an added incentive to involve himself if he knows that the others are coming.

The strategy of invitation is important. Those addressed should be asked in ways which persuade them that their participation is needed, is essential, if not only for the common good but their own good as well. If the appeal to a common interest lacks credibility, a candid address to self-interest is not inappropriate. Some will want to come because of a desire to contribute; others will come because they feel they can't afford not to.

The content of the "call" is not a matter of much moment. It need not be excessively specific. Everyone is likely to agree that conditions are pretty bad. And need improvement. It is important to avoid frightening off the more conservative with alarmist proclamations or proposals of radical reform - but it is equally

important to avoid "turning off" the more radical or militant with weightless platitudes and soporifics. Some intelligent tact in this regard is useful. A sincere, simple and convincing recognition of the urgency of the general situation and the need for improvement will probably suffice. Informal approaches based on personal acquaintance or friendship are not amiss - but "log-rolling" and "stacking the deck" is to be scrupulously monitored. This is particularly so in situations where conflicts of principle and interest are intense. Under such circumstances, someone's desire to exclude another person is probably the best indication that that person should be invited.

The consumers of the agency's service are indispensible participants. These must include, above all, those who are critical of these services. Where these consumers are subject to the authority or control of other participants - as in the case, for example, of prisoners, parolees and lower echelons of agency personnel, great care must be exercised to avoid packing the Workshop with dutiful parishoners. In such cases:

  d. It is absolutely essential that the selection of
      subject persons be made by a knowledgeable neutral
      person, typically, a member or panel of the
      Workshop staff. A randomly selected pool of these
      potential participants is the medium of choice.
      Procedures by which this pool will select its
      own representatives will be outlined at a later
      point.

In general, the principle of self-selection within each sub-system is the strategy of choice. Prisoners are in the best position to select other prisoners; judges to select other judges. Conversely, the nomination by a given category of persons from another group should be carefully monitored, and viewed with some circumspection, if not outright suspicion. In rigidly hierarchical systems there is considerable danger that dissatisfied or critical individuals will be passed over. Agency executives who are concerned with the possibility that their own "dissidents" are "out to get them" require tactful treatment. They are best approached by others at their own level, in whom they have some confidence. Any implication that there is an open season on head-hunting must be quashed, in fact as well as in appearance.

By means of these procedures, a recruitment committee emerges and a meeting is arranged. (Within our own shop we have referred to this assembly as a "power-structure" meeting. The term, though appropriate, is not especially diplomatic. Nonetheless, the meeting must include those who are in a position to bring the Workshop about, to make it happen, and to arrange for its facilities and for the movement of people from place to place.)

Present at this meeting should be:

  e. Representatives of the sponsoring or funding
      agency, members of the Workshop staff and,
      ideally, alumni of previous Workshops. These
      persons should be prepared to share their
      insights about the meaning and impact of
      previous Workshops and, on a deeper level, to
      embody the spirit and purpose of the effort in
      their own demeanor at the meeting. Staff input
      at this point ought not to be overwhelming:
      one of two representatives of sub-systems at
      similar Workshops might be available in the
      audience during the presentation, holding
      themselves ready to answer questions. The
      meeting itself should be opened by a high-
      statused member of the host-community - and
      then chaired by a member of the Workshop
      staff. The staff member provides an outline
      of the philosophy and methodology of the
      Workshop and a brief, high-lighted history of
      previous conferences.

This meeting is decisive. It will determine, in the first place, whether a new Workshop will be held, and it will crucially influence its tone and character. Out of it should emerge a smaller steering committee, selected at the meeting, whose members will coordinate further planning and recruitment activities with staff personnel. The participants at this meeting should leave it with the feeling that the Workshop will be their effort and their responsibility. They should view the professional Workshop staff as facilitators, resource persons, not "leaders". And they should be motivated to devote a very considerable portion of their subsequent time to the complicated and consuming task of putting a Workshop together.

STRATEGIC ASSESSMENT: A CASE STUDY

In the first part of this chapter, an initial overview of a large subject, we attempted little more than an adumbration of the working principles of what we have called the "strategic assessment" of the system to be studied. It remains for us now to illustrate how such an assessment might be and, in fact, was conducted in an actual study problem.

The problem in question was the field of criminal justice.

For purposes of systems analysis, it would be difficult to select a more ideal case - for an ironic reason. The field of criminal justice is not yet a "system" in any but the most tolerant use of the term.

We cite now the assessment made for the purpose of clarifying our own thinking on the eve of preparing for one of our own Workshops on Crime and Criminal Justice:*

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*A few prefatory comments are in order here. The assessment cited here did not require a study. Based on many years of experience, it was made in our own living room. We were flying from our own armchairs. In all seriousness, however, we do not believe that even the most careful "systems analysis" of the field could have provided an adequate substitute. We do not mean by this to down-grade this promising methodological strategy. What we are suggesting is this: the essense of the strategic analysis is the application of a theory of human behavior to the data of organizational experience. It might, in fact, be possible for a systems analyst without concrete experience to reach the same conclusions. But the labor might have required many months. What we are proposing, as a working tactic, is essentially the same kind of arm-chair analysis we engaged in; a process of brainstorming, conducted by persons with wide and long experience in the given area.

I. THE GLOBAL IMPRESSION: FRAGMENTATION

Perhaps the most ubiquitous criticism of the administration of criminal justice contained in the literature speaks to the system's fragmentation. Viewing the total national system we may, perhaps justifiably, attribute slow progress in coordination as a social cost of Federalism. However, on a state level we have to look elsewhere to explain fragmentation. The municipality or county is not quite to the state what the state is to the federal government. While the former is a more manageable relationship one wonders why, after a plethora of coordinative efforts, problems persist -- even multiply.

Fragmentation is not only a response to maladministrative efforts but also a result of role perception, distortion and conflict among actors in the drama of administering criminal justice.

The present relationship between the offender, the citizen and the agents and agencies of law enforcement is, in actuality, a state of overt or covert warfare in which each party works for the disablement or neutralization of the others.

The private citizen is simultaneously:

- a victim of crime and criminal enterprises

- a purchaser and consumer of certain criminal services

- a purchase (as taxpayer) of law enforcement and correctional services

- an employer (as sovereign) and ultimate judge of law enforcement and correctional personnel

- a part of the reservoir of potential offenders

The makers, enforcers and interpreters of law are simultaneously:

- employers of the private citizens

- protector of the private citizen as a possible victim of crime

- an antagonist of the private citizen in the latter's role as a potential offender

- an antagonist of the offender while also the protector of his rights and person against injustice and abuse

- an agent of rehabilitation

The offender is, simultaneously:

—an antagonist and exploiter of the private citizen

—a provider of certain illicit goods and services

—an "ultimate consumer" of law enforcement and correctional services and the ultimate tester of their adequacy

—a potential citizen in good standing

In spite of the manifold intricacies of the total human relationship between the actors in all of their actual and potential roles toward each other, they rarely meet each other except in the most antagonist and alienating of terms. They never meet as fellow human beings, in order to exchange their common human experiences and problems. Their information about each other is warped by their mutual antagonism, and by their need to defend themselves against each other.

Typically, the offender meets the private citizen only in his role of victim and, eventually, as a witness against him in a court of law. Neither knows the other as a person. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the offender's lack of contact with the citizen as a fellow human being is one of the psychologically predisposing and enabling causes of the offender's exploitation of the citizen in the first place. The offender typically does not see his victim as a fellow human being: the victim is merely an object to be exploited for personal gratification or gain.

The citizen responds in kind. Having been victimized and outraged by the offender in his role of criminal, the citizen has little incentive to view him as a fellow human being, for the most understandable of reasons. Hence, the antagonism with which the relationship began persists throughout its full course, according to the hostile pattern set in motion by the offender himself. Thus is it that the offender ultimately determines the nature of relationship, virtually in its entirety, setting the tone throughout. It is one of the most tragic ironies of this situation that the most influential party in determining the tone and character of the social response to the offender is not the citizen, not the law enforcement agent, not the correctional agent, but the offender himself. In effect, he calls the tune which society plays against him. To the misfortune of all concerned, the drama which begain with an act of exploitation continues to be played out in an atmosphere of mutual mistrust and hatred.

II. THE VIEW AT CLOSER RANGE: WHO ARE THE SIGNIFICANT ACTORS?

HOW ARE THEY ORGANIZED? WHAT DO THEY INTEND?

Our first task is to identify and locate the implicated interest and power groups as they are actually situated and organized in the socio-political field. Our next is to specify their public and private objectives - their open and hidden agendas. It is the conflict and accommodation of these agendas which will provide the most suggestive clues about their typical behavior.

The forces operating in the universe within which correctional events are determined may be said to include the following: (1) the Executive, his cabinet and inner political circle, (2) the Legislature, and the balance of power existing at any point between the minority and majority parties, (3) the Judiciary, (4) the Parole and Probation Authorities, if independent, (5) the Correctional Administration, headed typically by an appointed Commissioner of Corrections, (6) the electorate, consisting of the mass of private citizenry, but manifesting itself phenomenologically as something experienced as the "weight of public opinion," (7) the media, including the world of newspapers, television, radio, public entertainment, best-sellers, and various highly visible "opinion leaders" as they are synthetically created or charismatically projected by the media. In addition to these more visible power and interest groups, there are a few whose effects are more latent and diffuse: these would include (8) the body of social scientists, both in and out of the academic world and (9) the professions, as represented by their guilds, such as the National Association of Social Workers, the American Psychiatric Association, various correctional associations, etc., (1) the law enforcement (police) establishments and their guilds. Finally, there are the correctional consumers, the offenders. (11) A brief characterization of the global thrust of each of these interest groups is attempted below:

(1) The Governor and his inner circle. For the Chief Executive the entire correctional apparatus (prisons, reformatories, etc.) is a necessary evil - a headache that verges from the nagging to the severe. There is little political mileage in well-run prisons - but great political vulnerability in their mismanagement. (Convicts don't vote - but their victims do.) The Governor looks to his correctional administrators to run his prisons for him; they are the experts who must take the heat off him if things go wrong. Typically the Governor wants a correctional administration that will keep costs down, keep peace and quiet in -this area (keep out of the newspapers and partisan politics) and permit him to concentrate on more important matters.

(2) The Legislature breaks down into the different interests of the two parties. The "ins" share the worries and concerns of the Governor; like him, they bend a wary eye toward the tax-payer, the newspapers and the opposition party. The "outs" are always on the alert for a politically pregnant scandal; their twin banners, "soft on crime" and "prison mismanagement" are rarely kept unfurled. As the temporarily unappreciated guardians of public morality against the insolence of office, the venality of power, they are watchdogs hungry for any exposed shinbone they can catch wandering in the public cabbage patch. With astute cultivation and inspired leadership they can rise to higher (non-partisan) things - but only when the millenium is at hand.

(3) The Judiciary tends to protect itself from uncomfortable knowledge of penal conditions in their jurisdictions. A vague, pervasive feeling that "the prison does not work, even though it is necessary," 'a nagging sense of guilt about the men they are sending away for correction who are not corrected, a barrage of letters and writs from inmates claiming mistreatment - all of these things tend to make judges willing to let the experts run the prisons, provided that individual rights of inmates are not clearly breached. By and large, the judiciary is willing to be inert in this area, responding only to the initiatives of others, and then only in a narrowly legalistic context.

(4) The Probation and Parole Authorities, in addition to carrying out their own onerous duties, keep a wary eye on the press, on public opinion, on the opposition party, and on the state of institutional crowdedness. Particularly vulnerable to the accusation "soft on crime," their longer-range efforts are subject to temporary or permanent revision under the pressure of critical incidents. Even thoroughly independent, non-partisan boards occupied by prestigious community figures have their Achilles heel: their budgets. Boards vary in their dependency on the advice of their professional staffs, which vary in their turn, in response to the board-members' attitudes and other influences. An imaginative and determined board, acting in cooperation with the judiciary, can serve as the source and sustainer of important innovations in corrections.

(5) The Correctional Establishment is well aware that its principal mandate is, above all, to protect the executive and his party from political embarrassment by keeping the situation under control and out of the public arena. But an old saw has it that the only way to keep out of politics is to play politics. Whether he wishes to or not, the Commissioner must play the political game, if only to remain above it. The correctional administrator looks to his governor, not for direction (which he will not get), but for protection and

support. Quiet, economical housekeeping is his safest role. He can be the captain of his ship - so long as no one rocks it and he is content to keep it moored to the dock. So long as he resists the temptation to take it anywhere he can have a quiet, ceremonious voyage (in port) - entertaining visitors at the Captain's table and conducting tours of the staterooms.

(6) The Citizenry is the most frequently invoked ultimate reason for any correctional action or inaction - and the least involved. Public opinion is the sacred cow that is always deferred to and almost never consulted. Used as a shield or weapon in the hands of others in the correctional area, it is inert in itself until stirred. Those who seek to use it try to manufacture it - those who fear it are half-aware that it is manufactured, and despise it: both may dangerously underestimate it.

Two contradictory attitudes characterize the usual state of public opinion about crime and corrections. Citizens are "tough on criminals" but "soft on prisoners," hard on young hoodlums, but soft on kids in jail. The exploitation of one or the other of these available attitudes account for many of the pendulum swings in specific correctional systems. Typically, the shift occurs along the same single dimension of "hardness" versus "softness." An expose of harsh prison conditions may inaugurate the brief reign of a humanitarian and reformist administration; before long, drift, brought about by gradual disillusionment forced by awareness of the realities of prison life, or disaster brought about by misunderstanding or under-estimating the inevitable opportunism and negativism of confined men, terminates the unlucky reign of reform and brings back the rule of repression. And so the pendulum swings, in one track, with public opinion as its weight. The shortness of public memory may permit these swings to convey the impression of progress or change for the better. But the movement is actually a negation of change, in that it merely restores an equilibrium - and once again, the illusion of progress functions as the barrier to progress.

(7) The Media are well aware that crime and corrections are lively sources of news and potential public issues. Many journalists are alive to the fact that the crucial determinants of correctional policies are political rather than scientific; intuitively suspicious of any claim to superior morality or expertise, they have an inquiring nose for bodies buried under rhetorical flowers. Informed journalists have made distinguished contributions to public education about corrections, hopefully, their future contributions will be more efficacious. Molders as well as reflectors of public opinion, they are not only the eyes of the slumbering giant, but they have the power to amplify

the voice of his uneasy conscience as well. They have often roused him to furious reaction; they have not frequently informed him adequately enough about what action to take.

(8) The Social Scientist has long enjoyed the privilege of criticizing corrections from a comfortably safe distance; it is only in recent times that he has entered the field as a researcher, a participant observer, a consultant and an innovator. His performance is too recent and too variable to permit summary characterization. Nevertheless, to this observer at least, the omens of promise are increasingly clouded with omens of foreboding. As the high priest of the victorious new religion of science, he may be treading too confidently into a place that has been the graveyard of too many hopes before him.

(9) The Treatment Professionals. Once the glowing bride of corrections, Treatment has long since turned into its nagging wife. Treatment personnel are the little old ladies of any institution: vanity, as much as anything else, keeps them from behaving as viragos in the public company of their husbands, the correctional administrators. In any case, administrators, like all other neglectful husbands, are useful scapegoats who can be blamed for the failure of the marriage.

In common with other correctional employees, the professional is largely preoccupied with saving his own image in the face of his failure. Since the image was more flattering to begin with, the task of face-saving is more preoccupying, and the professional must, understandably, devote more time and effort to it. Within limits, he can do this by laying blame at the doors of the correctional administrator, the custodian, the politicians and the public. With his celebrated gift of insight into the foibles of others, the professional, by and large, has apparently found himself unwanting - though unwanted. But he has been careful to contain his complaining within decorous limits: these are reached when any one in authority raises the question about why he remains on the pot instead of getting off it. At this point the professional complainer tends to shift to his second role of martyr and long-suffering missionary. But the indifference and tolerant contempt in which most members of treatment staffs are held by most inmates testifies to inadequate ardor in this role as well. The inmates have learned that the typical therapist will neither be his champion nor his antagonist: the activities of treatment staffs are rarely significant enough to be cited in lists of inmate grievances. (It is the lack of treatment that is sometimes complained of, not its presence.) When he is not seen as a little old lady or a neuter, the prison therapist is often viewed as a professional snitch, a soft glove over the horny hand of custody, or as an ear and voice to exploit for purposes of recommendations for earlier release.

(10) Prevalent Police Attitudes toward correction are direct and straightforward; it is difficult to represent them in their disarming simplicity without seeming to engage in caricature. Prisons are good - especially when they are tough - because they punish the criminals caught by the police. But prisons become bad when they let criminals back into the street, where the police have to catch them all over again, which seems like a big waste of energy. Parole boards are especially bad because they let criminals out earlier than their maximum sentences ordain. Probation and parole officers are all right when they act like policemen but terrible when they act like counselors and friends. Prison psychologists are probably crazy. If they are not crazy they are fools being conned by convicts. Politicians are crooked - and couldn't care less anyway about the crime problem, except when it comes to election time. Judges are notoriously unreliable; you can never be sure which side they are on, your's or the criminal's. As for criminals, everybody knows they were probably born that way, but nobody wants to do anything about it.

Through the highly articulate voices of their guilds, policemen have given these attitudes an amplification which frequently arouses legislators and other vote-conscious officials to action: this action is invariably in the direction of increasing severity. As one of the more effective lobbyists for the correctional retrogression, the police establishment must be reckoned with: the aspiring correctional innovator who refuses to engage it in dialogue does so to the detriment of his own cause. Because the police feel neglected, they tend to be unexpectedly responsive to those who take the trouble to talk to them and who are courteous enough to listen in return. This observer has rarely found them unresponsive to a frank encounter in a dialogic situation; one has the impression that they would go along even when they disagreed, if they were shown the consideration of being consulted.

(11) The Offenders are the ultimate consumers of corrections, and the ultimate determiners of its effectiveness. They are also the least consulted of all of the actors in the drama - and this fact, taken together with the former one, may point to a pervasive contributor to the general correctional dilemma. To paraphrase a noted phrase-maker: Rarely in the history of human endeavor has so little been asked of so many who might have so much to give. In another paper I attempted to suggest some of the consequences of this neglected opportunity:

> It is not to be wondered at that prisoners reject a situation which has essentially rejected them. The spontaneous human response to the denial of participation is subversion. Refusing to commit themselves to a program they had no part in making, and which they cannot trust because it will not trust them, the

collectivity of exiles, thrown back on their own resources, create an underground program of their own. The overriding purpose of this program is to enable them to re-assert the automony which the official program has denied them. But the assertion of initiative in a situation which forbids it is explicitly illegal. It follows, in the nature of the case, that the representative institutional situation gives the offender no alternative to the loss of his autonomy except that of continuing his career of law-violation within the walls. The convicts have their own name for the program they create for themselves: they call it a School of Crime.

What conclusions might be drawn from this model of the universe within which a state correctional system operates? To this observer they seem almost suspiciously self-evident:

(1) Despite its authoritarian structure at internal local levels, the system as a whole is essentially directionless and un-controlled. It is not merely without any consistent, sustained external direction - it is equally incapable of directing itself.

(2) None of the many individual forces which are singly capable of disturbing the system are singly capable of moving it in any sustained direction, or of initiating and maintaining any funda-mental change.

(3) Vulnerable to a bewildering variety of disequilibrating influences, the system is preponderantly occupied with maintain-ing its own internal balance by means of constant minor adjustments. Unguided, except on the level of rhetoric, by any coherent plan, these adjustments are made on the level of many microscopically local arrangements, unknown and invisible to higher administrative authorities. At all levels, administrative opportunism and defensive readjustment is the rule.

(4) In the face of a loss of actual control, correctional administrators have learned how to simulate the appearance of control by anticipating the thrust of many forces and predicting their probable resolution. By then "ordering" the system to move in the fore-ordained direction, they can create the appearance of steering while actually doing little more than holding on to the wheel.

These effects typically produce a paradoxical end-result. While severely limiting both creative and destructive initiatives, the system cannot eliminate them: thus it fails to achieve its overall objective of co-ordinated control. Likewise, while failing to achieve the degree of self-direction and self-esteem necessary for a personal commitment to the program, the participants at ground level can still rescue enough initiative to resist the stultifying effects of total standardization, thereby blunting and distorting the thrust of the overall program.

In the face of the crisis created by a correctional apparatus which can neither direct nor correct itself, it seems essential that the other interest groups possessing latent but unexerted influence be dynamically re-introduced into the universe. These groups would include, above all, the citizenry, the responsible members of the media, and the offenders. In 'this reform-and-rescue operation, the legislature and the judiciary have indispensible roles to play as well.

To accomplish these objectives a massive and intensive program of re-education is indispensible for all concerned - and experience with traditionally abstract techniques of lecture-and-book learning suggests that this re-education must be considerably more impactful than any used heretofore.

III. THE FIRST OPERATIONAL IMPERATIVE:

CAN AUTHENTIC COMMUNICATION BE ACHIEVED?

In the face of cross-purposes characterizing the agendas of the actors in the universe, the possibility of attaining an authentic dialogue becomes highly moot. Because they find themselves burdened with a greater weight of moral impedimenta the official actors in the criminal justice system must carry the heaviest burden of inauthenticity. Thus, judges are under some constraint to believe that the sentences they impose are (to some extent at least) beneficial to those they sentence. Legislators are under some constraint to believe that the laws they pass offer equal protection to all. Policemen and prosecutors must acknowledge a duty to deal fairly with suspect and defendants: with the unjust as well as the just. Finally, correctional administrators, being the recipients of the final products of the system - namely, the institutionalized offenders - must bear the ultimate burden of all of the conflicting moral imperatives combined. It is not surprising, therefore, that they also exhibit the greatest strain under the load.

The extent to which correctional personnel, in their communica-tion with each other and with the society at large, find themselves constrained to resort to languages of pretended reality, is one index of the strain. They suffer from penalties and injuries of a more personal kind as well. Since they are physically closest to the offender, they are, more than any other group in the criminal justice system, closer to the truth of the final impact of that system on the offender. It thus turns out that the group required to make the ultimate "delivery" on the moral promises of the system, is the group which is least protected from the knowledge - and the consequences - of the system's failure to deliver. It would be hard to imagine a situation more efficient for the institutionalization of inauthenticity as an occupational necessity.

The Strategic Position of the Offender

Paradoxically, it is the offender - alone among the significant actors in the system - who is most free of its moral encumberances. And this may be so because he is wholly encumbered in its realities: the trap he finds himself in is existential rather than moral. Because he endures on his own skin the pains of imprisonment, he has no vested interest in concealing or minimizing them - and every incentive to proclaim and magnify them. The same exposure of deficiencies which might endanger the franchise of the other actors can only benefit him.

There is, in fact, one sense in which his moral position as a prisoner is, if anything, more satisfying than his keeper's. The prisoner may not be able to convince his keeper - or any one else - that he does not deserve his punishment. But he is in an ideal position, given the chance, to convince any one that it does him more harm than good. Moreover, he knows that his keeper knows it too, however much his keeper may feel constrained to avoid acknowledging it for the record. Because he sincerely believes his treatment is in fact harmful to him, and because he also suspects that his keepers secretly agree with him, the prisoner, given the opportunity, is in a position to call their moral bluff and, in effect, turn the moral tables on them. (It was they, after all, who said that they were carrying out society's "enlightened policy" toward offenders.)

As the beneficiary of a more authentic position, the offender can do more than merely turn the moral tables on his jailors. By proclaiming the shared secret, he can invite the other members of the system to free themselves from the moral trap by acknowledging it. But this contingency (which suggested the basic strategy of the workshop) is itself fraught with danger. For the thing which must be admitted is hardly flattering to the system, and to those who operate it.

The achievement of authenticity for them involves the acknowledgement that what is passing for correctional treatment is little more than a continuation of the war upon the criminal. A war which began on the street, and which might have been defensible on the street, where the criminal was free and presumably dangerous - but which is decidedly less defensible after the offender is disarmed, in close custody, and presumably helpless. For those who already feel uneasy about the possibility that they may find themselves in a less favorable moral position than their designated moral inferiors, the open acknowledgment of that possibility is likely to unleash highly antagonistic feelings. Nevertheless, to believe that the achievement of an honest and mutually credible dialogue is a priority upon which all the later objectives must be grounded -

requires that risk be taken. Which is to say: if, in order to work together, the participants must first have come to trust each other, and if, in order to trust each other, they must first have come to believe each other, and if, in order to believe each other, the false positions which some had taken toward the other must first be acknowledged so that they could then be abandoned - and if, finally, this process were to precipitate emotional storms which might disrupt the whole enterprise, the participants must still be prepared to negotiate those storms, whatever the costs. It is that negotiation which is, and will probably remain, the fundamental problem of this kind of endeavor.

Chapter Two

ON MAKING ARRANGEMENTS: SITE SELECTION, STAFF SELECTION,

STAFF TRAINING AND LOGISTICAL ARRANGEMENTS, ETC.*

While the Workshop organizers are involved, with one part of their minds, in the indispensible speculations and specifications cited in the last chapter, they are, simultaneously, making another kind of preparation: one which involves geographical trips rather than "head trips." In the ordinary course of preparation, core staff can count on a minimum of five of these, sometimes brief, sometimes more extended sojourns at or near the site of the future Workshop.

1. SITE SELECTION

The physical and social ecology of the setting seems quite important: we probably know and are able to discuss only a fraction of what we intuitively apprehend of this subject.

The notion of a cultural island seems important. There is a sense in which the participants must bring their working world with them - but there is also a sense in which they must leave it behind. And having left it behind, ways must be found to make it very difficult for them to get back to it. Bluntly: They must find it very inconvenient, if not impossible to interrupt their participation in order to get back home, or to the office. We have found that sheer distance is very helpful. The further away the home base, the less urgent the "emergency."

The experience, over the full span of days, contains many inevitable stress situations. Often a participant will have to struggle with himself in order to make himself "hang in" and stay with it. If he is conscientious he may repress any conscious desire to leave the scene. But at such moments he is very vulnerable to the phone call from home, or from the office. Any "legitimate" reason to leave the setting is likely to pull him away. It follows that a certain amount of distance, both spatial and psychological, is essential.

On the other hand, the geographical distance cannot be too great, particularly if certain categories of participants - such as prisoners - are not permitted to spend the nights at the site. Any travel time more than two hours one way (which means four hours both ways) works an excessive hardship. Ideally, for such participants, no site further than one hour away should be chosen.

Distance is merely one of several critical variables.

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*The most important part of this chapter is, of course, the part that cannot be written, hence, the ETC., ETC. deals with what the best foresight could not anticipate. It is best to anticipate a lot of it.

The site should have within it a sufficient number of attractions and ammenities to induce the participants to refrain from wandering off into the countryside or the neighboring area after working hours. (As we will see, the most important work takes place after working hours.) If the site is itself unattractive and, at the same time, close to a pleasant town, people will slip away in twos and threes. Given the psychological stresses, the centrifugal tendencies are very strong: physical dispersion of the group is almost unavoidable if the members can, in fact, "get away from it all" by leaving the site.

The site should be such that they can still "get away from it all" while remaining on the grounds - and in each other's informally chosen company.

This brings us to the most important site consideration of all.

There must be a place, indoors and away from the working and living areas, where people can get away, relax, drink, get angry and friendly - not merely in pairs or triads, but in larger groups. If such a place exists, the participants will spontaneously find it and make it their own. (If they don't find it themselves, the spontaneous discovery can be subtly arranged.) Once they find it, they will take charge of it. They will make it their own turf - and they will defend it against the staff. The staff will be able to enter it only by invitation. (At a certain phase, of course, all staff members are the "enemy".)

In our own shop jargon we refer to the after-hours (sometimes all-night) sessions held in such a place as the "Section 8 Meetings". Veterans of World War II will understand the term. As a matter of fact, it was coined by the participants. It is at these sessions that the ventilation of feelings find full expression. Whatever anyone was unable to get out in the group meetings or during the plenary sessions should be able to emerge here, with full tolerance for vividness and language. Without dealing further with this mechanism - which properly belongs to a discussion of process - we can say a few more words about the place itself.

At St. John's College in Maryland it was a large, comfortable living room in the basement of an unused dormitory. It was a little out of the way. The male participants found it first, which was fortunate, because they had a chance to establish a very vital, free-wheeling bar-room culture in it before the ladies arrived. By the time the girls found it, it was too late for them to redeem it. It remained a bar-room, in spite of the ladies. There is no question in our minds but that the most important events of the first Maryland Workshop occurred in that room. Whatever happened elsewhere was a necessary prelude.

2. STAFF SELECTION

The principles which have guided our selection of staff may be summarized as follows:

a. Although the staff for the first workshop of a series must be drawn from sources other than participants, all future programs should recruit a number of faculty members from the participants of the workshop preceding.

b. Faculty members should be working representatives of several of the sub-systems of the field under study.

c. The faculty should include representatives of the consumers of the field's services.

We consider each of these criteria sufficiently compelling to require a rather strict adherence. There are a number of reasons for this, some of them operational and technical, others (more critical) ideological. We will deal with the most important of these first.

In all of the conventional services agencies of which we have knowledge, those persons being served by the agency are divided from those providing the services by fixed status boundaries. The clients remain clients, the practitioners remain practitioners, and neither group exercises the functions of the other. In view of the fact that the social disabilities of "problem people" stem, at least in part, from their lack of mobility - from the condition of being locked into a dependent and inferior status - it seems ironic and self-defeating for the treatment situation to duplicate the same constraints against mobility which contributed to the problem in the first place. It follows that some way must be found to overcome the status barriers, and to provide a demonstration of mobility in the workshop process itself. By recruiting new faculty from among previous participants and, most particularly, from clients we are asserting:

(1) That the role of client, far from being disqualifying, is excellent training and preparation for participation in a process which has, as one of its major objectives, the transcendence of the whole system of "clientage-patronage" in the human services field.

(2) The most direct way to demonstrate the fact that the client has an important contribution to make is to place him in a serving role with those who have formerly been providing services to him.

(3) The public performance of this new role is, in itself, the major instrument for the client's emergence from his former status.

(4) The inclusion of former participants on the faculty signals to the new participants that those who are conducting the workshop are, in fact, operating in accordance with their stated principles - and not merely asserting them as theoretical ideals.

In addition to these considerations-of-principle there are indispensible operational advantages to be gained from adherence to the guidelines suggested above. If for no other reason than its uniqueness and its deviation from conventional frameworks, the only effective preparation for a faculty role is previous experience as a participant. As a former participant the new faculty member can recall the kinds of interventions which moved him - and he can recognize those which left him cold or turned him off. In short, he can, as a facilitator, still retain much of his perspective as a participant - and he is in a better position to see himself through the eyes of his beholders. This, at bottom, is what the workshop is all about in the first place.

3. STAFF TRAINING IN APPROPRIATE FACULTY ROLES

Perhaps the most vivid way to conceptualize the role of the faculty member is to differentiate it from what it is not. The faculty member functions as a facilitator in the small group meetings. The small group is a microcosm of the workshop - just as the workshop is a microcosm of the field under study. It is neither a therapy group, a training group nor a sensitivity group; accordingly, the facilitator is neither a therapist nor a trainer. He is not an outside expert, nor is he a moderator or a discussion leader.

His way of influencing the group is purely by example: he is a role-model, standing, in his behavior, for the core values of the workshop process: sharing, risking and caring. He does not teach or preach these values: he acts on them. By his example of direct encounter with other group members he promotes recognition of the fact that the problems of the field are in the room - not "somewhere, out there, with other people". He thereby indicates that merely talking about problems, in the abstract, is not enough. The problems are in the room. "We are the problems; we are also the solutions. The buck can't be passed: each of us is holding it. Therefore, we must do more than talk about each other: we must talk to each other - and each must indicate how and where he stands."

But, ideally, he does not have to say this: he does it himself. When he senses evasiveness, rationalization or inauthenticity in other members he confronts them directly - and the only way he can get away with this is by sensing, acknowledging and correcting the same behavior in himself. It is his readiness to confront himself which gives him the license to confront the others.

Above all, he must demonstrate that the group can survive conflict - and this is possible only after antagonisms have been brought to the surface. As constituent members of a failing system, many of the group members are each other's "natural enemies" in the world beyond the workshop. Each has the most valid of reasons to dislike and mistrust many of the others. To permit or promote an atmosphere of inauthentic cordiality and conviviality at the outset would merely be to deepen the mutual mistrust. The participants, at the outset, have no reason to trust, to believe or to like each other: the trust and friendship must be earned - and it can be earned only after the group members have "come clean" with each other. By the example of his own behavior and above all, by his own vulnerability, the facilitator is asserting what may well be a basic truth of human relations: the test of a positive relationship is its capacity to work through what might destroy it: we can truly trust each other only after experiencing and surviving what we have against each other. So much, for the moment, about the role of the facilitator - of which we will have more to say in the chapter dealing with process.

Experience with a variety of training approaches suggests that the most appropriate training vehicle is problem simulation. The facilitators are assembled in a group which includes representatives of the other sub-systems of the field under study. (In our workshops, which have dealt with the criminal justice field, these representatives included convicts, correctional officers, probation and parole officers, etc.)

The staff person responsible for training next outlines the role and task of the group facilitators in the context of the general objectives of the workshop. He describes the phases through which the group process are likely to evolve during the eight to ten days of the workshop. (See chapter three.) He then proposes that the training group constitute itself as a workshop group for the purpose of simulating problems of group interaction which the members are likely to encounter during the various phases of the total program.

A number of devices are available. Certain members may be "programmed" to create problems. The trainer may assign given participants to play the role of "monopolizer", "gate-keeper", "de-escalator", (a person who continually intervenes for the purpose of cooling-off a hot encounter). During the course of these simulations the various facilitators may take turns performing their future roles, after which the group is encouraged to offer a critique.

The purpose of the training sessions is to provide an experience of self-discovery and personal mobilization for each of the future facilitators. They are encouraged to involve themselves, to take risks, to expose their own uncertainties and vulnerabilities -

in short, to practice "being themselves". Again and again the trainer emphasizes - chiefly by example - that the major errors to be avoided are inauthenticity and non-involvement. It is important that the facilitators get in touch with their own patterns of defense and conflict-avoidance, not only for the purpose of dealing with their own limitations in these areas but for the purpose of countering them in others. Experience suggests that the number of training sessions necessary for adequate preparation of the facilitators is somewhere in the ratio of one session for every two facilitators. (Thus, for example, a staff of eight facilitators would require a total of four day-long sessions.)

4. LOGISTICAL AND SUPPORT STAFF

For a workshop consisting of one hundred participants - for whom housing and transportation arrangements must be made - it is advisable to provide an office manager assisted by two secretaries and two additional persons available for driving cars and running errands.

During the workshop a great deal of material must be typed and duplicated for distribution to the participants. During the registration period the various participants must be distributed into groups (of from 12 to 15 members), must be assigned to quarters and be provided with sufficient information to enable them to move knowledgeably about the area. In the event that certain categories of participants - such as convicts - must be moved each day to and from an institution, the office manager will need to co-ordinate transportation arrangements with a member of the institutional staff. He must also maintain close contact with the personnel of the site.

It is impossible to anticipate the multiplicity of logistical complications likely to arise during the course of a workshop. The safest strategy is to ensure clear lines of communication and a sufficient number of office staff to cope with the unanticipated.

For the purpose of maintaining a vital record of the proceedings, it is advisable to provide a tape-technician supplied with a sufficient number of tape recorders and tapes for recording the plenary and group sessions. This individual is likely to have his hands full. We have not had the luxury of more than one tape-technician at any of our workshops. At least one additional technician would be helpful.

5. GUEST SPEAKERS, PANELS AND TOURING FIREMEN

Repeated experience has led us to minimize the contribution to be made by experts who visit the workshop for a set speech or presentation. Except for the opening and concluding sessions (i.e., graduation) the guest speakers (local or national dignitaries and experts) lend little more than an aura of prestige to the proceedings.

Political considerations may dictate a limited number of such appearances - a welcoming address by the Governor of the state is not amiss - but the degree of reliance on the procedure should be minimal.

In our Washington workshop we had greater success with the use of panels. At an early point during the Washington workshop, we invited a panel consisting of members of the various representative figures from the government and the community. The persons chosen reflected a variety of views and interests, a number of which were in conflict. We called this panel a "Tell-It-Like-It-Is" presentation. The interaction between the panelists themselves, and with the participants in the audience was both lively and illuminating. At a later point we convened another panel for a "Tell-It-Like-It-Can-Be" presentation. The members of this panel represented a number of indigenous community organizations. Again, the discussion was highly provocative and illuminating - and much to the point of the workshop's interest in the development of new alternatives.

At every workshop there were occasions to make decisions about persons who wished to visit for brief periods. As a general rule, the "touring fireman" should be politely but firmly discouraged. Nothing is more likely to dilute the intensity of the workshop process and to endanger the development of mutual trust than the sudden and brief appearance of outside observers. This is particularly the case in the small groups - but it applies also to plenary sessions. The workshop should be limited to full-time participants.

6. NEWS MEDIA RELATIONS

Each of the conferences has understandably attracted a large amount of journalistic interest. The presence of all the participants in criminal justice, use of prisoners, prison experiences by non-inmates, psychodrama, are singularly and collectively "newsworthy."

The following suggestions, developed with the help of experienced journalists, are offered as general guidelines for press, radio, and T.V. relations:

1. Assign one individual to responsibility for media relations. This may be an experienced public relations employee on loan from a sponsoring agency, or one of the directors, or one of the coordinators.

2. Prior to the conference, inform local and national media of its time, place, program and objectives.

3. Issue daily press releases on program with partial or full text of the presentations of featured speakers.

4. Acquaint all media with these basic "Ground Rules":

(a) Spot coverage is welcome at all plenary sessions.

(b) Because of the nature and purpose of the small groups, only regular members may attend these sessions. If a writer attends the conference full-time as a "participant observer," he has full access to all activities but must remain with his assigned group.

(c) Journalists have free access to all participants with the privilege of the participant, of course, to grant or deny an interview.

(d) Writers have been willing to use quotes from participants (in plenary sessions, groups, or interviews) but limiting their identification of the speaker to title and state rather than by name.

(e) Where news photographs are taken, particularly of prisoners, releases from the subject should be obtained in writing.

5. Television coverage should be governed by the same "Ground Rules." A documentary film was made of the 1970 Maryland conference and it is doubtful that type of coverage will be repeated in the future.* T.V. documentary policy usually requires written releases for the participants, (see sample on next page).

6. Regardless of anticipated coverage, give prisoners and participants the opportunity to sign general releases so they may have warning of probable publicity. If a prisoner decides to avoid the conference because of possible news publicity, he should have the choice well before conference time.

Experience indicates that media personnel will be sensitive to conference goals where these are outlined. The very nature of the conference, unabashed honesty and searching for truth, is reflected in the generally high quality and perceptions of the news coverage. As an example of this, see Richard Hammer's New York Times Magazine article of September 14, 1969, on the Maryland meeting, or Time Magazine, June 27, 1969, at p. 78.

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*It has received critical acclaim nationally following its showing and is available through: Group W Urban American, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, 90 Park Avenue, New York, New York.

SAMPLE RELEASE FOR DOCUMENTARY FILM

CITY OF _____ STATE OF _____ DATE _____

In consideration of Westinghouse Broadcasting
Company, Inc., (Group W) producing a television
program in which my picture and/or voice may be
used, I hereby grant to Group W and its associated
companies the right to record my picture and/or
voice on film and/or tape, to edit this film and/or
tape at its discretion, and to incorporate this
film and/or tape into a broadcast program; and to
use and to license others to use such film and/or
tape in any manner or media whatsoever, including
unrestricted use for purposes of publicity, adver-
tising and sales promotion, and to use my name,
likeness, voice, biographical and other informa-
tion concerning me.

WITNESS:

_____

                          _____
                          Signature

_____

                          _____
                          (Print name here)

                          _____
                          Address

THE PROCESS IN THEORY AND ACTION

1. Work Settings

    The action of the Workshop occurs in three kinds of settings:

    (1) plenary meetings, which all participants attend,

    (2) small group meetings, attended by 12 to 15 participants
         and a ficilitator,

    (3) informal, after-hours meetings, ("Section 8 Meetings"),
         attended on a "come-who-will" basis each evening.

2. The Instrumentalities

    a. Psychodrama. The major instrumentality of the plenary
session is a form of simulation related, technically, to psycho-
drama and at times - but only at times - approaching the power
and intensity which the creator of the method, J. L. Moreno,
would require for a true psychodrama. These simulations at times
involve role-playing and re-enactment; on other occasions, they
transcend mere role-playing and go beyond a recapitulation of the
past. At best, the protagonists are able to develop new levels
of awareness and response: it is on these occasions that the
description "psychodrama" would be appropriate.

    The literature of psychodrama is immense and international,
but the number of trained practitioners is small and the skill
is difficult to learn, to practice - and, above all, difficult
to describe in a written report.*

    The method itself involves a synthesis of contraries: the
deliberate staging of a situation for the explicit purpose of
eliciting the unexpected. There is planning - but this planning
has, as its goal, an event which comes as a surprise to everyone,
including the planner. It is this element of the unexpected which
is the distinguishing sine-qua-non of the method. Nevertheless,
this spontaneous emergence of the unanticipated requires a context
which is known and even carefully structured in advance in order
to have full effect.

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*The Moreno Academy, located at 259 Wolcott Avenue, Beacon, New York
12508, has accredited a number of institutes for the training and
certification of psychodramatists and maintains a current list of
qualified directors. One of these institutes is located at St. Eliz-
abeths Hospital in Washington, D. C. and operates under the sponsor-
ship of the United States Public Health Service. A complete listing
of accredited institutes' practitioners is available upon inquiry
to the Moreno Academy. The Academy also publishes a quarterly
journal entitled GROUP THERAPY AND PSYCHODRAMA, and maintains a
current bibliography of books, monographs, and articles on the
theory, methodology, and research.

The first objective of the psychodrama is to evoke from the protagonists a revelation of the scenario, the "script" which they have been following in recurring scenes in their actual lives. They are encouraged, first, to enact certain portions of this script, which they already know quite well - frequently too well - because, for one reason or another, they have not been able to extricate themselves from it. In a sense, the actors are trapped within the script. It is usually a play they did not write: it was created for them, and they were cast in it without their consent, and sometimes, most of the time, perhaps, to their detriment.

As the enactment of the known becomes more vivid, the element of conscious acting recedes: instead of simulating the past, the protagonist begins to re-live it. The event is happening again: with the "same" people - despite the fact that these familiar people are being represented by "stand-ins". The re-living moves, in swiftly developing scenes, to a moment of personal crisis: the traumatic event. (According to psychodramatic theory, the individual is constantly "re-living" this event at some near-conscious level at all times: it pervades and it may distort his perceptions of everyday events.)

At the peak moment of crisis, when the protagonist is about to "do his old number again", that is, to fail again, the Director stops the action, sometimes with shattering abruptness. The protagonist is placed before the situation again, and challenged to do something new. If he succeeds, he will have broken out of the trap, he will have released himself from the script.

How this is accomplished is beyond the scope and skill of the writers to detail in the space available: it would be less than honest of us to suggest that we could adequately explain it even if we had the space. The essentials of the technique can be learned and communicated: the essence of the art can, perhaps, be learned but not communicated except by the experience of it. An authentic psychodrama is an original play, written by the actors in the course of creating it. That play can be reviewed. It probably cannot be explained, even by its authors.

In the same sense that seeing the play may carry greater impact and deliver deeper insights than merely reading the script, so the vivid enactment of the human implications of certain ideas may enable profounder understanding of those ideas than merely reading about them or discussing them. If what men believe has power in their lives - but if they never discuss what they believe except in rational and abstract ways, they may, themselves, fall out of touch with what is moving them. They may be using abstractions with the effect, if not the purpose - of de-realizing them.

Now it is an unfortunate but universal phenomenon that those who live, work and think daily with the same core notion experience, perhaps by sheer repetition and adaptation, a slow process of

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de-realization. Ask a psychiatrist what he means by "schizophrenia", and he will be able to provide you with an hour lecture - but by the end of it, neither he nor you will have had any vivid notion of what schizophrenia is to the schizophrenic.

Take, now, the term "life sentence" - a term frequently used by judges, parole officers, prosecutors and correctional people. They too can discuss the meanings of the concept with impressive perspicasity. But nothing they say would have the impact of a simple statement made by a convict to a judge in the course of a psychodrama. At one point the convict turned to the judge - who was playing the part of the judge who had actually sentenced him. Suddenly, with eyes blazing and voice shaking, he extended a bony arm and said:

"You yawned. God damn you, you YAWNED. You yawned your way through my life sentence!"

The impact on the judge playing the part was extreme. It may have brought him back to a moment in his own court when, with perhaps insensitive casualness, and in the course of a few seconds, he pronounced words which meant years to the man standing before him.

It may be clear now that the purpose of psychodrama is not theatre.

We were dealing in these workshops with people who represented singularly fateful characters for each other in real life. The actual relations between these characters was frequently disastrous. As symbolic actors in a drama soaked with blood, they have engaged each other in the most destructive of ways. Both as stock characters and actual persons, they have intense feelings about each other.

Our major concern is not with their feelings, nor with the ventilation or clarification of those feelings. Our deeper purpose is to create a situation in which they may move each other to take new forms of action toward one another: the kinds of action which will deliver them from the catastrophes they have mutually created, and in which they are still enmeshed.

In order for men to move one another they must reach each other; it is not enough that they merely "understand" each other intellectually. But in order to reach one another, they must first want to reach out to each other. For antagonists this is not possible until each can somehow come to experience the other in some common personal region of the Self.

We take it as axiological that the only way to share the personal reality of another is to place oneself in his human situation, thereby experiencing his reality as if it is happening to the Self.

It follows that the whole system of psychodrama is based on the reversal of roles. It follows also that the essence of the workshop

experience is one long and continuous process of role-reversal. It is for this reason that all free-world participants are encouraged to spend at least one night and day in prison as convicts - and the offenders are placed, alternatively, in the roles of their victims and their judges. What we are suggesting, at bottom, is this: the person who pulls the trigger knows how it feels to shoot - but only the person receiving the bullet knows how it feels to be shot.

b. The Small Group Instrumentality

The membership of the small group remains fixed throughout the workshop. It is the "family unit" for each participant, commanding his first loyalty, and providing an intimate, sheltering context for his emergence as an individual personality. It is, in addition, a microcosm of the entire field under study - and, as such, it is an arena for the conflict and resolution of social problems and social roles as well. Above all, it is a situation in which the tension between personal and social roles - in their fusion, diffusion and confusion - can be examined to the limits of their human implications, not only for the individuals in the room but for the community at large. This, perhaps, is the most critical issue - both for the individual and the society - for it places before each member, both as a unique person and as the occupant of a social status, the burning question of the relation between these crucial aspects of the Self.

It requires him to deal with the question, "How much of Me is included in what I am doing in my job - and how much is left out? What parts of me are fulfilled in my occupational role - and which parts of me are violated? What are the personal costs and profits of my work - and how are these related to my impact on those with whom I deal? In fine, how much of my own human-ness and theirs - is salvaged and how much is sacrificed by what I do?"

Because of the fact that each participant in the group is in a face-to-face situation with precisely those people whom he affects, it becomes difficult to evade these questions, once they are raised. The task of the group is to raise them, as dynamically as possible. Once this is done, the next question becomes, "How can I work to change what I am doing, and the structures and conditions which constrain my action, to make what I do more fulfilling to my own person-ness and to the person-ness of those whom I affect?" It is at this point that the issues of personal and social change become fused.

Unless and until this point is reached, the process will not have its intended effect. People do not risk and invest themselves in their work until their occupational agendas become personal agendas: until what they do and avoid doing touches them where they most deeply live. The alienation of the person from his work has frequently been cited by observers of the modern scene. One of the effects of this alienation is ultimately dangerous for the community at

large. The process of alienation makes it psychologically possible for essentially decent people to treat other people as things. By "leaving himself out" of what he is doing, by keeping his personal Self insulated from his occupational Self, the individual can engage in the most destructive and dehumanizing activities without personally crippling psychological damage.*

Again and again in the course of these workshops we are confronted with the paradox which the sociologist Everett Hughes once described in his paper, "Good People and Dirty Work".** It is the problem of understanding how obviously personable, sensitive and sincere people - both the convicts and their keepers - manage to keep the attractive aspects of their personalities uncontaminated by the dehumanizing activities in which they are engaged. And just as the mistreatment by criminals of their victims cannot be explained simply by invoking the notion of an individual personal depravity, neither can the mass mistreatment of the convicts by their appointed keepers and helpers be explained by a similar appeal to a like shibboleth. Nevertheless, what seems to be at work in both cases is an essentially similar process of depersonalization of the Other and insulation of the Self.

Just as the criminal protects himself from empathy with his victim by defining him as a non-person - a "mark" - so the professional protects himself from a sense of fellow-feeling with his mistreated client by defining him as the occupant of an admin-istrative category. In each case the Other - victim or client - is viewed as a creature essentially different from the Self. The specific rationalizations used to justify these denials of common humanity may differ - but the self-defensive character of the process seems obvious. The thief would not want to be stolen from. The prosecutor would shrink from being held to the merciless letter of the law; the judge, in his own situation, would prefer the more compassionate verdict of his friends. For any of these to place himself in the situation of the other, to identify with that other, would be to risk an emotionally disruptive empathic feedback.

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*For an illuminating discussion of this process the reader is referred to a discussion of the treatment of mental hospital patients by World War II conscientious objectors (pacifists) assigned as ward attendents to fulfill their obligation of alternative service. See Harold Orlans, "An American Death Camp," in Bernard Rosenberg, Israel Gerver and F. William Howton, Mass Society in Crisis, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1964, pp. 614-628).

**Everett C. Hughes, "Good People and Dirty Work," Social Problems, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 3-11.

Faced with the fact of their mistreatment and a denial of fellow-feeling, the individuals involved must cope with the problem of personal responsibility. If the individual is unable to justify the mistreatment as intrinsically just or desireable, there are at least two typical devices he can employ to insulate himself. One of these is an appeal to the occupational imperatives of the job - rules and conditions over which the job-occupant has no control. The overworked professional may agree that it is unfortunate that he cannot give adequate personal attention to each client - but he is quick to point to the stringency of regulations, the excessive size of his caseload and the generalized apathy of the community. (He is not yet ready to admit that his acceptance of these conditions is contributing to their persistance.)

Another typical insulating device is the taking of an objective, professional attitude to the task at hand, by maintaining a rigid distinction between what the job requires and what one would ordinarily permit himself to do with those with whom he is personally involved. If he can successfully maintain these insulating devices, it becomes entirely possible for him to function as a dehumanized, efficient machine on the job and a warm, sensitive and caring person at home and with his friends.

It is precisely this insulation which it is the goal of the group process to destroy. But it is not enough to confront the participants intellectually with the fact that the conditions which they accept as intrinsic requirements of their missions are precisely those which make those missions fail. Unless this recognition transcends the level of a merely professional conflict and becomes a personal conflict, and unless the persistence of that conflict becomes personally unendurable, it is unlikely that they will exert the effort and take the risks required to change those conditions.

Progressive Stages of the Small-Group Process: An Overview

It is possible to differentiate a number of phases through which the group process evolved in the course of the workshop.

Phase One: Detachment, Rationalization and Conflict-Avoidance

Initially the members, particularly those who are members of the official sub-systems, strive to maintain their detachment. Asked to describe what they do and how they feel about it, they will tend to limit themselves to facts and discussions of external conditions. Some will strive to mask their uneasiness by affecting a breezy informality and aimiability; others will maintain a watchful reserve. Typical during this early phase is an attempt to center on one of the clients, to question him, to get him to talk about himself. Anec-dotalizing, telling stories, going into life histories, analyzing and advising are typical tactics during this phase. If this continues beyond the first day the facilitator might set a personal example of direct engagement. He might raise the question, "How would you feel about dealing with me - if I were one of your (clients, judges, probation officers, etc.)", Or, "This is how I would feel about you if I were one of your (clients, judges, victims, probation officers, etc.)".

Phase Two: Conflict-Emergence and Confrontation

By the second day the phase of detachment and rationalization should be succeeded by a more authentic encounter between the participants. Since they do not yet know each other as individuals, they can deal with each other only or largely in terms of stereo-types - but these stereotypes are emotionally loaded. The ventilation of negative feelings quickly produces attacks, counter-attacks and self-justifications. The participants are engaged in making alliances against their natural antagonists: the search is for the faults in the others. The atmosphere becomes increasingly tense and stressful - and those participants who were unable or unwilling to ventilate their feelings in the group will seek out their natural allies in the informal evening sessions for purposes of mutual support and commiseration. In an 8 to 10 day conference this phase should ordinarily continue - and worsen - for between three and four days. The facilitator must be particularly vigilant against attempts to smooth things over, to de-escalate the conflict process. Those who withdraw must be encouraged to participate; those who try to "maintain their cool" must be confronted. Diplomacy and mediation are inappropriate during this phase. Long or even short-winded recitations, analyzing, and advising are to be discouraged: if none of the participants are willing to cut the speech-maker off, the facilitator must set the example.

Toward the end of this phase the free-world participants will have made their visits, as inmates, to the institution. Returning to the conference, they will report their experiences, which in many cases will have been deeply disturbing. The stage will be set for the shift from aggressive examination of antagonists to a searching examination of the self.

Phase Three: Critical Self-Examination and Acknowledgement of Personal Responsibility

During the first half of the workshop the establishment representatives - the members of the official sub-systems - will have taken the worst of their lumps. The clients - the convicts - as the most vehement accusers, are still "looking good". As victims of a system theoretically designed to rehabilitate them, they have given overwhelmingly convincing testimony of the system's futility and inhumanity. And shortly the free-world participants will ratify this testimony by their own experiences in the roles of inmates. But just prior to the institutional visits, the spotlight shifts to the internal world of the inmates. Life in the institution is exposed to a searching examination in plenary session psychodramas. And the inmates are revealed in their own roles as manipulators and victim-izers of each other. It becomes clear that many of the inmates are engaged in precisely those activities of oppression, conning and manipulation of which they accuse the staff. They, themselves, are as bad as those they accuse.

The facilitator, who may well be an ex-convict himself, is as unsparing in his exposure of the client-contingent as he was of the officials. The pretensions of the inmate honor code are exploded and found to be as hollow as the establishment rhetoric. A dawning recognition that all are involved in the failings of the system begins to pervade the group consciousness.

Powerful support to this insight is provided by the returnees from the institution. The members of the official sub-systems begin to attack each other; by implication, they are attacking themselves. The client-contingent is given a vivid example of agonizing self-appraisal. The facilitator must make sure that the example is not lost on them. (What are they prepared to do to set their own house in order?)

Phase Four: Unity around the Sense of Mutual Responsibility: The Search for Alternatives

With the achievement of a deeply felt personal sense of responsibility by all or most of the members in the group, the question is no longer, "Who or what is to blame?" but "What can we do about it?" At this point, with two or three days to go, the plenary sessions are psychodramatically exploring alternatives and simulating possible solutions.

In the meantime, the informal evening "Section 8" meetings have changed from gripe sessions to problem-solving sessions. It is at this point, and usually in this place, that the idea of some sort of organization dedicated to continuing the search for new alternatives is spontaneously born and developed.

In the meantime, in the small groups, the former antagonists, having survived the worst of each other, and having found it less intimidating than the confrontation with themselves, are becoming good friends. The trust and good feeling are now put to practical use in the forging of alternatives and a plan for their implementa-tion. The encounter group has become a task group, sending delegates to a Post-Workshop Steering Committee.

Chapter Four

FINAL REPORTS AND EVALUATIONS

As recipients of public funds for a scientific project, the organizers of the workshop will be expected to share their findings with the appropriate scientific communities and with the sponsoring agency. Professional colleagues will want to know how the design, operation, and results of the project were related to major theoretical considerations of their disciplines. The sponsoring agency will be concerned with ways in which the project and its findings can be generalized and applied in other problem areas with which they are involved.

In fulfilling this obligation, the recipients of the grant face a variety of opportunities and temptations. The obligation to render a scientific report provides them with an incentive to organize their thinking in logical terms. It also may tempt them to create the impression that an essentially ad hoc, improvisatory effort was wholly thought through in advance. There is an additional temptation; a temptation to forge, with the typewriter, a victory that was not achieved in the field.

Because the organizers of the project can never be sure that they have not succumbed in one way or another to a need to "make everything come out all right in the end," it seems essential that the report of the project organizers be supplemented by reports from two additional sources: an independent evaluator and the participants themselves. In the following pages we will provide an example of each of these.

A. THE PROJECT ORGANIZERS' REPORT OF THE 1969 MARYLAND WORKSHOP, (St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland)

The Problem

One way to approach the resolution of a many-rooted dilemma is to conceive a set of serially linked priorities, each one of which must be met before the next can be approached. Our ultimate objective can be tersely stated: the employment, in a novel way, of a hitherto untapped educational resource of correctional manpower - the offender - for the purpose of creating a sustainable momentum for penal reform in one state. The intermediate priorities require more extended discussion. We will first specify them as a succession of highly problematic contingencies:

(1) Can representatives of the significant action-systems of criminal justice be brought into authentic communication with each other?

(2) Once authenticity is attained, can the communicants effectively continue, in the face of the anger, guilt and humiliation likely to be unleashed by the assault on each other's self-protecting stereotypes and belief-systems?

(3) Can the shared experience of enduring painful self-questioning (from which no one will emerge unscathed) create the appropriate atmosphere of openness, enabling the participants to deal with each other as individuals and equals, on the basis of their common humanity?

(4) Can the powerful positive affect liberated by the experience of sharing be linked to rationally edifying ideas, thereby energizing decisive joint action toward focused objectives?

(5) Can the joint effort be organized so as to sustain itself with sufficient appeal and momentum to involve other essential actors who were not exposed to the original encounter?

Derivation of Variables and Specification and Testing of Hypotheses

On the most general level the effort was grounded on a positive conception of human nature. We assumed that, given opportunity and time, people would prefer honesty to simulation, friendship to hostility - reconciliation to continued war. We also believed that these basic human tendencies could prove stronger than institutional constraints and purely formal loyalties, and we felt that people would take considerable risks in challenging these constraints if the temporary experience of freedom from them were sufficiently rewarding and the prospect of permanent deliverance from them sufficiently believable.

In a demonstration project of this kind one deals with variables of structure and process. Linking these variables contingently together along a continuum of-means-to-ends according to a theory of group dynamics (Moreno, Lewin, Festinger) generates a set of hypotheses which may be projected as predictions and verified by observation. Moving from the more general to the more specific, we believed that:

(1) Varying the conditions of interaction between persons who ordinarily related in highly stereotypic and mutually unsatisfactory ways would produce striking changes in their modes of relating.

(2) These new modes of relating produced by the temporarily altered conditions of interaction would be sufficiently rewarding to persist after the participants returned to their original conditions provided that:

(3) Prior to their return they created a parallel structure within which they could continue to relate according to the new modes while simultaneously performing in the original structure and under the former constraints.

(4) Finally, the stress and tensions created by simultaneous performance under essentially dystonic and mutually frustrating modes would produce a continuing pressure for change, and that the major focus of change would be an attempt to alter the original structures in the direction of, and in favor of, the new and more rewarding modes of the parallel structure.

More specifically:

(1) We brought together role-occupants whose relations with each other were (a) highly antagonistic, (b) highly formalized, (c) extremely restricted in range and time, place and mode of social contact, (d) markedly hierarchical, (e) highly differentiated in prestige and power and (f) almost wholly non-reciprocal.

(2) By prior agreement with all categories of participants, we created an interactional structure and set up a task-situation whose operational norms were favorable to changes in each of the modes of relating structured by their ordinary roles. These new conditions and structures favored (a) cooperation in pursuit of a superordinate goal ("understanding and improving conditions"), (b) informality, (c) a wider range and frequency of social contact, typical of working associates, (d) relating as peers rather than sub-ordinates and superordinates, (e) markedly less differentiated in social prestige and power in the interact situation and (f) highly reciprocal ("we are here to teach and learn from each other.")

The keystone of the altered interactional structure was the transformed role of the offenders. As "convicts" they were ordinarily expected to function as the passive recipients of the influences and the directives of others: they were "bad students requiring correction." As "consultants" they were expected to exert influence as well as receive it, to teach as well as to learn, to talk and be heard, as well as to listen and obey. Above all, they were permitted to contribute. The new role-expectations imposed upon them, the challenge and the opportunity to confront

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and transcend their own typical modes of relating to authority - modes characterized by recrimination, self-pity and self-righteousness, obstruction, "conning" and overt or covert defiance.

By dint of simulating the interaction of the forespecified constructs without our own minds, variously aided by the contributions of a large number of interactional theorists, we were able to make a number of predictions of the sort that could be verified by observation.

Predications

On the basis of the role-sets and expectations which the role-occupants brought with them from their typical situations and relations outside, we predicted the following sequence of phases:

(1) In the initial phase of heightened social distance "hardening of lines," and in-group solidarity, with most of the participants remaining reticent, intent on remaining detached and leaving it to a few articulate spokesmen to carry out the tasks of defense and attack at long range.

(2) Increasing ventilation of hostility, with consequent breakdown of defensive detachment, particularly in the "pressure-cooker" of the small group situation. It was predicted that members of the in-groups (separated and distributed in task-groups during the working sessions) would find occasion to come together after working hours to reinforce their solidarity, "lick their wounds," and "get their ammunition ready" for the next day's warfare.

During this early phase, the emphasis of the program was very clearly on the problems and "faults" of the correctional system - and it was clear that the staff members conducting the plenary sessions were highly critical of conditions and, by implication, highly critical of the personnel "responsible for them." The impression on the part of the official (criminal justice and correctional) participants was that "the staff" was "against us" and "for the cons." This perception was widespread - and, though sometimes misread as personal - was essentially correct. Thus, early in the Workshop, certain key staff members became the targets of recrimination by the official participants, particularly in their after-hours get-togethers, which frequently lasted until the wee hours of the morning.

(3) As time passed, however, it was predicted that the technique of role-reversal - explicit in the psychodramas but implicit in all of the small-group interactions - would make individual incursions in the in-group solidarity of the various categories of

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participants. Furthermore, it was expected that the *close association in informal situations (between sessions, at mealtimes) would promote personal (individual) affiliations (liking, respect) across* group boundaries - and that the same shift from a formal to a more personalized basis of relating would see the *emergence of antagonisms, on an individual basis, within in-group boundaries.*

(4) Next, it was predicted that the dramatic experience of role-reversal fostered by visits to institutions, with the criminal justice personnel taking the role of prisoners, would have the effect of enabling a critical number of participants to detach themselves from their fixed positions and shift from being "critics of their critics" to becoming critics of themselves.

(5) Lastly, it was predicted that the shift from defensive self-justification would be evidence by a movement toward a search for better alternatives. It was predicted, at this point, that the various isolated interest groups would abandon their self-segregation, merge, and begin the function as problem-solving instrumentalities.

Observational Criteria of Change

Each of these hypotheses was supported by direct observation. In the initial sessions most of the members of each occupational category sat physically together, conversed almost entirely with each other, supported each other and refrained from disagreeing with each other in the presence of out-group members. Similar patterns of self-segregation were observed in the dining room and during the rest-periods (breaks) between sessions.

During the course of the Workshop these patterns broke down at an accelerating pace. A dramatic shift in the "agenda" of the after-hours meetings - the "Section 8" groups - sealed the transformation in the character of the experience for the official participants. During the early and middle stages of the Workshop the "Section 8" meetings provided a platform for hostile catharsis, for self-justification, and for recriminations against other participants and the staff. By the latter part of the Workshop, the "Section 8" participants had created the "Curley Commission" - the forerunner of the St. John's Council and had prepared themselves for the role of significant change-agents in their own areas.

By the end of the Workshop strong patterns of personal affiliation across in-group lines were the rule rather than the exception. Seating patterns, informal group gatherings, patterns

of participation, the emergence of personal and ideological alliances across in-group boundaries (evident in the recorded sessions of the small groups.) All gave evidence that significant numbers of participants had drastically changed their modes of relating to each other and to the offenders. A detailed content-and-process analysis of the small-group sessions is beyond our resources at this time. The tapes are available.

Further evidence of the shift in attitudes is available in the more detailed report made by the independent evaluator, Dr. Beryce MacLennon. (at p. 50)

The final hypothesis, dealing with the effectiveness of the new parallel structure (The St. John's Council) can be verified only after additional time. The initial reports of the various task-forces of the Council are appended.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESULTS

On the basis of the findings we came to the following conclusions which are applicable beyond the specific context of our effort:

(a) The consumer of human services - the client - is an educational resource of unparalleled power and appeal.

His presence in the training situation imparts a degree of urgency and reality unavailable from any other source. What the professional worker "does" happens only to the client. In order to gauge the impact of what he does, the professional needs free and frank access to the recipient of his services. In the last analysis, the worker's effectiveness is determined by the behavior of the client.

(b) The human service consumer is a potential change-agent.

(c) The human service consumer is a potential performer of the services he receives.

(d) In taking the role of educator, change-agent and performer of direct services, the client is transforming his own status from that of a passive dependent and recipient to that of an active contributor. In the process, he is probably making a more decisive contribution to his own competence than can be made by any outside agency.

This last point is full of implications. It becomes, at least theoretically, possible to envisage a process in which present occupants of any client status begin to move out of that status by transforming themselves into self-help groups. In this new

context the present role of the human service professional would likewise undergo a change. Instead of providing direct services to an essentially passive and dependent group of recipients, he would assume more of a facilitative role and take on a collegial relationship to those of the former client population already active in organizing mutual help programs.

(e) The effective use of the transactional approach to an educational problem raises, by comparison, serious questions about the adequacy of conventional models of professional education - indeed, about education in general. Traditional education with its reliance on a sanctuary remote from the world of events implies a separation of knowledge from action. There are, undoubtedly, contexts in which this separation is not only advisable but essential for the preservation of intellectual freedom. But there are other contexts in which the problem of intellectual freedom may not be the issue - and where the more pressing question is one of efficacy and adequacy as a preparation for action.

The model employed at the Workshop fused the functions of education and planning-for-change in one dynamic process. The participants change roles <u>in order</u> to reach and to teach each other: in the process, the participants changed themselves and then went on to organize themselves for the purpose of instituting changes in a larger system.

At the point at which the educational effort involves all of the significant actors in a given action system, the process of education is, in itself, an instrument for change. We suggest the following as tentative design directives for such a process:

(a) The re-education process must maximize the personal internationalization of feed-back by bringing all participants into a no-holds-barred encounter which continues until mutual misconceptions are worked through and good faith is demonstrated by the frank exposure and genuine resolution of differences.

(b) The program must involve all those in a position either to initiate change or to impede it, and those who could potentially be influential in promoting change but who are currently indifferent.

(c) The participants should emerge with an articulated plan for concerted action, after which they should move toward concrete preparations for implementing their plan. Ideally, the same persons who participated in the planning should be associated in attempting to carry it through.

(d) The program should be implemented in a locus within which change can be independently initiated and sustained. The participants should operate in a community or region which, simultaneously, is large enough to sustain their efforts and yet small enough for their innovations to pervade the implicated universe as a whole.

(e) The retroflexive model of human influence (Cressey, Mead, Moreno) should be employed. It is important that the participants develop their programs in concert both with those who would administer them and those who would be served by them. People listen most closely to what they themselves say; men are most committed to what they themselves had a hand in making.

(f) Although the initial "faculty members" (resource persons) must be drawn from sources other than the participants, future workshop programs should recruit their leaders from the former participants, according to the "each-one-teach-one" philosophy.

<u>Limits of Applicability</u>

The operational principles under discussion are clearly generalizeable. One can envisage the recovering mental patient making an insightful contribution not only to the treatment of other patients but to the education of mental health personnel. One can see the school drop-out re-entering the educational process by tutoring other drop-outs - teaching himself while teaching others. The applications would appear to be extremely wide, once the essential principles are grasped.

It is only when the service or activity requires the exercise of an expertise which is not shareable with the client or recipient that the limits of application become apparent. There would also appear to be areas in which responsibility for decision-making cannot effectively be shared. Enterprises requiring an hierarchical organization of decision-making and accountability might certainly profit from an educational application of the model - but they will tend to resist its action implications.

B. EVALUATION OF THE LABORATORY WORKSHOP ON CRIME AND CORRECTIONS
St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, June, 1969
By: Beryce W. MacLennan, Ph.D.*

Purpose of Workshop

The Laboratory Workshop on Crime and Corrections, sponsored by the National College of State Trial Judges, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Maryland Governor's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, was held at St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, in June of 1969. The conference was held in Maryland both because the National College of State Trial Judges was interested in testing a training model in a state system and because the Governor, the Crime and Correctional Commission, and the correctional authorities themselves were anxious to make changes in the Maryland system. Statistics show that Maryland has a very high percentage of its offenders in institutions, that they serve very long sentences, and that there is a disproportionate number of misdemeanants in prison and serving long sentences. The authorities are only too aware that their facilities are outmoded, that they have minimal rehabilitative resources in the community, and that much needs to be done to improve the correctional image in Maryland, to obtain additional manpower, reduce turnover, and train staff.

The Workshop had three main purposes:

The first purpose was to demonstrate a training model for achievement of change in the law enforcement and correctional systems and those concerned with crime and corrections.

The second was to bring together representatives of all parts of the correctional and law enforcement systems, legislators, citizens, and offenders in Maryland and to have them become more aware of each other as human beings and co-partners in the prevention and treatment of crime and further to examine together the existing situation and its problems and needs, to set change in motion, and to create machinery for change.

The third purpose was to examine how offenders and ex-offenders can be utilized as a source of manpower in the control and prevention of crime and in rehabilitation and to demonstrate their use as trainers and consultants.

*Dr. MacLennan was lent by the Mental Health Study Center, Division of Mental Health Services, National Institute of Mental Health, to act as evaluator for this Conference.

Design of Evaluation

The evaluation was concerned with understanding the situation at the start of the Workshop, monitoring what occurred during the Workshop to decide whether it went according to plan and studying the situation at the end of the Workshop to see whether individual attitudes had changed and whether a mechanism for systems change had been developed. Continued follow-up is planned to see whether changes in fact occur as a result of the Workshop.

The evaluator attended the Conference in the role of a participant-observer but clearly identified as having the responsibility for studying whether this form of Workshop was useful. There was no opportunity to gather any baseline data prior to the Conference. The evaluator attended all sessions except the introductory evening and the graduation ceremonies and was present at most of the informal evening discussions. Brief questionnaires were administered at the beginning and the end and midway through the Workshop to participants, offender-consultants, and staff. Periodic interviews were held with representatives from each part of the system to test for changes in their attitudes.

Questions were asked in regard to each of the three purposes:

In regard to the first, What went on in the Workshop? Did it go according to plan? What seemed to be the most significant parts of the Workshop in creating change if change indeed occurred? And were the trainers satisfied with their efforts?

In regard to the second, Did the Workshop, if fact, bring these representatives together? Did the participants learn to view each other differently, to have more understanding of each other's work and problems? Were they able to be honest and frank with each other about their problems? Did they learn to see more clearly what changes need to occur, did they learn what had to be done, did any changes take place, and was machinery set in motion for continued change?

In regard to the third question, we asked did the participants and offenders learn to view each other differently, did they see ways in which offenders and ex-offenders could be employed? Were any procedures for the employment of offenders and ex-offenders established?

It is planned to follow the participants in their efforts to make changes over the next year and to administer a final questionnaire to study attitudes towards the system and to the employment of offenders at that time.

I.   The Workshop as a Training Model

The Plan

The Workshop brought significant and influential members from all parts of the correctional and law enforcement system together with offenders, prominent and interested citizens, and trainers to live together for nine days.

The program consisted of speeches, general meetings at which scenes concerned with crime and corrections were portrayed psychodramatically followed by discussion in plenary and small group sessions. Each day was evaluated, and the next day planned with the staff by representatives from the participants were admitted to one or another correctional institutions to spend the day there as an inmate. Most participants and staff spent at least four of the evenings in informal discussion after the day's program had ended.

The plan was to bring participants together, to create doubt and tension and a climate of emotion and pressure in which the members would have to confront the re-creation of real world situations, each other, and ultimately their own roles and functioning in the situations. It was anticipated that at first the members would be unsure why they were at the Conference and what they were supposed to do. A climate of ambiguity would be deliberately created. People would seek to make alliances and to gain support from each other. Initially they would view others as they anticipated them to be. As the Workshop continued, participants would share their feelings and reactions more honestly. There would be less stereotyping and more understanding of how others felt. Members would begin to take more responsibility for their views and actions and to plan personally to make changes.

Evaluation:

Did the program go according to plan?

Because of the desire to create an ambiguous atmosphere and because the emotional climate was considered to be more important than content, there was an attempt to keep the program fluid, easily changed, and responsive to the perceived needs of the training community and the requests of the participant planning group. Consequently, while the overall plan was maintained, subject matter was switched around, and psychodramatic episodes were decided on each day. For instance, Dr. Korn's speech, the emotional high point of the week and delivered on Wednesday following the prison visit and just before the break for a day off on Thursday, was composed that day for that specific situation. Friday and Saturday were devoted to the creation of a planning mechanism, the Curley Commission, which was devised in the evening sessions and which has, in fact, continued after the end of the Workshop under the name of the St. John's Council.

The process and atmosphere of the Conference was very volatile. At first, people were uneasy and uncertain about why they had come to the Workshop and what to expect out of it. Members asked each other, "What are we supposed to be doing? What are we trying to achieve?" Participants were suspicious of each other. An important factor in the composition of the membership was that participants were mostly from Maryland. They worked in the same system. The Conference was taking place on home ground in the spotlight of the press. How they behaved, spoke, and acted could have consequences after they left when it came to planning and action. Arrangements and positions could affect their jobs and their power to act later. Thus, although the Conference was artificially created, it carried all the impact of a real life crisis. The emotional pressure of the Conference built up over the first few days through Wednesday. During this period, people moved from sterotyped behavior and attitudes into becoming extremely concerned about the plight of offenders and their own actions. For many, there was a truly honest review; for others, an intensification of defensiveness. People began to search out others of like mind and to establish alliances with them and many to examine their own actions from a new perspective.

During these first days, there was a primary concentration on the institutions, the problems of life there, and the recognition that they were not rehabilitative. By Wednesday, it was apparent that much needed to be changed outside the correctional institution. However, the demonstration of a parole hearing was inadequate, and there was not time to examine the "street" or the judicial procedures.

Attempts to plan and to create the machinery for planning started early during the informal evening bull sessions. These attempts were not brought into the large group sessions until the last two days. Friday and Saturday seemed emotionally much flatter. People were concerned with attempting to make recommendations, to plan, and to set up machinery for continued planning. Two major factors were influential in this part of the Conference. One was the lack of information possessed by most participants about innovative programs. The other was the partial retreat of participants into their job roles while they jockeyed for power positions on the Curley Commission. Who was in, and who was out became of crucial concern; and those excluded felt discriminated against. In general, therefore, it may be said that the process did occur as designed. The desired emotional climate was created, and the Conference did move from ambiguity and anxiety to confrontation and increased honesty and then to beginning attempts to plan for change.

What seemed to be the most significant parts of the Workshop in creating change if change indeed occurred?

Fifty-seven participants responded to the question, "What were the most important influences in changing understanding, attitudes, or feelings?" Twenty people mentioned the offender-consultants, 20 the visit to the jail; both as informants and as human beings; 19 the opportunity to live together, to get to know more intimately and humanly other people in law enforcement and corrections and to understand their interlocking roles. Seven people felt the psychodrama to be very important. Six mentioned the discussion of problems in general, the night sessions, and the small groups. One person felt that Korn had been most influential, and one was impressed by the positive and open attitude of the Commissioner of Corrections.

In discussions with participants, many people spoke positively of the visits to the jails, the various parts played by the offender-consultants, particularly in the psychodrama and in being able to sit and talk to them, and the night sessions. They had strong positive or negative feelings about Korn. A number felt manipulated and resented this feeling. Comments about the morning speeches were few and mostly negative. Some people felt the Conference was too long, but many expressed great satisfaction in taking part in it.

Were the trainers satisfied with their efforts?

Staff Assessment

Seven members out of the 11 trainers answered the final staff questionnaire. Four expressed satisfaction, one uncertainty, one qualified satisfaction, and one dissatisfaction. It was clear from responses to the question regarding Conference objectives that only four of these staff members had a clear understanding of the four objectives. Three staff members had objectives which varied from objectives. Three staff members had objectives which varied from those stated to the evaluator by the chief trainers. The staff placed more specific emphasis on the value of the psychodrama than did the participants. They agreed with the participants on the importance of the consultants and the prison visits. Three mentioned the after hours sessions as being very influential and two the small groups. Two of the three chief trainers did not find time to respond to the questionnaire but expressed qualified satisfaction with the seminar. There were a number of things they would change in a repeat.

In answer to the question regarding what changes they would make for the future, almost all stated that the small groups were not as effective as they could be, and all were dissatisfied with the speakers. Most felt that the small groups should be smaller, and several that they needed more small group training. One or two were dissatisfied with the planning and management of the Conference,

desiring more structure. Two people mentioned the composition of the Conference, desiring more carefully selected participants, more inmates, less drifting in and out. Some suggestions were made with regard to different speakers. There was clearly a need for better staff orientation prior to the Workshop, and there should be reconsideration of the balance of content and process. It is possible that the Workshop could be shortened slightly and definite plans for informational sessions built in for a later date.

II. Changes in the Views of Participants in Regard to Each Other and the System

Did the Conference bring representatives together?

The Conference did indeed bring representatives from all parts of the corrections and law enforcement systems together with legislators, citizens, and offenders, even though some came to the Conference after it had started and not everyone stayed to the end. There were 88 participants, 20 offender-consultants, and 11 training staff members.

There were a number of powerful people among the participants who would be able to make changes. However, it would be useful when deciding whom to include in such conferences to make a closer analysis of the crucial participants and to consider who must be included in order that particular kinds of changes can be made. The trainers did not possess this information and did not have control over who attended.

Did changes occur in participants' attitudes, and was any vehicle for change developed?

From discussions with participants and from the questionnaires, it did seem that many changes occurred in the attitudes of participants: in actions undertaken while the Conference took place and in the establishment of the Curley Commission (later called the St. John's Council) as a vehicle for combined planning for change.

Fifty-seven participants answered the question whether they viewed other members in corrections and law enforcement differently. Eleven mentioned that they now had better understanding of the interrelatedness of the systems and the need for cooperation. Twenty-four people felt they had better understanding of the work and problems of others and that they had more respect for them. Two people felt more sympathy for the judges; one was more appreciative of the attorneys, and two had more understanding for the police. Six people mentioned that they had formed relationships which would enable them to communicate across systems, and two that this had served to reduce stereotypes. One senior member of corrections mentioned that this was the first opportunity he had ever really had to get to know policemen, judges, and interested citizens as real people.

Seventy-five participants answered the question regarding problems at work.

The major work problems as seen by participants varied according to role. Almost everyone complained of a lack of resources: money, manpower, skill, training. People in parole and probation felt that paperwork, high caseloads, and communication with the offender were major problems. Administrators complained not only of lack of resources but also of the difficulties in changing the views of the public and of their own staffs. The judges were troubled by the lack of criteria in sentencing and about the lack of choice for disposition. The police complained that they did not receive sufficient public support, and the private citizens complained about the officials. The legislators stated that they did not have sufficient understanding of the offender and his problems and of the resources of the correctional system.

Fifty-seven participants answered the questions at the end of the Conference. Almost all respondents then reported that they planned to make changes and act differently. Significantly, there was much emphasis on inter-system communication and a recognition that fragmentation was detrimental. There was a greater tendency to know him better in the course of their work. There was less willingness to institutionalize. Many administrators and trainers plan to have their staffs spend a day in the institutions. Several trainers will add psychodrama to their repertoire. Many reported that they had been motivated to become more active. A few administrators plan to change regulations, reorganize work, and to employ offenders, ex-offenders, and volunteers. Many wrote that they would put more emphasis on prevention and rehabilitation. They would emphasize education of public and training of staff. Several of the judges felt they would put more emphasis on understanding the problems of offenders, would be more understanding, and would use probation more. Two legislators felt they would be more knowledgeable and more able to support legislation and study budgets.

The following suggestions in the correctional and law enforcement systems were made by the participants after their visit to the institutions half way through the Conference.

Organization of the Correctional System--Size of the Institutions

Several people suggested that the police, court, and correctional system should be organized under one administrative director, with coordinated planning, implementation, and evaluation. While administration should be centralized, it was maintained by some that the institutions are too large. Small units should be developed and integrated within the local communities. One person suggested abandoning the House of Corrections as unmanageable, another to reduce its inmates by half. A number of people recommended more small minimum security facilities; one or two the development of half-way houses and the treatment of most offenders in the community. In one way or another, it was suggested that fewer people should be put in institutions with more flexible work release programs and expansion of parole.

Staff

The quantity and quality of staff was a matter of concern. People listed better pay, higher qualifications, more extensive in-service training for staff. Staff should be given credit for their knowledge of human nature. It was thought that more teachers, skill trainers, counselors, social workers, and aides were needed. Several people also suggested using inmates and ex-offenders as staff trainers, community informants, inmate counselors, and teachers. Others recommended the more extensive involvement of citizen volunteers as teachers, counselors, friends. Staff should care more.

Program

The general tone of the program ideas was to emphasize rehabilitation and preparation for living in the real world. Many people emphasized the importance of more education for inmates, more vocational training, more and better counseling, better libraries and more effective use of them, more and better work release, a job for each person on release, parole services for every discharged person, emphasis by staff on today and the future rather than on the past, and encouragement of offenders to help each other inside and outside of prison. One person recommended compulsory classes for those with education below 5th grade and opportunity for education and vocational training for those from 5th grade through high school. There was emphasis on individualized planning and the need for adequate diagnosis. Inmates should have legal aid available to them in prison.

Conditions in the Institution and Administration

There was concern for conditions in the institutions. Several mentioned better food, improved medical care and hospital facilities. Pay telephones should be available to the inmates. Others supported higher pay for working inmates, more entertainment and recreation, larger visiting rooms, more frequent visiting. It was felt there should be more participation of inmates in program planning and decision making. There should be more communication between inmates and staff. Rules should be simple, enforceable, and known to inmates. Reasons should be given for decisions. There should be encouragement of sense of responsibility on the part of inmates. All human relations professionals should be in staff, not line positions. There should be staff-inmate committees to discuss problems and review decisions. There should be more democratic administration. Better communication was thought needed in the institutions. Systems and cost analysis were recommended. Two or three people

emphasized the need for research and development - for the evaluation of regulations, procedure, and programs.

The Community and the System

There seemed to be general feeling that the isolation of the institution and of the inmates should be reduced. Citizens should be brought into the institution as volunteers, as friendly visitors, as trainers and teachers, as well as bringing the inmate out into the community as much as possible. There should be citizens' associations concerned with the conditions of the inmates. Citizens should help find inmates jobs. Parole officers should get to know inmates before they leave the institution. The unions and industry should participate in job training. Community resources should be used for educating the inmates. Non-professionals could be used as supervisors in the community. Ex-offenders should organize to help inmates. Others recommended that the help of families and friends should be enlisted.

Sentencing Procedures

There was considerable uneasiness about the indeterminate sentencing and a recommendation to review how it worked. Some people felt it was unfair to keep prisoners beyond the maximum which they would normally receive and that a maximum should be set. Another suggested that indeterminate sentences should be only for maximum security prisoners. Someone felt that no long term sentences should be given to minimum security inmates. There were mixed reactions to the indeterminate sentencing system as it is carried out at Patuxent.

Special Problems

There was mention of drug and homosexual problems in prisons. One person suggested weekend passes for conjugal visits to combat homosexuality. One or two people did not know what could or should be done. Only one thought that very little could be done because the problems were inherited.

How Change Can Be Achieved

While many people recommended more money and resources, there were also many suggestions as to ways and means of reorganizing existing resources. Some people divided action into what could be achieved immediately and what would receive long-term action.

Many people recommended that the Conference could and should form the nucleus of an association of control and correctional staff, judges, legislators, private citizens, and inmates. They would then act as a lobby group to promote program legislation and back appropriations, to act as a watchdog on the functioning of the system, and to bring concerned and caring people together to

work for the offender in and out of the institution. One person recommended an ombudsman to look out for offenders' rights. Another suggested the development of legal aid through local and state bar associations sparked by judges with attorneys on rotation to assist inmates. Another recommended making a connection with the community health and mental health programs; another that volunteers might be enlisted for education from the local communities. Churches could also provide volunteers and support and develop one-to-one relations with citizens. People pointed out that while legislation and appropriations took time, many changes could be made immediately by administrative order.

Greater involvement of the offender in program development, changes to increase his role as educator, trainer, supervisor could be undertaken right away and a shift in the degree to which the inmate is permitted to take responsibility for himself. Improved communication between staff and inmates would not take money. Development of an Offenders' Bill of Rights by staff and inmates could be undertaken and presented to the state legislature. Clarification and simplification of regulations in the institutions and encouragement of citizen involvement could be embarked upon immediately.

There were some very specific suggestions such as to permit work release inmates to go to their jobs from a central point in Baltimore, to investigate the possibility of Federal food support, and to encourage more outside visits. The classification officer presentation at the House of Corrections was seen as too negative and should be modified or delayed a few days before presentation. There was a recommendation that special procedures be set up to review and get all inmates possible out into the community. Participants thought many inmates now in prison did not belong there.

There were suggestions of use of incentives, praise, encouragement, rewards, and privileges for staff and inmates who performed in a more human and democratic way.

The Conference

There were some positive comments on the Conference. It should continue as a planning group. It should be repeated every year. The visit to the institutions impressed many people and were recommended then for parole officers and for the entire legislature.

Suggested Roles for Inmates and Ex-Offenders

The following were suggested as possible roles for inmates and ex-offenders:

1. On program committees
2. On planning groups
3. On problem review committees
4. As teachers
5. As trainers of other inmates or staff
6. As counselors
7. Assisting in publicizing the needs of the offender group
8. Ex-offenders as supervisors in the community
9. As social work aides
10. Ex-offenders as volunteers to help present inmates

III. Participant-Offender Attitudes and Roles for Offenders

The third purpose of the Workshop was to bring about changes in the perceptions of participants and offenders and to demonstrate and suggest roles for offenders in the law enforcement and correctional system.

Did the offenders and participants view each other differently?

Seventy-five participants excluding offenders and staff answered the question, "Why does a person become an offender?" and 57 the question, "Has your view of the offender changed?" Forty-nine participants answered both. Approximately half the participants placed primary responsibility on social and environmental and half on personal and psychological factors in the creation of the offender. A few people were divided between or attributed equal responsibility to both factors. Three people emphasized heredity, and one person thought it was mainly a question of who were caught.

Twenty-one participants felt that their view of the offender had changed to the extent that they saw him as a human being and had more respect for him. Six people said they had greater understanding of the offender's problems. Fourteen people felt that their views had not changed because they already worked with and accepted the offender as a human being. Six said their view remain unchanged, and one participant commented that his perception had not changed but he was willing to be more active.

Twelve offenders answered the question why they thought people became offenders. Six said that they had always felt inferior and did not feel able to succeed in any other way. Three answered that they became offenders through committing a crime. Two mentioned racial discrimination, two problems of addiction, and one that he became an offender to help others. Most felt their major difficulty was in not knowing how to adjust to society and that they needed to understand themselves better and to learn how to deal with problems in their daily lives.

Thirteen answered the question whether they felt differently about law enforcement and correctional people at the end of the Conference. Eleven felt they had more understanding of the roles of the other participants, more perception of their problems as human beings, and more recognition of their concern and of the difficulties they encounter in being effective. Only two did not recognize a change. These eleven also felt that they had changed and felt differently about themselves, "more human."

Roles for Offenders in Law Enforcement and Corrections

Fifty-seven participants answered the question, "Do you see any place for the employment of offender and ex-offenders in your organization? If so, where? Of these, eleven answered, "No," Five "Perhaps," and forty-one "Yes." Most of the negative responses were from judges and police although several police felt able to employ offenders in non-sensitive positions such as public education or in drug abuse programs. Offenders are already employed at the State Police Barracks. The judges who answered positively were considering positions in parole or probation with the exception of one who mentioned pre-sentencing investigations. The parole and probation officers present all seemed open to the idea of employing offenders as parole or probation aides or agents in assisting to help the offender in the community and in aiding communication between offenders and officers. Legislators suggested that offenders might serve as researchers on legal statutes as lobbyists. Several participants saw roles for offenders in vocational rehabilitation, offender education, and public education. Some people thought ex-offenders could serve as Big Brothers. Ten participants thought that offenders could be employed or were employed already in county jails and correctional institutions as counselors, educators, preparing inmates to return to the community, in doing rehabilitation, in the canteen, as group leaders, or as staff trainers.

Thirteen consultants answered the question, "In what ways could you see yourself employed in the law enforcement?" Most stressed that their own experiences enabled them to understand and communicate effectively with the offender and possibly influence him. Four thought they would like to work with juveniles in prevention, probation, or parole, or attached to police stations. Two consultants were interested in doing therapy. Several people felt they could work as volunteers, aides, or agents in adult parole and probation. Two people would like to work in public education, and one consultant thought he could be influential in the rehabilitation and education of inmates.

While participants and offenders seemed able to conceptualize entry roles, the evaluator did not gain the impression that the Conference members understood what was involved in the New Careers concept. She was also impressed that while one or two participants did or might employ offenders, the majority were considering roles as an academic exercise rather than as a plan for action. There is,

consequently, a real need for the provision of opportunity for further examination of the philosophy and development of New Careers in corrections and law enforcement.

Critique of the Evaluation

The evaluator was asked to participate at the last minute and has only brief orientation to the Workshop and its goals. There was no opportunity to learn about the system beforehand or to establish any baseline of prior individual functioning.

However, the Workshop leaders were able to define clearly their goals and their general program design. The Governor's Commission on Crime and Corrections had just completed a very comprehensive study of conditions in Maryland, and the conditions in the institutions were graphically portrayed and discussed in the meetings and seen in the visits to the institutions.

Because there had been no prior planning with staff about how to carry out the evaluation, adequate arrangements were not made for ensuring that questionnaires were filled out by everyone. Almost everyone who attended the first day completed a questionnaire. Some people did not stay for the Saturday afternoon session, and the Curley Commission executive committee did not all receive questionnaires because they were in special session. It was possible from the personal interviews which had been carried out throughout the Conference to examine the attitudes of some of those who did not fill out the questionnaires. Most reflected the rather positive views expressed in the questionnaires. However, there were one or two who were upset by the Conference but who had not wished to put their negative views on paper.

The evaluator's impression of the flow of the Conference was confirmed by many others. There is no doubt also that many people did feel differently about each other and the offenders. The St. John's Council is meeting regularly and has formed a number of task forces who are working hard. Participants have maintained their interest and are enlisting others. The ultimate evaluation of the effectiveness of the Workshop will be whether it has been able to set in motion forces which can really make changes in the system and not just momentarily in people's feeling about each other. Some of the criteria will be: Are there proportionately fewer long-term offenders in prison? Is there less of a strengthening of the resources available in probation and parole? Has an adequate vocational rehabilitation system been developed? Is there any improvement in the transition from the prison back into the community? Has the atmosphere in the prisons changed? Has more adequate treatment for addicts been initiated? Is there relevant and effective training for staff? Are offenders and ex-offenders given a chance for employment in the system? Has a powerful citizen lobby been developed? Has the recidivist rate been reduced?

The answers to these questions must wait on the efforts of the St. John's Council and other participants working in and outside the systems.

September, 1969

C.   A REPORT FROM THE PARTICIPANTS: THE WASHINGTON D.C. WORKSHOP OF 1970*

As an example of a report from the participants we offer the following account prepared by the publications committee of the Workshop conducted at Shenandoah College in 1970. This report was executed by a committee drawn by and from the participants:

The District of Columbia Crime and Corrections Workshop was held at Shenandoah College in Winchester, Virginia from June 12 through June 20, 1970. The workshop was co-sponsored by the District of Columbia Department of Corrections and the National College of State Trial Judges; it was funded by a grant from the Justice Department's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and contributions from the Department of Corrections, the Metropolitan Police Department, the Office of Crime Analysis, the United States Attorney's Office for the District of Columbia, the Legal Aid Agency and the District of Columbia Parole Board.

The National College of State Trial Judges conducted two similar conferences in the past. The first, held at Lake Tahoe, Nevada in 1967, brought together judges from all over the country and inmates of the Nevada State Prison. In 1969, a second conference was held in Annapolis, Maryland. This time the conference format was broadened to include all representative participants from one state's criminal justice system. The D.C. Conference added the elements of youthful and female offenders and attempted to include a broader cross-section of the private community.

The District of Columbia Workshop was directed by the Berkeley Associates: Dr. Richard Korn, a criminologist, Dr. David Fogel, a sociologist, and Douglas Rigg, a public defender; local planning and counsel for them and the National College was conducted by Ronald Goldfarb and Linda Singer, Washington attorneys. A roster of all participants is attached.

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*An independent evaluation of the 1970 Washington D.C. Workshop was made under a separate contract between the Mayor's Commission on Criminal Justice Planning and a private consultation firm. The evaluation, available at the office of The Commission, has never been seen or reviewed by the organizers of the Workshop.

The purpose of the Workshop was to bring together all the various participants in the capital's criminal justice system, along with private citizens who had not previously been involved in the system; but to do so not as antagonists, but as individuals seeking a solution to the predicament of correcting crime in the District of Columbia. Participants included judges from each of the D.C. courts, police officers, correctional personnel, prosecutors, defense counsel, probation and parole authorities and private citizens. A unique element was the presence of 18 consultants: inmates of the Lorton Complex, the Youth Center, and the Women's Detention Center. Their function was to represent the viewpoint of the "consumers" of the criminal justice system.

The first few days were devoted to psycho-dramatic depictions of various correctional scenes along with a vivid demonstration of the discrepancies between the private resources available to deal with the anti-social problems of the rich and the inadequate public used psychodrama and role-playing to explore the workings of the police, court, prison and parole system.

In addition, small groups, which comprised microcosms of the entire conference, held daily discussions and attempted to assist each participant to determine his own position on the issues that had been presented and to pursue in depth themes they felt were insufficiently treated in the plenary sessions.

The group heard Judge Skelly Wright of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia speak on the subject, "Social Injustice and Crime." Judge Wright traced the ways in which established institutions -- the welfare system, the public schools, small claims and landlord-tenant courts, and the criminal justice system - fail to meet the needs of the poor and lead to crime and a decaying society. An ex-convict speaker, Israel Schwartzberger, told of his criminal career and entertained us with anecdotes showing why he concluded that "crime did not pay." Tom Murton, author and former Superintendent of the Arkansas Prison System, showed a film at another session and spoke about the frustrations of the penal reformer.

On June 16, all conference participants were booked into three District of Columbia prisons, where they spent the night as inmates. Other participants were conducted on a two-man walk around parts of the Washington ghetto by ex-convicts from EFEC. When this group reassembled in a local center for narcotic addicts, they were arrested by a warrant squad for "harboring a fugitive" and booked into the District of Columbia Jail where they spent the night.

Throughout the conference a deep and intense debate ranged around the question of racism and its impact on every question of crime, correction and indeed upon the very viability of life in our community and our country. We had no answer to so profound a question as this; but we all did agree that no progress could ever

be made on our agenda or on any other in this country until all men learned to live, and love, and work together. It was not until we could say this to each other and reveal that we meant it that we could face the specific issue we came to discuss and to seek improvements for our criminal justice system and to suggest complementary alternatives to it.

By Thursday, June 18th, it was the concensus of the group that whatever the usefulness of the conference to the attendees, the conference should develop some continuing body to enlist others from Washington to join us in carrying the insights that had been gained by the participants into constructive programs in the community. Judge Harold Leventhal of the U.S. Court of Appeals addressed the group and suggested a committee to serve as a bridge between conference participants and members of the community who were not present but who have the power to implement changes. Judge Leventhal emphasized that the purpose of the groups' activities was not to be sentimental toward offenders but to increase public safety by providing alternatives to existing and largely ineffective programs.

After Judge Leventhal spoke, Dr. Richard Korn reminded the group that the person who usually receives the least attention in the criminal justice system is the victim. Just as the community owes the offender its aid and comfort to compensate him for what it has taken away from him, the offender owes something to the victim on whom he has imposed his will by force.

At this point the Berkeley Associates helped the participants to act out a psychodrama of the workings of the official system and alternative possibilities for diverting offenders to unofficial sources of community help. At every stage of the portrayal, the officials who were present endorsed the concepts that were being presented and contributed their suggestions for accommodating the official and unofficial worlds of law and justice. Repeatedly, the idea was emphasized that the one essential condition for the accommodation was that the officials be able to have complete trust in the reliability of the self-help groups and that the people come to trust their public officials.

Whatever their individual conclusions, all the participants left Winchester with the feeling that they had shared a unique and hopeful experience -- that something special had happened. We criticized; "told it like it was" on each other and in front of each other; we cajoled and cried and, to some immeasurable degree, we came closer together. Prisoners told policeman what it was like to be arrested; depicted the problems involved in the police breaking up a family fight. Judges justified their sentencing procedures to people they had sentenced; prisoners and guards told of the brutalities that prisoners inflict on one another. There was intensive, no-holds barred interaction among people who had previously been strangers or who were so inhibited by the trappings

of their official roles that they had been unable to break through their stereotypes and relate to one another on a personal level. The open, frank communication carried over to informal, prolonged evening sessions and by the end of the week, no matter what his position, every participant was less ambivalent as to where he stood.

The participants resolved to concentrate their efforts on developing private, unofficial methods of aiding both offender and victims. It was the concensus of the group that the private establishment and the public officials of our city must trust, ally with and support members of the inner-city community, particularly the ex-offenders in an effort to better our criminal justice system; that only together we can do the job.

Guest panelists already had described existing but under-supported self-help programs, such as EFEC, Bonabond, YOU, and the Blackman's Liberation Army.

A temporary committee evolved, composed of a representative group of the participants from the overall conference. It agreed to serve as a bridge between the conferees themselves and some fuller, future, action group which all attendees agreed must include people and organizations not at the conference but who must be part of any effective on-going organization that would result from this conference.

Judge John Fauntleroy and Mrs. Flaxie Pinkett agreed to co-chair the committee. Each of the judges who attended the conference agreed to serve as members of the committee, along with Magistrate Arthur Burnett, Reverend Albion Ferrell, Assistant U.S. Attorney David Austern, EFEC leader Rudolph Yates, Robert Rodgers and Ronald Goldfarb, whose law firm will serve as counsel to the group. The consultants appointed Yvonne King, Sam Berry and Thomas Howard to this temporary committee.

The committee wants to put itself out of business, in effect, by serving as a resource of the whole conference institutions, individuals, officials, resources and ideas necessary to join with those of us who did attend and to implement the spirit and the viable recommendations of this conference, and to carry on.

All the conferees and consultants submitted specific recommendations for changes and programs that they felt should be acted upon. It was impossible to distill the over one hundred recommendations submitted in the time which remained. None were able to be reviewed and adopted by the conference as a whole for this reason. The recommendations included specific implementable reforms,

broad, lone-range suggestions, and ideas for new institutional and community involvements in this area.

SUBMITTED BY:

Flaxie Pinkett	Marion Hixon
Claude Dove	Issac Parks
James (Queball) Irby	Linda Singer
David Austern	James Jones
William Meese	Rudolph Yates
Ron Goldfarb, Consultant	

Chapter Five

ECONOMIC REPLICATION

The Department of Justice has quite properly asked that this publication explain and provide general guidelines on how such a conference can be produced effectively within more modest resources available to communities and local government.

In 1969 Dean Laurence Hyde, of the National College of State Trial Judges, prepared a cost analysis of the Maryland conference with the same general objectives. His report is appended to this chapter.

We have adopted Dean Hyde's method in our delineation of guidelines for replication at lesser cost. We compare like items for the Maryland conference, the Washington, D.C. conference, and for a locally sponsored project presumably operating a conference without a federal grant.

We annotate compared figures with appropriate comments. Our approach has been guided by the principle that there are essentials to a good conference that cannot be eliminated without sacrificing meaning and quality. No doubt this is also a concern of the Department of Justice when it uses the key words "(re) produced effectively."

SCHEDULE A. PERSONNEL

JOB TITLE	MARYLAND 1969	D.C. 1970	LOCAL GOV't. PROJECT
Professional			
Project Director	$ 3,440	$ none (1)	$ none (a)
Ass't. Project Director	2,180	none (1)	none (a)
Principal Investigator	6,000	5,400	5,000 (b)
Admn. Technical Coodinator	6,000	5,400	5,000 (b)
On-site Planning Director	6,000	5,300	none (a,b)
Ass't. On-site Planning Director	4,000	3,500	none (a,b)
Discussion Group Leaders	5,000	4,000	4,000 (c)
Project Evaluator	2,500	(2)	2,000 (d)
Technical			
6 Correctional Officers at $30 per day	1,800	none (3)	none (e)
24 prisoners at $10 per day (10 days)	720		
18 prisoners at $10 per day (6 days)		324	378 (f)
Secretarial			
Secretarial services to Director	1,800	none (1)	none (a)
On-site Secretarial services	840	600 (4)	none (a)
Speakers			
Plenary Session Speakers	750	450	500 (g)
Total Personnel	$47,210	$30,374	$21,878

COMMENTS:

(1) donated by National College of State Trial Judges.

(2) separate sub-contract by L.E.A.A. and Mayor's Criminal Justice Commission with evaluator. Cost unknown to this reporter.

(3) donated by Department of Corrections.

(4) two on-site secretaries; a third was donated by Department of Corrections.

(a) The conference directorship may be supplied by existing agencies through donation of staff services.

(b) Experienced competent program staff to conduct the conference is, of course, basic. This operational staff must work with the conference sponsors in all phases of planning, site selections, institutional contacts, prisoner selection, speaker selection. It conducts the conference, operates psychodrama sessions, supervises group leaders. The operational staff also needs a broad knowledge of all aspects of the criminal justice system. This analysis, like that of Dean Hyde, suggests that the local sponsor take responsibility for overall project, direction and on-site planning. If so, it is anticipated the operational staff would assist the local sponsor in these areas as well as operate the program of the conference.

(c) A cadre of experienced discussion leaders has evolved from the various conferences held to date. Their availability reduces the cost of preparation time.

(d) An evaluation needs no justification. It should be conducted by qualified personnel selected by the sponsor and evaluators required to attend the conference full time.

(e) Absorbed by institutional prisoner transport and staff training budget.

(f) 18 prisoners at $3.00 per day, for 7 days, includes selection and prep time.

(g) Recognized authorities to address the plenary sessions require honorariums of $100 to $150. Some donate their services.

SCHEDULE B. SUPPLIES

	MARYLAND 1969	D.C. 1970	LOCAL GOV'T.	
Tape Recorder Rentals	$ 200	$ 189.50	$ 100	(g)
Office Supplies	700	89.00	350	
Telephone	400	334.70	300	
Postage	600	none	200	
Printing	2,000	898.91	1,500	(h)
TOTAL:	$3,900	$1,511.11	$2,450	

(g) Might be loaned by sponsoring agency. Cost will vary according to extent of recording.

(h) Will be considerably reduced if no publication and if conference materials prepared by local sponsors.

SCHEDULE C. TRAVEL AND SUBSISTANCE

	MARYLAND	D.C.	LOCAL GOV'T.
Transcontinental & local travel of staff, also subsistance other than at conference	$7,500	$7,002.29	$4,000 (i)
Local travel, prisoners and officers	500	none (i)	none (i)
TOTAL	$8,000	$7,002.29	$4,000

(i) Transport and subsistance costs were high at Maryland and D.C. because of distances traveled by project directors, professional co-ordinators, and some group leaders. These costs can be reduced by local directors and on-site planning, use of leaders closer to site, fewer trips by those traveling greater distances. Use of local agency cars would reduce car rental costs. Transport of prisoners and guards could be absorbed by local institutions as was done by D.C.

SCHEDULE D. OTHER EXPENSES

	MARYLAND	D.C.	LOCAL GOV'T.
Site Rental	$1,350)	$)	$
Staff meals & lodging	1,880)	.)	
Prisoners & officer meals	1,500)	6,079.76)	7,000
Participants meals and Lodging	8,250)	)	
TOTALS	$12,980	$ 6,079.76	$7,000

There was great variance in the site expenses between
Maryland and D.C. This was a result of a much cheaper location for
the latter meeting. The Maryland location (St. John's College,
Annapolis) is in every way superior to the D.C. site (Shenandoah
College, Winchester, Va.). Both colleges extended all possible
cooperation but St. John's is better in these areas:

1. Meeting places - both for plenary sessions
   and small groups.

2. Living quarters.

3. Quality of meals.

4. Proximity to institutions.

5. Campus isolation (extent and location of grounds).

If participants paid all or part of their meals and lodging,
savings would of course accrue. Some participants would no doubt
come from agencies that would absorb their expenses through
training allowances.

Where a local training facility exists, i.e., maritime
scholarship, police academy, camp, career clubs, it might be
obtained at reasonable cost during vacation or between semesters.
It should be noted that college campuses were used at Maryland
and in D.C. during the summer when college activity was very small.
The 1967 Tahoe meeting was held at a church conference ground in
October.

Costs on site for obvious reasons are difficult to project
and indicate the most variance dictated by local conditions.

SUMMARY

The above analysis indicates areas where cost reductions are
available. Experience indicates that the conference time can be
reduced to seven days where an overnight prison visit is permitted.
We learned from Washington, D.C., that the extra time inside the
institution and the overnight stay speeded up the conference pace.
The reduction to seven days is also made possible by the elimination
of the "day off" observed at Maryland and Lake Tahoe.

The seven-day model has been used in cost estimates for the
local sponsorship projections.

RECAPITULATION

Maryland, 1969	D. C., 1970	Local Gov't.
$72,090	$45,059.65*	$35,328

The D. C. conference was considerably less costly than
Maryland. These direct cost savings were in part made possible
by economies but, also, reflect donated services. It is also
clear that the figures projected for the locally sponsored
meeting are similarly affected by economies and by donated
services with the latter being absorbed in other budgets.

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*Subsequent to this recapitulation we have learned the
Washington, D. C. Conference of 1970 had an evaluation cost
of $7,807. This figure should, of course, be added to bring
the D. C. Conference cost to $52,866.65.

The local government figure of $35,328 includes $2,000
for evaluation (see page 69). The smaller figure should
provide a quality analysis consistent with the LEAA special
grant conditions seeking replication guidelines within more
modest resources available to communities and units of local
government.

ANALYSIS OF COST FOR REPLICATION OF DEMONSTRATION PROJECT
RD-3156-P "THE OFFENDER AS AN EDUCATIONAL RESOURCE IN CRIMINAL
JUSTICE AND CORRECTIONS."

1.   In the letter of approval of the grant request, of April 1,
1969, James F. Garrett, Assistant Administrator, Research,
Demonstration and Training, Social and Rehabilitation Services,
Department of Health, Education and Welfare, stated:

"Since other communities may be interested in
replicating your project, it would be desirable
to have a clear picture of the costs of your pro-
gram. The Council felt that an initial effort
such as yours may be somewhat costly but that
the cost for replication could be reduced. The
Council anticipated that your program experience
would enable you to determine the most economical
price for replication and recommended that an
analysis of the costs for various components of
your program should be included in your final
report. This is condition number 4."

The National College of State Trial Judges is supported finan-
cially by private foundation grants. Its principal concern is
improvement in the administration of justice, with special emphasis
on judicial education. The College has a small professional staff,
depending almost entirely on active judges to provide instruction
at its various sessions. Consequently, the College in conducting
demonstration projects such as RD-3156-P must seek professional
assistance from other disciplines. This, of course, contributed
to the cost of conducting the Maryland demonstration. The primary
factors responsible for the high cost of the project were: (1) de-
sirability of fully funding the cost of the initial state project
to demonstrate its worth; (2) distance of the workshop from the
sponsor and its employed professional staff; (3) use of nation-
ally recognized professional personnel; and (4) lack of any sub-
stantial state financial support.

It is believed each of the 50 states has some of the needed
professional personnel, the facilities, an interested citizenry
if properly stimulated, and access to sufficient funds to duplicate
the Maryland project. The analysis which follows is based upon
that assumption. Each line item of cost in the approved budget,
and that considered necessary for duplication within a state, are
reflected in the comparative table of schedules (actual monies
expended were about the same as that in approved budget). Explan-
atory comments are supplied at the end of each schedule:

SCHEDULE A. PERSONNEL

Position Title	COST	
	Approved Budget	Locally Sponsored Project
Professional		
Project Director	$3,440	none (a)
Ass't. Project Director	2,180	none (a)
Principal Investigator	6,000	4,000 (b)
Administrative Technical Coordinator	6,000	4,000 (b)
Program and Training Coordinator	6,000	4,000 (b)
On-site Planning Director	6,000	none (b)
Ass't. On-site Planning Director	4,000	none (b)
Discussion Leaders (5)	5,000	5,000 (c)
Project Evaluator	2,500	2,000 (d)
Technical		
6 Prison Guards at $30 per day	1,800	none (e)
24 Prisoners at $3 per day	720	486 (f)
Secretarial		
Project Director Secretaries (2)	1,980	none (b)
Coordinator Secretaries (2) on-site of workshop	840	none (b)
Consultants	750	750 (g)
Total Personnel	$47,210	$20,236

COMMENTS:

(a) It is believed that no actual cash outlay would be
necessary for the project director and his staff in a wholly
state conducted project. Sponsorship is anticipated by an
in-being organization concerned with such problems, such as
the State Crime Commission. This conclusion assumes that
presently employed staff personnel could be made available
to plan, supervise, and analyze results of the project
and initiate and follow through on changes.

(b) The success of the project depends entirely upon
how well the workshop portion is developed and executed.
Consequently, it is necessary to utilize competent professional
personnel who have had experience in criminal corrections,
who have had training and experience in conducting group
interdisciplinary human relationship confrontation, to include

psycho dramas and role playing sessions, and who are familiar with present, and in search of new, criminal correctional alternatives. Such persons may not be available locally to every state sponsor. In any event, it is believed that $12,000 is the minimum cost for such talent. Three professionals are anticipated. In this setting the on-site planning director and his assistant could be eliminated.

(c) Well oriented and qualified small group discussion leaders are a requisite to the project. At St. John's, three judges, the Director of California Youth Authority, the Director of San Francisco's Mental Health Department, the project's Program and Training Director and a law school professor were the group leaders. All but the last had attended the 1967 Lake Tahoe Crime and Corrections Workshop and had participated in two pre-St. John's preparatory orientation clinics of 4 days duration conducted by the professional staff. In state projects, qualified leaders could be obtained locally from university sociology departments, the judiciary and bar association. Whether this talent could be procured without compensation is questionable. Therefore, $3,000 is included for this purpose.

(d) For the Maryland project, Dr. Beryce MacLennan, National Institute of Mental Health, served as evaluator. She would only accept reimbursement for expenses incurred in preparing her reports. This in an important aspect of every project, particularly on-going programs developed from the workshop phase. Therefore, it is most desirable to obtain the services of an independent evaluator, preferably from without the state. $2,000 is included in the budget for this purpose.

(e) The Maryland Institutions furnishing prisoner-guards were reimbursed on basis of $30 per day per guard. This would be unnecessary in a similar state-sponsored project.

(f) Prisoner cooperation is obtained if they receive some compensation. Recommend they receive $3 per day for their services. A 9 day workshop with 18 prisoners should budget $486 for this purpose.

(g) Presentations by recognized authorities in the fields of human behavior and criminal corrections must be injected into the program at appropriate stages. The budget should include honoraria of $150 for each of five such speakers.

SCHEDULE B. SUPPLIES

Rental-(7) Tape Recorders	$ 200	$ 100 (a)
Office Supplies	700	350 (b)
Telephone	400	200 (c)
Postage	600	200 (d)
Printing	2,000	1,500 (e)
Total Supplies	$3,900	$2,350

COMMENTS:

(a) The $200 budgeted for this item by the sponsor was inadequate, as machines were obtained for taping all small group discussions as well as plenary sessions. In future projects, it is believed that taping of the plenary sessions are necessary but taping of the various small group discussions serves no purpose. $100 should be adequate to obtain this equipment, if it is not already available to sponsor.

(b) The $700 budgeted for office supplies was adequate, and included tape purchases. However, a locally sponsored project should require only one half this amount, or $350.

(c) $400 was budgeted by the sponsor of the Maryland project. This was barely sufficient because of distances, need for rapid coordination and instructions to professional staff, group leaders and co-sponsors, and necessity to install telephones at workshop site. In a local situation $200 should be sufficient funds for this purpose.

(d) Shipment of the 150 page notebook of background materials to each of the participants, distribution of the final report, transmittal of administrative supplies and equipment to the workshop site and a heavy volume of correspondence utilized the $600 budgeted for the Maryland project. Conservatively, this could be reduced to $200 for a state sponsored project.

(e) The sponsor's original budget of $1,500 for printing was subsequently increased $500 to assist in publication of the final report. Other utilizations of these funds were for furnishing a notebook of 150 pages of background material to each participant, registration forms, graduation certificates and miscellaneous forms. All of these documents are necessary but believe a state agency could produce them by state owned facilities for three-fourths of our cost.

SCHEDULE C. TRAVEL

Local	$ 500	none	(a)
Transcontinental-Professionals conferring with prison officials; site selection; on-site phases of project	7,000	4,000	(b)
Travel Allowance- Prisoners and Guards	500	none	(c)
Total Travel	$8,000	$4,000	

COMMENTS:

(a) The sponsor used these funds for rental of vehicles at the workshop site, including vehicles to transport participants to the four prisons visited. No such funds should be required for a locally sponsored workshop.

(b) The primary reasons for the high cost of transportation resulted from the distances involved. In addition to travel to the workshop site and several planning trips across the nation, a pre-workshop orientation meeting was held at Carson City, Nevada, attended by the professional personnel, including the small group leaders. Duplication locally would require some similar travel funds, the amount depending upon location of professionals, group leaders and consultants. It is believed that $4,000 would suffice for this purpose.

(c) The State of Maryland was paid $500 for this transportation. Such expenses should be borne by the state in a locally sponsored project.

SCHEDULE D. OTHER EXPENSES

Site Rental	$1,350	none	(a)
Per Diem: Staff: 94 man days at $20 per day	1,880	1,880	(b)
Per Diem: Prisoner/Guards 24 prisoners/6 guards at $5 per day	1,500	none	(c)
Per Diem: 66 participants' expenses at $12.50 a day for 10 days	8,250	8,250	(d)
Total Other Expenses	$12,980	$10,130	

COMMENTS:

(a) The sponsor paid St. John's College $1,350 for use of its facilities for the workshop. The state should furnish an appropriate facility for a locally sponsored workshop.

(b) An under estimation of per diem actual costs and days required resulted in a shortage in this budget item for the Maryland project. However, this amount should be sufficient for a locally sponsored project, with less travel time involved.

(c) State should provide this support at a locally conducted workshop.

(d) It is an unsettled issue as to whether it is necessary to pay the basic room and board costs of participants to obtain their attendance. This was necessary in Maryland. In some states probably training and uncommitted funds of the various state agencies - police, prosecutor, probation and parole, corrections, the judiciary, legislature, etc. - could be made available to defray their representatives expenses. In other states this could not be done. In any event, to obtain private citizens participation, such costs would have to be assumed for them by the sponsor. We believe the aims of the workshop would be furthered by the sponsor subsidizing basic board and room expenses of all participants.

RECAPITULATION

Basic Cost of Conducting Maryland Project $72,090*

Estimated Cost of Duplication by a State Agency $36,716

*This total does not include the National College of State Trial Judges' 10% indirect costs disapproved by HEW.

Laurance M. Hyde, Jr., Dean
National College of State Trial Judges

PROGRAMS OF A PLANNED WORKSHOP

LABORATORY WORKSHOP ON CRIME AND CORRECTIONS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Shenandoah College
Winchester, Virginia

June 12 - 20, 1970

June 12, Friday

4:00 - 6:00 P.M.	Registration
6:00 - 7:30 P.M.	Dinner
7:30 P.M.	Orientation Session

Greetings

Mayor Walter Washington
Washington, D. C.

Judge Laurance Hyde, Jr., Dean
National College of State Trial Judges

Introduction of Faculty

Allen Breed
Pauline Menes
Linda Singer
Ronald Goldfarb
James M. Stubblebine, M.D.
Oliver Sims
Judge Theodore McMillian
Office Staff
Douglas Rigg
Berkeley Associates

Dr. Richard R. Korn, Communications Methods
Dr. David Fogel, Conference Format

June 13, Saturday

7:30 A.M.	Breakfast
9:00 A.M.	Evaluation
9:30 A.M.	Criminal Justice Scenes -- A Psychodramatic Presentation
10:45 A.M.	Coffee
11:00 A.M.	Keynote Address: Justice Skelly Wright "Social Injustice and Crime"
Noon	Lunch
1:00 P.M.	"PARALLEL LIVES"
3:15 P.M.	Introduction to Small Groups
3:30 - 5:30 P.M.	Small Groups
6:00 P.M.	Dinner

June 14, Sunday

10:00 A.M.	Brunch
11:00 A.M.	Small Group Feedback
11:45 A.M.	Panel Discussion "HOW IT IS"

Anthel Liggins
Vondell Hooper
Margot Hahn
Louise Jackson
Tom Brown
Donald Santorelli

2:15 P.M.	Light Snack
2:45 - 4:45 P.	Small Groups
5:30 P.M.	Dinner

June 15, Monday

7:30 A.M.	Breakfast
9:00 A.M.	Small Group Feedback
9:30 A.M.	Prison Scenes (Psychodrama)
10:40 A.M.	Coffee
10:50 A.M.	Prison Scenes Continued
Noon	Lunch
1:00 P.M.	Small Groups
3:30 P.M.	Coffee
3:45 – 5:00 P.M.	Logistics for Tomorrow's Prison and Community Visits
5:00 – 5:30 P.M.	Consultants Meeting (Recreation Room)

INSTITUTIONAL AND COMMUNITY VISITS – June 16, 1970

Lorton Complex	Youth Center	Women's Det. Ctr.	Community Walk
Judge John Kern	Robert Rodgers	Flaxie Pinkett	John Dyer
Joseph Provencal	John Mosley	Betty Chemers	Wm. O'Donnell
William Barr	Arnold Hunter	Jane Wickey	Edward Pesce
Tilmon O'Bryant	Timothy Winston	Maureen McLaughlin	Sgt. John Brown
Henry Golditch	Paul Chernoff	Linda Singer	Ron Goldfarb
Judge Harry Alexander	Robert Scott	Pauline Menes	Merle Junker
Sgt. Gerald Bush	Ted McMillian	Mrs. Sutton Potter	Kenneth Neagle
Frank Riddick	David Austern	Jessica Mittford	Albion Ferrell
James Young	Stanley Williams	Dorine Tolls	Dr. Stubblebine
Judge Charles Halleck	James Dulcan	Marion Hixon	James Jones
Edward Butler	Rickey Hart	Louise Jackson	Arthur Burnett
Luke Moore		Dena Burnham	Dave Fogel
Edward Faison		Betty Savage	William Meese
Judge Fauntleroy			Jack Herzig
Ed Johnson			Peter Freivalds
Doug Rigg			
Peter Wolf			
Judge Harold Leventhal			
Robert Bailey			
Wayne Coy			

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT INSTITUTIONAL VISITS

You'll be entering a new world today. Your consultants now become your hosts and hostesses. They have let their fellow inmates know you are coming to learn about the way they live. You'll be sharing a day of their lives. You'll carry with you the consultants' promises of hospitable treatment.

Go light as possible -- everything will be temporarily taken away from you anyhow, even to a toothbrush.

Although we all understand the game nature of the visit, it will be real -- very real -- for the time you are involved in it. Take your cues from the consultants who will be close on hand in all the institutions.

ITINERARIES

Breakfast on Tuesday 6/16 - 7:30 A.M. - 8:15 A.M.

Lorton Reformatory:

Leave Shenandoah Tuesday, June 16 - 8:30 A.M.

Arrive Lorton - 10:30 A.M.

Overnight at the institution

Leave Lorton, Wednesday, June 17 - 6:45 A.M.

Arrive Shenandoah - 9:00 A.M.

Youth Center:

Leave Shenandoah, Monday, June 15, 7:00 P.M.(with consultants)

Arrive Youth Center, 9:00 P.M.

Overnight, Monday, June 15 AND Tuesday, June 16 (two nights)

Leave Youth Center, Wednesday, June 17, 7:00 A.M.

Arrive Shenandoah 9:00 A.M.

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Itinerary Con't.

Women's Detention Center:

Leave Shenandoah, June 16 - 8:30 A.M.

Arrive 2nd Precinct, Washington, D.C. - 11:15 A.M.

Overnight, at Women's Detention Center, Tuesday, June 16

Leave Women's Detention Center, June 17 - 6:30 A.M.

Arrive Shenandoah - 9:00 A.M.

Community Visits:

Leave Shenandoah - 2:00 P.M. (by private cars)

Arrive at EFEC (Efforts for Ex-Convicts) Office,
1302 New Jersey Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 5:00 P.M.

Leave for Shenandoah when tours are completed

GOOD LUCK

NOTE: Attached is Wednesday's agenda. Please note that you will have an hour from 9:00 A.M. (your returning time) until 10:00 A.M. (when sessions begin) to freshen up and have coffee/donuts. Go directly to your Discussion Groups which begin promptly at 10:00 A.M. and share your experiences.

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June 17, Wednesday

9:00 A.M.	Breakfast
10:00 A.M.	Feedback from visits in Small Groups
Noon	Lunch
1:00 P.M.	Panel Discussion "HOW IT CAN BE"

Colonel Hassan
Dr. Don Catlin
Warren Gilmore
Money Helton
Hiawatha Burris

3:00 P.M.	Coffee
3:15 - 5:15 P.M.	Small Groups
6:00 P.M.	Dinner
7:30 P.M.	Israel Schwartzberger

June 18, Thursday

7:30 A.M.	Breakfast
9:00 A.M.	Small Group Feedback
9:30 A.M.	Simulation of Community Alternatives
Noon	Lunch
1:00 P.M.	St. John's Council - A Model

Judge Curley
Pauline Menes
Vernon Lightfoot
John McNulty
Ed Butler

2:30 P.M.	Coffee
2:45 P.M.	Small Group
4:30 - 5:30 M.	Small Group Feedback on Alternatives and Implementation
6:00 P.M.	Dinner
7:30 P.M.	(Possible Evening Session)

June 19, Friday

7:30 A.M.	Breakfast
9:30 A.M.	Feedback from Small Groups
10:00 A.M.	Tom Murton, Former Warden Arkansas State Prison System "Reform from Within"
Noon	Lunch
1:30 P.M.	Publications Committee Report
3:30 P.M.	Coffee
3:45 P.M.	Evaluation
4:30 P.M.	Baseball Game - Con-Sults vs. The Over 40 Crowd
6:00 P.M.	Dinner

June 20, Sunday

7:30 A.M.   Breakfast

10:00 A.M.   G R A D U A T I O N

                  Master of Ceremonies - Doug Rigg

                  Greetings   - Judge Harold Leventhal
                                           Rudolph Yates

                  Consultants   - Sam Berry
                                           Yvonne King
                                           James (Queball) Irby

                  Awarding of Diplomas - Col. James E. Johnson
                                           Associate Dean
                                           National College of
                                           State Trial Judges

                  GRADUATION ADDRESS   - Ralph "Petey" Greene

                  Closing Remarks   - Kenneth L. Hardy

12:00 Noon   L U N C H

1:00 P.M.   Finis

END