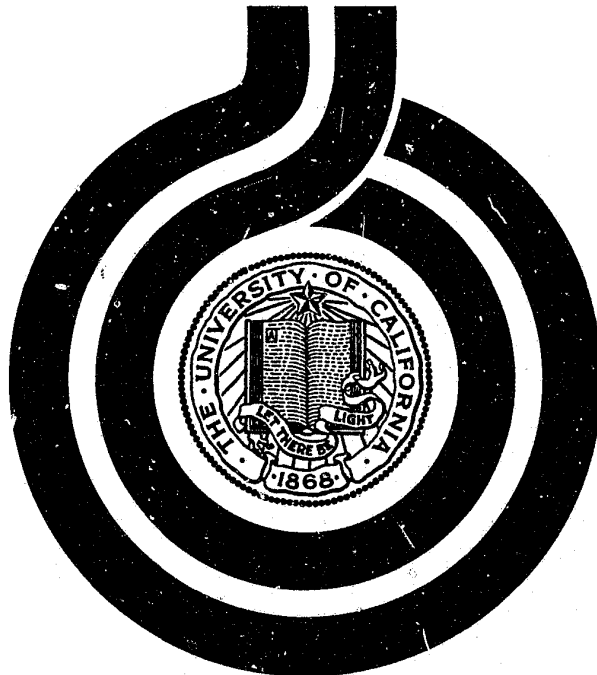


SURVEILLANCE AND SERVICE
IN PAROLE

A Report of the Parole Action Study

Elliot Studt

**INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT
AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS**



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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

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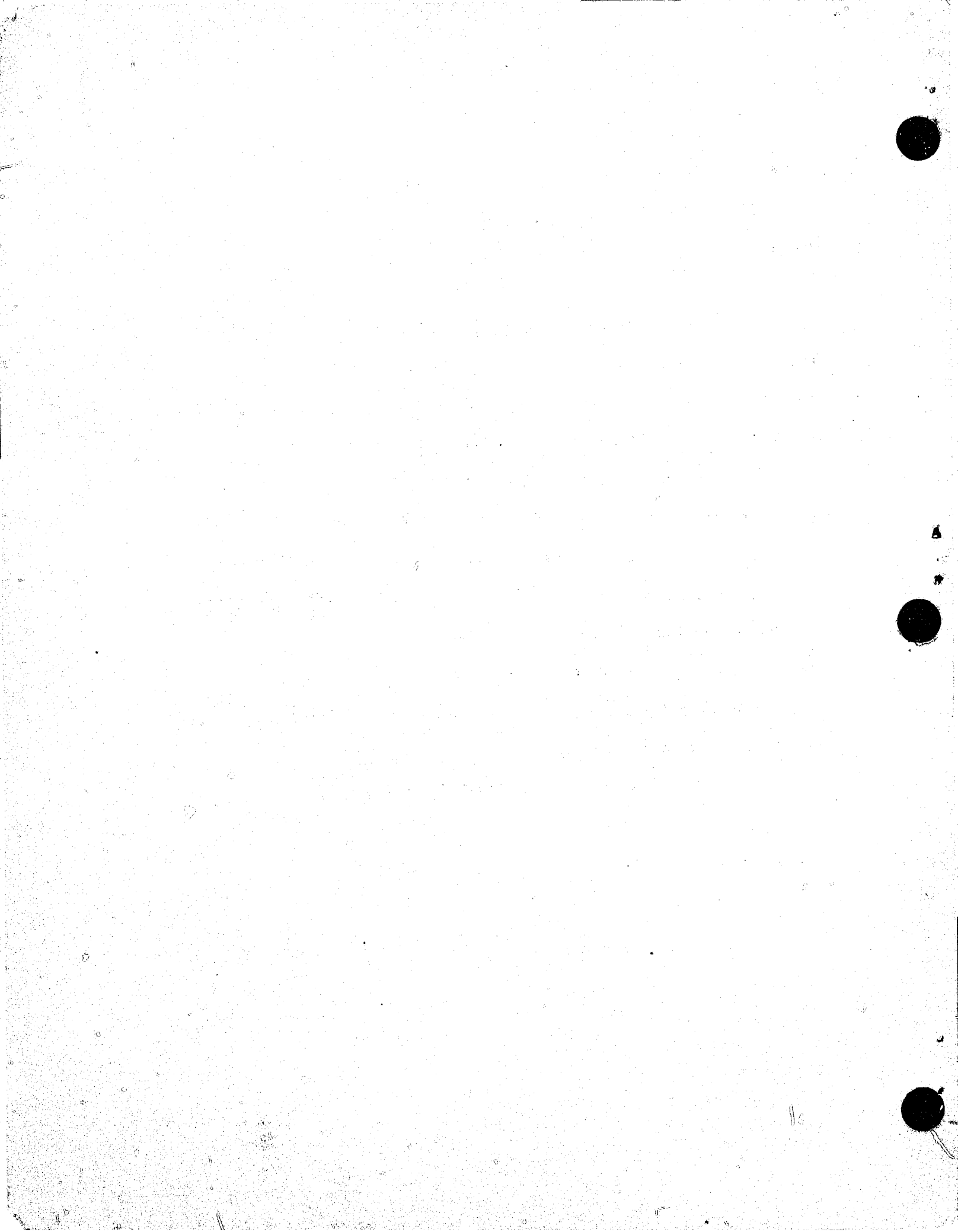
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From Corita —

John Dewey says - I'm not quoting his words, (Dr. Felix Adler),
but this is what he said.

That "no matter how ignorant any person is
there is one thing that he knows better than anybody else
and that is where the shoes pinch his own feet
and that because it is the individual that knows his own troubles,
even if he is not literate or sophisticated in other respects,
the idea of democracy as opposed to any conception of aristocracy
is that every individual must be consulted
in such a way actively not passively,
that he himself becomes a part of the process of authority,
of the process of social control;
that his needs and wants have a chance to be registered
in a way where they count
in determining social policy."

John Dewey



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without the help of many persons and agencies the Parole Action Study could not have been conducted.

Three educational and research centers provided the administrative and facilitating base for Study operations at different stages during the seven years between 1964 and 1971. For the first five years, the major data-collection period, the Study operated as one project within the Center for the Study of Law and Society, University of California, Berkeley. During the academic years 1969-71, the writer was a professor at the School of Social Welfare, University of California, Los Angeles; additional small studies, along with data analysis and writing, were conducted during this period. In the summer and fall of 1971 the Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of California, Los Angeles, provided editorial and publication services in the preparation of the two monographs that together complete the substantive report of the Parole Action Study: People in the Parole Action System: Their Tasks and Dilemmas; and Surveillance and Service in Parole.

In the course of the seven years, the Parole Action Study was funded by two different federal agencies. From September, 1964, through August, 1969, the director of the Study was financed by a NIMH Research Scientist Development award to the Center for the Study of Law and Society, Grant #15-K01-MH 22635-05. From March, 1967, through October, 1970, the Department of Justice Office of Law Enforcement Assistance, Grant 131, financed additional research personnel, as well as travel expenses and other services required by the Study. Additional contributions of funds and services were received from each of the agencies in which the Study has been based.

The Division of Parole and Community Services in the California State Department of Corrections provided the arena for the Study's field work; particular appreciation goes to the staff members of that agency for their generous facilitation of the Study's explorations. All doors were freely open, and much time and interest was invested by parole officials at all levels; they were immensely patient with the trial and error inherent in pioneering research into interaction. Milton Burdman, as chief executive of the Parole and Community Services Division, was responsible for opening the agency to examination, and throughout the Study he provided both support and valuable criticism. It would take several pages to list the members of his staff who contributed to the understanding of parole action that emerged during the course of the Study.

A number of consultants were especially helpful in the development of Study formulations and in the design of the various small projects conducted under its auspices. Anselm Strauss' thoughtful contributions are reflected throughout the Agent-Parolee Interaction Study. Arthur Rosett provided valuable consultation on legal perspectives. Thomas P. Wilson read and criticized manuscripts at various stages of the Study; his contributions to the organizational analysis were vital. Gertrude Selznick helped to design the Interaction Study schedules and took leadership in the analysis of the survey data. John Conrad gave intellectual as well as administrative support during the period of funding from LEAA. Philip Selznick and Philippe Nonet, as colleagues in the Center for the Study of Law and Society, acted as challenging comrades during the discussions from which the Study's focus emerged. Sheldon Messinger's continued guidance was especially important for final outcomes. Without his theoretical and administrative assistance, the Study could well have foundered between its extensive objectives and the

problems inherent in attempting to achieve conceptual continuity through the use of part-time and temporary staff members.

Many persons have been involved with the Parole Action Study as fellow staff members for either short or extensive periods of time. Five doctoral students were active associates at one time or another: Michael Sanford, Forest Dill, John Irwin, Bernard Davitto, and Paul Raymer. John Irwin and Bernard Davitto have completed doctoral dissertations based on research done in conjunction with the Parole Action Study.¹ A number of other persons joined the Study's staff as field interviewers. Of this group, the contributions of John McNamara, David Bentel, Otto Broady, and Daniel Beagle were especially noteworthy. Two persons gave extensive help in analyzing the survey data: Carlos Kruytbosch of the University of California, Berkeley, and Steven Erie of the Institute of Government and Public Affairs at UCLA. During the critical years of data collection Shirley Sanford acted as administrative assistant; her many and varied activities facilitated the work of every staff member. Two secretaries have added more than typing to the ultimate product: Judy Dewing, who was with the Study during the last two years in Berkeley, and Morri Schiesel, who assisted in the preparation of the substantive reports from November, 1969 through September, 1970.

The most important contributors to the Study cannot be named. The 350 or more parolees who invited us into their lives and talked freely about

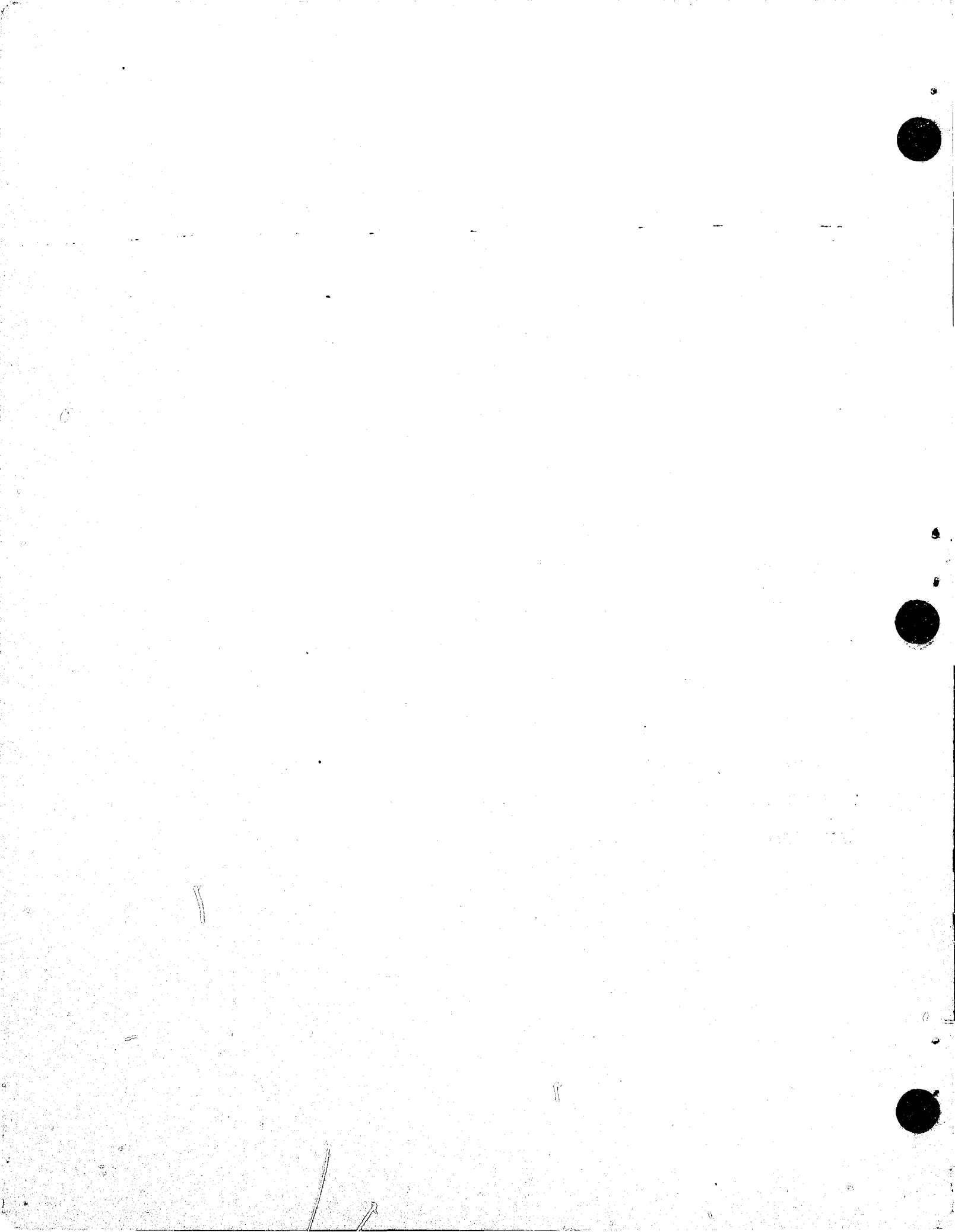
1. See John Irwin, The Felon (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970) for a revised version of his doctoral dissertation, "Career of the Felon," Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley; and Bernard Davitto, Psychiatric Services in Parole: An Organizational Study, unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley, 1970.

their correctional experiences, in the hope that "other guys will be helped," have provided many of the critical insights incorporated in this report. It is our hope that this document does justice to the knowledge of what it means to be a parolee that they so generously shared with us and which they so seldom have an opportunity to communicate.

The product of the Parole Action Study is different, and hopefully more significant, because of the investment made by all these persons and agencies. The writer, however, assumes full responsibility for selecting what should be reported from the rich and extensive collection of data, as well as for the interpretation of the data to be offered here.

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CHAPTER I

GOALS AND BACKGROUND

According to generally accepted parole doctrine, what the agent does with the parolee is a major factor in achieving parole success. The argument runs this way. The agent implements a process, technically known as supervision, through which the resources and controls of the parole system become effective in the lives of individual parolees. The agent watches over the behavior of the parolee so he can detect signs of impending "trouble"; he sets limits for the parolee's activities; he refers him to employment opportunities or service agencies; and he counsels the parolee as he makes various life decisions. Hopefully—provided the agent has enough time for the individual case, and also provided the parolee is motivated to "make parole"—the parolee becomes "rehabilitated" and remains in the community until his discharge. Since the parole agency's success is measured by the proportion of parolees who are not returned to prison before the end of their sentences, what the agent does with the parolee is obviously of paramount importance to the agency. Much of its organizational superstructure is concerned with guiding, facilitating, and overseeing the process of agent supervision, while for all practical purposes the agent becomes the agency for the parolee.

The Parole Action Study was particularly concerned with understanding agent supervision as a critical process in parole action. Therefore, a number of studies were specifically devoted to observing and interviewing the two primary actors in this process, the agents and the parolees. Additional studies documented the social context within which their interaction occurs, including the persons and agencies who make up the parolee's personal

life and the administrative operations that guide the agent's activities. A final study was focused on the interaction process itself, using a theoretically selected sample of eleven agents from two different parole districts and 150 parolees selected from those eleven caseloads.¹ Surveillance and Service in Parole describes and analyzes the parole supervision process as it was observed through these various studies.

THE SETTING FOR STUDY

The Parole Action Study was conducted under the sponsorship of the California State Department of Corrections, Parole and Community Services Division (PCSD),² and its field research was largely limited to that agency. The background and characteristics of parole in California, and the particular stage in the history of the PCSD that was observed by the Parole Action Study, are significant for the kind of generalizations to other parole systems that can be made from the Study's findings.

Parole was established in California in 1893. As in most other states, the initial urgency to use parole grew out of problems of prison management; at first, parole was actually an adjunctive program to the prison, used to reduce overcrowding and to induce the incarcerated inmates to conform to official requirements. However, as the use of parole expanded, parole officers were needed to supervise parolees in the community. In 1931, a relatively

1. Many of the tables in the following chapters are based on the data collected in the Agent-Parolee Interaction Study. See Appendix A for a description of the research methods and statistical procedures used in this study.

2. The initials PCSD are often used in referring to the parole agency. We shall use this abbreviation throughout to facilitate ease of reading.

independent Bureau of Adult Paroles, together with a Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, was established to perform most of the functions currently associated with parole work.

In 1944, all adult correctional programs in California were overhauled in response to public concern about political corruption and graft, and parole shared in the reorganization. A new parole board, the Adult Authority, was established and given responsibility for the administration of parole as well as for all case decisions concerned with length of sentence, time in prison, release to parole, revocation, and discharge.³ In the new structure, the Department of Corrections assumed responsibility for the management of the prisons, undertaking the gigantic task of modernizing the inadequate and outmoded facilities while professionalizing the staff. Within the next few years, the California Department of Corrections earned national attention for its bold expansion and innovative treatment programming. Although the Bureau of Adult Paroles shared in this development, it remained the more traditional arm of the state's correctional program during this period.

To coordinate the work of parole more effectively with that of the institutions, the Bureau of Adult Paroles was removed in 1957 from the administration of the Adult Authority and became a division in the Department of Corrections. In 1963, a new examination for the position of Chief of the Parole Division resulted in the appointment of an administrator who had attained leadership in the Department of Corrections during the earlier period of reorganization and expansion. He was charged with rationalizing and professionalizing the work of parole to match the developments in the rest of the Department. Both he and his superiors recognized that

3. California has had an indeterminate sentence law since 1917.

correctional priorities were shifting in focus from institutional treatment to the expansion of parole and other community-based programs; and that the service aspect of parole must be much more highly developed as a means of protecting the public if the costs of parole were to be justified on the basis of keeping men out of prison.

The Parole Action Study began its observations in 1964, just as the first new major programs were ready for implementation; the five years during which the Study was formally conducting research were characterized by a series of major organizational changes within the PCSD. Certain of these programmatic developments must be introduced as background for the coming discussion, because each had a direct impact on the agents and on what they were expected to do with parolees.

1. Reduced caseloads. The work unit program was the first large-scale change introduced by the new administration; it involved assigning approximately half of the State's male felon parolee caseload to smaller caseloads. The purpose was to increase the amount of time agents could spend on individual cases.

Two kinds of supervisory units were established, work units and conventional units. In work units, cases were weighted on a point scale for expected social danger and surveillance needs, and were assigned to agents according to the quota of points for each caseload. In consequence, an agent in a work unit might have responsibility for 25 to 40 cases as they are usually counted (one per parolee). In the conventional units, cases were assigned to the agent as parolees moved into his area of supervision, so a conventional agent's caseload might run from approximately 65 to 80 or more parolees. Standards for the frequency of case conferences, of recording, and of agent contacts with parolees were higher in the work unit program than for

conventional agents. The success of the work unit program was to be measured by comparing recidivism under work unit supervision with recidivism under conventional supervision. It was hoped that the results would warrant the ultimate use of lower caseloads throughout the agency. The introduction of the work units required a major expansion of agent staff, and many agents new to parole were employed within a short period after the program was initiated.

2. Bringing administration closer to the agent. Partly because management of the larger staff required a more effective administrative process, the PCSD undertook, during the following 18 months, an extensive reorganization that changed the relationships of the Division within the Department of Corrections, established new career lines in the civil service examination process, and redefined roles at every level within the PCSD. Here, we will mention only those provisions that had direct consequences for the agents and for their work with parolees. These included: (1) the establishment of district offices within the regions, each headed by a new administrative official, the district administrator, whose primary function was to relate policy more closely to agent operation; (2) the freeing of unit supervisors from many management duties so they could give closer attention to helping agents with their cases; and (3) the assignment to the District level of responsibility for presenting cases to the Adult Authority, so the agent's knowledge of each case could be more directly communicated to the Board. The intent of these provisions was to make the agents' work with parolees more immediately responsive to policy directives while allowing the agents to contribute their experiential knowledge more easily to those responsible for higher-level decision making.

3. Providing added resources for case disposition. In addition, throughout the five-year period, the PCSD initiated a number of programs designed to expand the agents' resources for dealing with certain categories of cases. Such projects included: the establishment of half-way houses; the expansion of the work furlough program; the development of short-term return units in prison as an alternative to revocation for certain cases; and a joint program with the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, providing job training for inmates in the prisons as well as for parolees in the community.

All these programmatic developments were intended to encourage agents to increase the individualized service component of the supervision process. Keeping parolees out of prison and safely functioning in the community was the announced goal for all agency activity. Throughout the state a new slogan—"Getting more mileage from parolees"—focused the attention of all staff members on reducing recidivism through improved supervision by agents, more relaxed standards for revocation decision making, and increased services to parolees.⁴

The choice of the California agency as the setting for an examination of parole supervision provided the Parole Action Study with a unique opportunity to observe a vigorous attempt to implement nationally recognized standards for parole work.⁵ Probably no other parole agency has been more fully

4. The PCSD emphasis on reducing the return of parolees to prison resulted in a greatly reduced rate of return in both work unit and conventional programs. In 1962-63, approximately 90 percent of those inmates released from prisons were released to parole; and an average of 44.2 percent of these were returned to prison within two years. By 1969 only 32.8 percent were being returned within the first two years of parole.

5. See Manual of Correctional Standards, The American Correctional Association, Washington, D.C., 1969, pp. 113-34 for an official statement of parole standards.

committed to testing parole standards and principles in action; and perhaps no other has been in such a fortunate position to pursue that goal, in its mandate from the legislature and administration, in the resources at its command, and in the support for experimentation provided by its organizational environment. It seemed evident from the beginning that, if the Study could find accepted parole principles in operation anywhere in the United States, that kind of operation should be available for observation in California.

However, the PCSD has been an agency in transition. During the five action-packed years when the Study was engaged in comprehensive observation, the PCSD moved from a conservative approach, with emphasis on returning parolees to prison as soon as trouble became evident, to a program in which parole success was defined as helping the parolee remain safely in the community. It takes time for administrative intentions to become incorporated in lower-level action; in consequence, not all the agent practices observed by the Study adequately reflected the service goals of the new program. The new administration started with a staff of agents who had already been trained in the more traditional approach. It quickly added a large group of unseasoned men to the agent staff.⁶ In addition, much administrative and agent energy during the five years was expended in changing the basic structure of the agency from that of a semimilitary, semipolitical operation into a modern rationalized organization. Therefore, in the chapters ahead, the reader

6. By the end of 1969, when the research program of the Study was drawing to a close, the PCSD commanded a staff of 773 persons and was responsible for 14,956 parolees who were supervised under three major divisions: parole for male felons; the civil addict parole program; and women's parole. The Parole Action Study was primarily concerned with the largest of these divisions, parole for male felons; during the years under study the major program innovations of the PCSD were conducted in this division.

should not be surprised to find instances of agent activities that could be duplicated in parole agencies with minimal resources, as well as instances that would be rare under more conservative policies.

Although the field research of the Parole Action Study was conducted in the California parole system, the focus of this report is on the issues in parole practice, rather than on the details that are specific for one or another agency. The key dilemmas experienced by agents in California seem to arise from the basic structure of parole relationships, rather than from specific local conditions; probably they are endemic to parole wherever it operates. In any case, this report is concerned with the critical dimensions that should be taken into account in attempting to analyze any parole program rather than with the performance of a particular agency. Parole personnel, wherever they may be located in the United States, should find this outline of the issues that arise from the structure of parole relationships useful in understanding their own experiences as they attempt to achieve the service goals of modern parole.

THE CHAPTERS TO COME

The Study's report falls logically into two parts. The first concerns the primary actors in the supervision process, the parolees and the agents; the second deals with the interaction occurring between these persons. The structure of the report is similar to that of the research study itself, in that much research effort was invested first in learning from the role-incumbents themselves what it meant to be a parolee, or to be an agent, before we attempted to focus on, and understand, the interaction process that occurred between them.

Chapters II and III constitute the first part of the report and are the reader's introduction to the central actors in parole supervision.

We start with the parolees because the goal of parole success is achieved in their lives, if it is achieved at all, and much that occurs in parole depends on their capacities and resources. Insofar as "doing a parole" also means reintegration into the normal community, the parolee does the real work of parole. Only as he and his various role-partners establish reciprocal and mutually contributing relationships does reintegration occur; the agent is a secondary figure, a facilitator, in this process. Accordingly, we need to understand what tasks the parolee faces, what obstacles he meets, what resources and supports are available, and what kinds of adaptations are available to him, in order to know what the agent should be expected to help the parolee do.

In Chapter III we introduce the agents, who constitute the primary link between the parolee and the official system and are the persons through whom the provisions for control and help are implemented in the lives of the parolees. In discussing the agents, we shall be particularly interested not only in their tasks, but also in the tools provided for them to use in task accomplishment. We shall also need to inquire about the organizational structure within which the agents do their work, the dilemmas it poses to them, and the adaptations it fosters.

The second part of the report, consisting of six chapters, concerns the interaction between parolees and agents. It starts with a short statement in Chapter IV on the technologies of parole supervision and the way that technology structures the interaction process.

Two parole technologies require examination, surveillance and helping, and they are sufficiently different to be treated separately. Chapter V discusses surveillance, dealt with first because the technology of surveillance is much

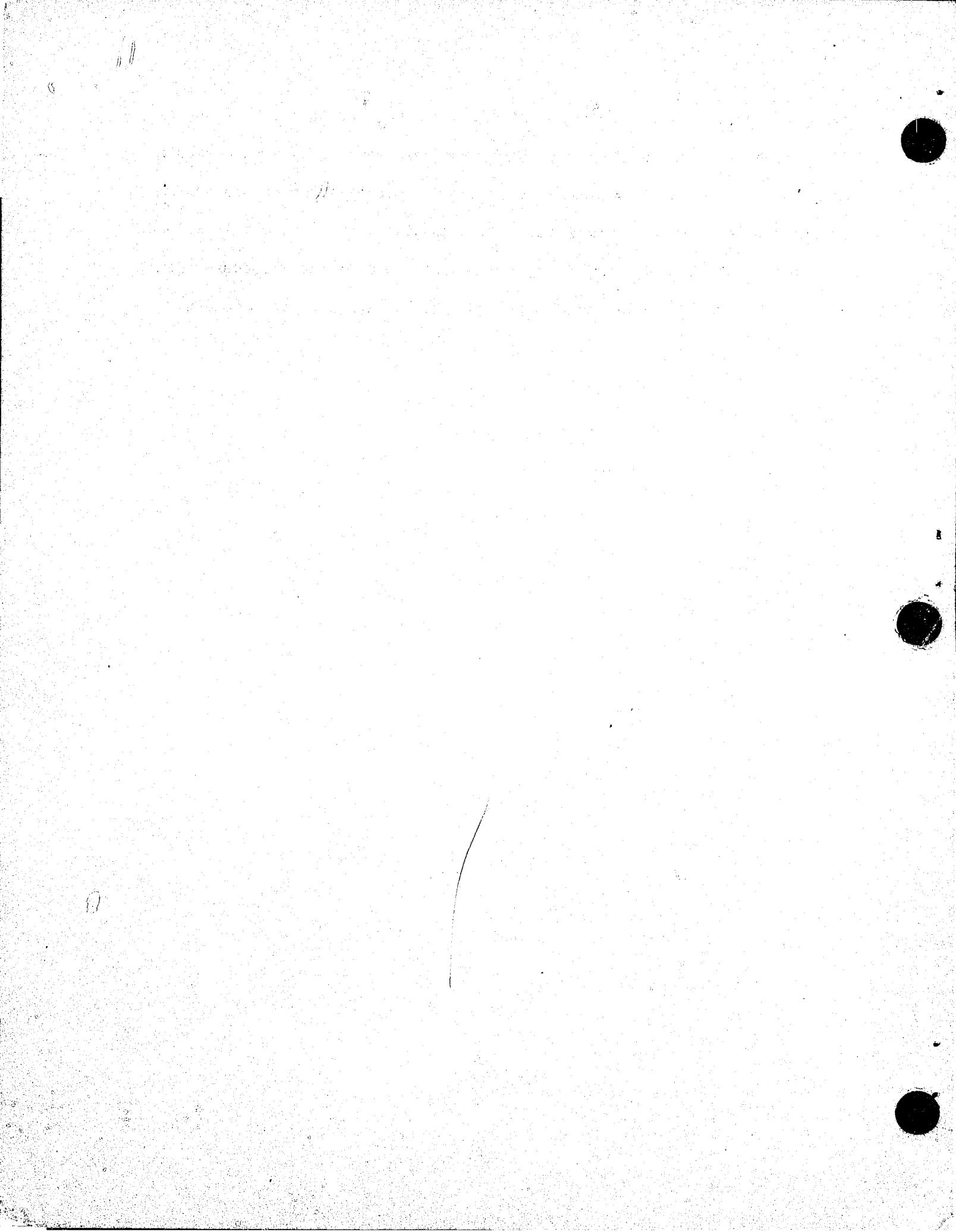
more definitely prescribed by administration than is that of helping and it thereby creates the framework within which helping interaction occurs. Three following chapters describe and analyze the various activities that occur within the helping technology. A last chapter in this section compares the parolees' perceptions of parole with those of the agents, using reports from each set of actors about their different experiences with helping activities.

A final chapter offers some suggestions about technological changes that, in the author's opinion, could make parole operations both more relevant and effective for dealing with the critical problems faced by the parolees in today's world.

THE RESEARCH APPROACH

Although the reader will find a description of the research method in Appendix A, a word here about the approach that governed all the Study's research operations should be helpful in orienting the reader to the nature of the data. Because the Parole Action Study was concerned with understanding people interacting in processes that had meaning to them, the research staff tried to view parole action from within the perspective of each respondent, regardless of the level or position he represented. What was needed from each was his experience of the parole action world—the problems it posed for him, the strains he felt, and the supports and rewards he experienced. Accordingly, each interviewer, whether talking with agents or with parolees, was expected to empathize with those whom he was studying, seeing with their eyes in the light of their goals and values. This examination of various points of view, and of the way they affect each other, helped the Study avoid a dichotomy in its thinking between an "establishment" on the

one hand and its "victims" on the other. It also contributed to a three-dimensional view of parole action as a process, produced by interaction among many humanly limited individuals, by which all are constrained and for which no one person or group is unilaterally responsible. This report is offered for study with the hope that increasing knowledge of parole processes can lead to the design of more relevant and effective services to parolees.



CHAPTER II

THE PAROLEES: A CASE OF BUILT-IN ROLE CONFLICT

The Study began its explorations by investigating the parolee's experiences in the system, because it is his task that the system is verbally pledged to facilitate and his resources determine in large measure what happens during his parole. Furthermore, some conception of who the parolees are, what problems are critical for them, and what they bring to their tasks is necessary for understanding the activities of the agents who supervise them.

PAROLEES ARE PEOPLE

The general public tends to think of parolees, people who have been in prison, as probably dangerous, certainly as strange and different from "us." When parole agents talk informally among themselves, they tend to describe parolees in catch phrases that emphasize their inadequacies and proneness to wrong doing, such as "They were failures before we got them—they proved that or they wouldn't be here." Even in more formal statements, the official assumptions about parolees as a group seldom emphasize their potentialities, strengths, and capacities for independent action. In general, parolees tend to be seen as weak persons with multiple problems, who are either extremely resistant to help or largely dependent on others for direction and prodding in "taking care of business."¹

1. A paper on "The Parole Agent's Role in Ongoing Supervision," prepared in 1967 by a committee of agents for discussion throughout the state, says of

In the Study's perspective, however, parolees are people, as diverse in capacities and problems as any other segment of the population. It is true, because of the nature of selection for criminal conviction in the United States, that the parole population is heavily weighted with persons from socially disadvantaged, economically deprived, and ethnic minority groups. Nevertheless, one finds among them men from all walks of life, with a wide range of educational and economic backgrounds. Only a few are as socially dangerous as the stereotype suggests, while many of them perform minor miracles of human survival in daily coping under handicaps.

The diversity and range of life patterns evident among parolees is suggested by the following word pictures drawn from the Study's interview records.

A sullen, blear-eyed, battered hulk of a man, an Indian and an alcoholic, who was interrupted while he was preparing his solitary meal in a hot, smelly, tenement room where the bed, bureau, two-burner gas plate, and one chair left only standing room.

A University researcher in a paneled, book-lined, home study overlooking the city below his windows, whose need to talk of his ten years on parole led to seven, two-to three-hour, interviews.

A one-armed Mexican parolee, who was moving his family back to a small town in rural Mexico, now that his son at age three was an American citizen and had received all his immunizations. He was happy, eager to talk of his plans to use the agricultural and construction skills he had learned

parolees, in part: "Parolees are a peculiar, unique group of social misfits. . . . They come to the Department of Corrections with a great variety of disabilities. The underworld term 'loser' is strikingly accurate. They are trouble-prone. . . ."

in prison to modernize the village, proudly displaying the modern toilet and the reading and arithmetic primers he was packing on his truck as equipment for his family's future life.

A bearded, hippie youth surrounded by his wood carvings, who spoke of his parole agent with real affection as "a beautiful man," while describing the way he managed to live his wandering and unemployed life without "worrying the agent."

A sixty-year-old Negro man, who might have played the part of "de Lawd God" in Green Pastures, who owned his own home, lived on a pension, was deacon of his church, and whose only regret was that the rules against association among parolees interfered with his ability to befriend and guide some of the younger men whom he had known in prison.

A vital, large-built, factory foreman, who welcomed the agent and the observer into the tiny living room in the home he had recently purchased, where he and his wife with the five children were eating dinner before the TV. He and the agent embarked on a familiar joking game about the parolee's imminent discharge and the favors he was doing the agent in hiring other parolees, while the others became absorbed in the hour-long thrust-and-parry between the two men much as they might have watched a hard-fought tennis match.

A scrawny Negro youth, in severe pain from a back injury, standing in handcuffs with tears running down his cheeks, who had just learned he was being returned to prison; he had been arrested some weeks before for drinking and his parole rules forbade the use of any liquor.

Many more such images could be drawn from the Study's notebooks, the variety seemingly endless, the poignancy and humor both rich and intensely human.

However, like any other subpopulation, parolees have certain attributes in common, most of which stem from the fact that they have shared certain

special experiences. All have been through the drastic process of being turned into outcasts from the community, a social demotion that marks each of them in some way for the rest of their lives.² Each has, for some important period of personal time, been subjected to the abnormal, often deforming, life of the prison.³ They share a supervised role in the parole agency. And each, in one way or another, has dealt with the difficult problems of moving from prison life to the quite different demands of life in the community. Because of this set of shared experiences, parolees constitute the primary source of expert knowledge on the tasks and problems of "doing a parole." The following sections summarize the reports of more than 350 parolees concerning what it means to be on parole.

INITIATION THROUGH CRISIS

The parole period begins with a reentry experience that is disruptive both biologically and psychologically for many parolees.⁴ The parolee moves directly from the subservient, deprived, and highly structured life of the prison into a world that bombards him with stimuli, expects behavior to which

2. See Harold Garfinkel, "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 61 (March 1956), pp. 420-24.

3. See Erving Goffman, "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions: The Inmate World, Part 1," in The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, Donald R. Cressey, ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), pp. 3-67.

4. This concept is elaborated in Elliot Studt, The Reentry of the Offender into the Community, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, #9902, 1967. John Irwin, The Felon (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), devotes a chapter, pp. 107-30, to the problems of reentry for the released convict.

he has long been unaccustomed, and presents him with multitudinous problems about which he must make decisions. Food does not taste right, and often does not "sit well" after a meal; making change in a restaurant or on a bus proves unexpectedly troublesome; people and traffic seem to move with unsettling speed; and small events, anticipated with pleasure, result in exhaustion. Coming from a setting in which all time is structured for him, the parolee suddenly has no schedule except that which he can create for himself, often without benefit of a timepiece to mark the hours. One parolee told the interviewer three months after release that he still could not sleep unless he locked his bedroom door. For many parolees, the initial period after release is one of confusion, missed cues, overintense impulses, and embarrassment; they move as "strangers" into the ordinary world.⁵ Thus, although in most cases parole is intensely desired, its early experiences are often damaging to the parolee's as-yet-undeveloped image of himself as a competent "free man."

Such a transition experience can be difficult for anyone, as is attested by the reports of returning GI's, Peace Corps Volunteers, and prisoners of war. Unlike many such returnees, however, the parolee must often manage the transition with minimal economic and social support. In 1971, most parolees were released from California prisons with a maximum grant of \$68; and many had to depend on family members who were also financially limited for the costs of reestablishment—provision of transportation and adequate clothing, expenses connected with securing a job, and so forth—as well as for

5. See Alfred Schuetz, "The Stranger: An Essay in Social Psychology," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 49, pp. 499-507, reprinted in Maurice R. Stein et al., eds., Identity and Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960), pp. 99-109.

maintenance expenses while looking for a job and awaiting a first paycheck. In addition, the parolee carries with him a social stigma due to his commitment as an offender, and so he is not supported in the transition experience by the social respect often accorded those who have been away in service to the community. Because the parolee's family may be his only source of either emotional or economic support during the transition period, the strains experienced by the family tend to exacerbate the normal stress of readjustment for the parolee.

Given such a set of conditions for making the transition to the free community, it is understandable that many parolees face the tasks of "doing parole" with uneasiness mixed with elation, and that they do not always act with hard-headed rationality when grappling with the complex factors that enter into readjustment.

THE TASKS OF THE PAROLEE

In the perspective of most parolees, the task of "making parole"⁶ involves adapting to two different systems, each of which makes its own, quite disparate, role-demands on him. Thus, the parolee's career entails living until discharge with structurally imposed role-conflicts that affect all aspects of his life.

The first and central part of the parolee's task is to meet his needs through performing in normal community roles—family member, workman,

6. Parolees speak of "doing parole" and "making parole." "Doing parole" refers primarily to the process of meeting parole obligations in daily life sufficiently well to remain in the community. "Making parole" emphasizes the ultimate success involved in winning through to discharge.

consumer, user of leisure time—in a way that keeps him unnoticed by law enforcement. This requires that he locate a personal community in which his tastes and cultural orientations can be comfortably expressed, and which will also accept him in the role-relationships necessary for survival in the community. Initially, at least, he must cope with the problems of reentry, involving for most parolees "starting from scratch" in competition with free peers who already have the know-how, possessions, connections, and certifications customary to members of that community. Moreover, as long as he remains in that community, especially if the neighborhood is one to which law enforcement gives much attention, the parolee must manage to avoid certain situations, customary to his peers, because of his severe vulnerability to "trouble." The part of the parolee's task that involves adjusting within the community requires, in and of itself, a high degree of alertness, ingenuity, ability to manipulate and to protect one's own interests, readiness to respond to opportunities, and independence of thought and action.

The second part of the parolee's task is to establish himself as an acceptable parolee in the eyes of the parole agency, since success in the agency is a condition for remaining in the community. This means he must maintain a working relationship with an agent, whose values and cultural orientations may be quite different from his own; learn the parole rules as defined by that agent, following them with much the same care he uses in obeying the laws governing all citizens; and maintain his role as a supervised dependent in all those areas of his life in which the agency chooses to intervene. Although it is as important within the agency, as within the community, that the parolee avoid drawing unfavorable attention to himself, the parolee in relation to the agency can lay no claim to privacy or independence of choice except as the agent permits such modes of operation. In contrast to the role the parolee is expected to fill in the community, that part of his

task involving the agency emphasizes the values of self-disclosure, avoidance of manipulation, dependence on guidance from others, and subordination in a role that is, in its formal aspects, quite similar to that of a minor ward.

Many parolees find that the two different roles they are expected to perform are extremely conflictual, and that severe tension results from the attempt to be the active, responsible "man in the community" and the more dependent "parolee in the agency" at one and the same time. It is to the strains involved in this combination of roles that some parolees refer when they say that parole is "harder time" in certain ways than "doing time" in prison.

Although parolees must perform both the community and agency roles with some success in order to stay out of prison, the tasks associated with each one are sufficiently difficult in themselves. We need to examine the specifics of these two tasks in order to understand the built-in strain involved in being a parolee.

MAN IN THE COMMUNITY

The parolee learns quickly that in many situations in the community he will be met with suspicion and that certain opportunities are closed to him, regardless of his qualifications, simply because he is a parolee. The operation of stigma in his life evidences itself most regularly in three different areas, each of importance for his ability to establish himself as a responsible man in the community.

Employment

The problem of earning a living when one is a parolee is of particular importance. Barriers to the employment of parolees are found in large

segments of the employment market, including most companies that bond their employees; enterprises that do business with the government and so require security clearances; many civil service positions at all levels of government; most trades governed by state licensing boards; many companies with explicit personnel policies against hiring ex-convicts; and some unions. (See Exhibit I.)

The extent to which these socially enforced restrictions on employability affect individual parolees depends a great deal on the particular jobs for which the parolee is qualified. The individual with special skills that are in great demand may have few difficulties in finding employment; and the parolee with no skills, who can attend the laborer's union hiring hall without meeting questions, is equally unbothered by stigma as it relates to employment. But the middle-range parolee tends to find his employment opportunities seriously restricted, even when he has skills. Some parolees resolve this problem by attempting to "pass"—by manufacturing biographies and work histories to hide their criminal records. However, this device is difficult to use because the parolee's agent is expected to talk with his employer from time to time, and there is always danger that someone on the job will recognize the parolee.

Certain erosions in the barriers to parolee employment are occurring at this time, through such programs as federal bonding for offenders, the opening of certain civil service positions to ex-convicts, and work furlough projects. However, as yet, the bulk of the parolee population is not affected by such programs; and the process of case-by-case exception tends to establish the individual's criminal past firmly in his employment records.

Los Angeles Times

HARRISON GRAY OTIS, 1881-1917
HARRY CHANDLER, 1917-1944

NORMAN CHANDLER, 1944-1960

EQUAL RIGHTS

Exhibit I



LIBERTY UNDER THE LAW

←Part II SATURDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 30, 1971

THE PUBLIC SPEAKS OUT

Ex-Convicts Find Too Many Avenues Closed

When I was 18 years old I ran away from home. I quickly got into trouble and ran out of money. After getting caught breaking into a house I served two years in a California prison and three years on parole. Since that time I returned to school and am now working on a master's degree in biology.

I must agree with Chief Justice Warren E. Burger's observations that this nation thinks of anyone with a criminal record as human rubbish. I cannot own a gun (I agree with the law on this point); I cannot go into numerous business ventures such as bartending, get a liquor license, real estate sales or other private occupations.

★

I cannot teach school, which is something I had set as a goal when I finished college. Most important to me above the other considerations, however, is that I can't vote.

The society that begs its people to take part in a democratic process by casting a ballot refuses to acknowledge the existence of all segments of that society by refusing to give "ex-cons" the responsibilities of that society.

And you wonder why there is little prison reform? Why should an elected official be concerned with a segment of the people who can't even vote for him? There is no benefit to the politicians to speak of justice for the convict in front of a women's

club while those women are afraid to walk the streets at night.

The irony of it all is that the government prosecutes you, locks you up, and releases you on probation. The government "rehabilitates" you and says that you have "paid your debt to society." But that same government will not give you a business license, will not give you state teaching credentials, will not hire you as a forest ranger even after you have volunteered in prison to fight more than 50 forest fires and came close to death a dozen times for 50 cents day.

★

It is the same government that won't hire you in the post office, or as a probation officer, or as a biological researcher, social worker, agricultural inspector or any other government post that your educational degree makes you eligible for.

And I have a lot going for me. Consider the black or brown ex-con who comes out of prison with an eighth grade education, no trade and only the ghetto or the barrio to return to. Consider a young girl or man going into prison and returning to society as a 30- or 40-year-old homosexual. Consider the complexities of society on the outside and the simplicities of never having to make a decision while in prison.

Consider all this and wonder again why 40 to 70% return to prison.

EX-CONVICT
Long Beach

The Administration of Criminal Justice

For some proportion of parolees, the special jeopardies of their status when dealing with law enforcement and the courts introduce serious interruptions into the process of readjustment, and add "keeping a watch out for trouble" to the other strains of being a parolee.

The parolee's lack of rights vis-à-vis the representatives of criminal justice is evidenced in many ways. Parolees in ghetto areas are often singled out for "harrassment" by the police by such means as stopping them for questioning on the street and holding them in jail for "investigation."⁷ The parolee is more apt than the nonparolee to be jailed and subjected to formal treatment by the courts when he commits minor offenses that would otherwise be "washed out" by the system if they were committed by an ordinary citizen; and he can be considered for a revocation of his parole, if arrested, even though the court finds him not guilty, the district attorney refuses to prosecute, or he actually pays the prescribed penalty by doing time in the county jail. Over and above all these jeopardies, the parolee in California is vulnerable to a suspension of his sentence and an extension of the time he must serve for the original offense whenever he becomes involved with local law enforcement. Even when the episode does not result in revocation, it can cause him to lose a job, create trouble for his family, and introduce new suspicion into his relationship with his agent. The parolee's knowledge that such interruptions can occur, even when he is behaving legitimately, tends to militate against the putting down of social roots and the development of inner security.

7. In the Interaction Study of 150 parolees, both the parolees and their agents reported that at least one arrest during parole has been experienced in 50 percent of the cases.

"Everyone Knows"

Every adequate social being manages information about himself so as to protect certain of his roles from the strains associated with other roles. Thus, the man who is unhappy in his marriage tends not to discuss these matters with his colleagues at work; if he is worried about debts he seldom informs his neighbors; and he probably chooses carefully those to whom he reveals information about a relative in a mental hospital. To some extent all of us manage to perform more adequately because we can partialize information about ourselves, and so can restrict strain to the appropriate role-relationships.⁸

In contrast, the parolee tends to be known as "a parolee" by all who associate with him. In part, this spread of information occurs because the parole agent comes unannounced into the parolee's home, and is expected to talk with persons who are associated with the parolee about his adjustment. Thus, employers, fellow workmen, landladies, neighbors, relatives, and children in the home can all be deliberately or inadvertently informed about the parolee's background, regardless of the parolee's choice. Even when such persons already know about the parolee's past, the repeated appearances of the agent tend to keep the parolee's degraded status in the minds of those who associate with him. Sociologists have recently become aware of the effects that repeated "imputations of deviance" can have on the efforts of the person who has already been labelled a deviant to behave normally.⁹ It is inevitable

8. In a recent study of just-released parolees, many stories were heard of extensive efforts by parolees and their families to prevent information about where the parolee has been from reaching older relatives and children.

9. See John Lofland, Deviance and Identity (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), pp. 209-34, for a discussion of the way imputations

that, when "everyone knows," the parolee tends to feel "watched" and treated with suspicion in many situations; and that he finds it difficult to behave like a "man who is not a parolee" in any of his roles.

PAROLEE IN THE AGENCY

The parolee's role in relation to the agency is also problematic; and, since most of agency's impact on his life is implemented through a single agent, many of the strains of this role are activated in that relationship.

Problematic Aspects

Several aspects of the role relationship between the parolee and his agent introduce insecurity and uneasiness for both.¹⁰

Fear of the agent's power to revoke

The fact that the agent who is offering services also has power to take away the parolee's liberty is a critical condition affecting the parolee's ability to use help from this authority-person. Fear of loss of liberty arouses strong fears, both unconscious and conscious, far beyond the strength of the realistic, normal fears of failure or reprimand that enter into relationships with the usual authority-figures, such as employers or teachers. All the ambivalences associated with subordination to an authority-figure—independence versus dependence strivings, feelings of affection and respect

of deviance by others interfere with the assumption of a normal identity by persons who have once been labelled deviant. Erving Goffman, Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963) also is useful in understanding this phenomenon.

10. The agent, also, experiences problems due to these aspects of the relationship, as we shall see in the next chapter.

versus hostility, and needs to please at any cost versus fears of loss of self-respect—are activated in heightened form when the sanctions the authority-person can use are so severe. Any such relationship is inherently difficult either to establish or to move into the state of trust required for helpful problem solving; and it can usually be disrupted easily under crisis conditions.

Role incongruities

Disregarding for the moment the fact that the parolee already experiences conflict between his two roles as "man in the community" and "parolee in the agency," his relationship with the agent is further complicated by still another incongruity. Being a parolee means a return to legal minority, with the agent acting in many ways as his guardian; yet parolees are adult males responsible for all the usual roles adults perform in the community. Like adolescents, constrained by home rules appropriate for childhood, parolees are restive under supervision over matters that are private for, and personally determined by, ordinary adults. When, in spite of the formal aspects of their relationships, parolees and agents become something like friends in the ordinary sense, the parolees report that being an agent's "ward" at the same time is a source of uneasiness and strain.

The information game

Parolees are almost uniformly uneasy about sharing information about themselves with the agent, and most are highly selective about what they tell. To "have a problem" and to discuss it with the agent is to reveal matters that could be interpreted by the agent as poor adjustment in the community; and the parolee is vulnerable, not only to that agent's decisions, but also to the judgments he records for future agents to read. Building trust, when communication is guarded and perhaps dangerous, is never easy; it is not surprising that many agents and parolees settle for superficial patterns of communication.

In addition, engaging in "problem solving" when at least one party is withholding pertinent information is usually less than effective.

Easing the Relationship

Two additional factors, somewhat determined by the agent himself, can affect the degree of unease or ease with which the parolee adapts to his role in the agency.

Agent orientation

It is in relation to the parolee's ease with the agency role, rather than to the parolee's success in community roles, that the variations in agent approach make the greatest difference. The agent "who treats me like a man" is highly valued by most parolees, and such an agent is specifically differentiated by them from the agents who are "just doing a job," or who are more interested in catching the parolee in rule-breaking or some other misdoing. Such an agent shows respect for the parolee by "telling it like it is"; he can be relied on to do what he promises to do; he is prompt and efficient in "taking care of business"; and he explains the decision-making process explicitly and in concrete terms. With such agents, the parolees gain a relative degree of security; they know better "where they are" and worry somewhat less.

Familiarity with the agent

Knowing the agent over time is the other factor contributing to the parolee's relative ease in the agency role. It seems to take about six months, with at least one problem-experience during that time, for the parolee to feel that he understands what his agent expects and that he can rely on his willingness to listen. Once the parolee has gained information, in specifics, about what his agent means by the rules and over what range of behavior he is tolerant, the parolee feels at least some capacity to manage himself in the

agency role. However, a "good" relationship, established while everything is going smoothly, can easily be disrupted by any one of the unpredictable emergencies endemic in the lives of many parolees, returning both the agent and the parolee to a state of watchful testing.

However important his relationship with his agent may be for the ease the parolee experiences in "doing parole," parolees frequently report that what happens between them and their agents seems to have relatively little to do with success or failure in "making parole." Parolees and agents report having warm and even friendly relationships with each other even when both agree that the parolee has little chance of getting through to discharge "on this trip." In the parolees' view, "the system"—including both community and official decision makers—has much more to do with who goes back to prison and who achieves discharge than does the agent; and many parolees see the agent as a fellow victim of the system, different from themselves primarily because he has accepted the onerous task of "putting up a front" for the behind-the-scenes operation of the system.

MAKING PAROLE

In the parolee's view, the "system" is the community's use of the parole agency and law enforcement to protect itself from the troublesome behavior of parolees; and the simplest mechanism for giving such protection is to remove the offending parolee from the community by sending him back to prison. Accordingly, in the parolee's perspective, "making parole" is determined by two interrelated factors, neither of which is easily controlled by the agent. The first concerns the community's standards for the kind of behavior that warrants return to prison; the second concerns the parolee's style of life.

Standards for Behavior and the Decision Process

Of first importance is the level at which the official standards for approved behavior by parolees are set, and the way "signs of social danger" are defined by the agency and the community. When high standards are set by policy and community pressures, many kinds of ordinary human misbehavior, such as overspending, missing work, drinking too much, or living with a girl friend, can be defined as reasons for returning the parolee to prison on the basis that "his adjustment is deteriorating." When such guides to decision making are operating, a larger proportion of parolees become "recidivists." When, on the other hand, definite evidence that a man is engaged in socially dangerous activities, such as a conviction of another offense, is used as the primary criterion for revocation, fewer go back to prison and more remain on the streets until discharge.

To a certain degree the agent's own standards for parolee behavior are important in this decision-making process, because it is he who initiates consideration of revocation by writing a report to the Board. In actuality, however, many other persons influence the agent in deciding just where to "draw the line" between socially disapproved behavior by a parolee and the behavior that warrants his return to prison. Complaints from family members, employers, or other citizens; the attitude of the local police about parolees who are "nuisances"; the standards of the agent's supervisor; and the current official interpretation of Adult Authority policies; all these influence the agent in deciding which among the borderline cases he will refer to the Board for consideration of revocation.

Certain agents are, however, much more ready than others to turn the responsibility for "drawing the line" over to the Adult Authority. For instance, an agent can be greatly liked by the parolee because "he treats me

like a man"; at the same time, the agent can be a "book man," meaning to parolees an agent who is strictly scrupulous in following rules and procedures, especially in regard to the Board's policy requiring certain kinds of rule-violations to be reported for consideration of revocation. Every time such a report is submitted, the parolee becomes vulnerable to a return to prison and to the extension of his sentence, even though the agent may recommend that he be continued on parole in the community. Agents vary widely in their willingness to "give a pass," or to interpret policy generously; and the agent's readiness to report to the Board tends to make considerable difference in the probability that certain parolees will, or will not, stay in the community throughout their paroles.

The Parolee's Style of Life

On the other side of the coin is the parolee's style of life as it is viewed by the general community. Both agents and parolees seem to agree that the agent has little to do with determining outcomes in those cases that evidence the following kinds of life-style.

The square life

The more naturally square the parolee is in his tastes, goals, habits, and role relationships, the more inconspicuous he becomes to the agency, to law enforcement, and to the general public. Such a parolee is more apt to be permitted an occasional episode of unconventional or disapproved behavior than are his fellows; and his agent is often very relaxed about the way he observes the parole rules. In such cases the parolee and the agent go through the forms of doing a parole, with the agent having little to do with the parolee's real life. This kind of parolee usually goes back to prison only if he gets caught by the police in another offense.

The criminal orientation

Both agents and parolees recognize that there are also parolees whose intentions are specifically criminal, for whom it is just a matter of how long it will take them to get caught. Both see this group as fairly small and agree that there is little the agent can do about such persons. With them the agent tries to enforce the parole rules strictly, but in actuality he has no real control over their behavior. Parolees in this group also usually return to prison because they have been involved in new offenses.

The trouble-prone life

Finally, there is a sizable group of parolees whose backgrounds, family resources, natural environments, and personal inadequacies are such that almost any way of life available to them is trouble-prone, even when they are not criminally oriented. Their problems are not specific to being an offender or a parolee, but are common to many other disadvantaged persons in our society. But unlike the others, who are often treated by the community simply as "nuisances," these men are also parolees, who can be sent back to prison as "socially dangerous" whenever their behavior becomes annoying.

Such parolees are the most vulnerable to unfavorable parole attention, most frequently involved in the kind of trouble that invokes system decision making, and the most difficult to provide with problem-solving services. Their social problems are extremely various; and many are either not solvable at the individual level or are of too-long standing for a stable solution of any kind. For such persons there are few community provisions except some form of jailing or imprisonment; and the agent has limited means, that are either relevant or effective, to use in changing the critical conditions underlying the "trouble." Once such a person had been caught up in the correctional system as a "felon," that system tends to remain responsible for

him in one way or another for much of the rest of his life.

For other kinds of parolees, whose life styles do not fall so neatly into social stereotypes, the agents and parolees seemed to agree that a "good parole agent"—one who is not too strict in his interpretation of the rules and who can, on occasion, provide helping resources—can make some difference in what happens to a man's parole. But in the long run, the parolees (and often the agents) seem convinced that the "rate-making" operations of the system—especially the standards enforced by the community and its officials in regard to noncriminal, but socially disapproved, behavior by parolees—have more to do with the frequency of revocation decisions than do the relationships between individual agents and parolees.

When one group of parolees was questioned about what they meant by the "system," they coined a term to describe the position in the system that is allocated to the parolees. They said that so long as they remain under correctional jurisdiction, they are "stock for the shelves," to be shifted from prison to parole and back again and from one caseload to another, according to system needs for client populations. Such a formulation is more cynical than those verbalized by many parolees; it does, however, capture the flavor of many other comments expressing the parolees' sense of essential helplessness in determining their own destinies so long as they continue to be subject to correctional decision making.

In consequence, many parolees formulate their goals for the parole period as "making parole," in other words, getting discharged from the correctional system, rather than as the more optimistic goals they set for themselves before release, such as "building a new life for myself in the community." The tendency of parolees of all kinds to settle for this more restricted outcome as the necessary and only feasible goal for parole seems to stem from the general situation for coping as it is experienced by many parolees.

THE SITUATION FOR COPING

When prison inmates think about parole shortly before release they tend to conceive of it in highly oversimplified terms, quite remote from reality. Most of them envision their personal outside world—family and friends; the joys of food, drink, and women; above all, freedom to move about and to choose—in a rosy glow of welcome and abundance, lacking restrictions or problematic aspects. In this glorified future, they see themselves moving strongly and directly to establish themselves where they "should have been all this time"; although other parolees may fail, "I'll make it because I've learned my lesson." The agent is seen as the only real hazard to this happy eventuality; the prospective parolee tends to view the agent with uneasiness and fear. "If he doesn't hassle me, I'll be all right."

By the end of the first few weeks the parolee often has a much more sober concept of reality. The world of family, friends, work, and play presents unanticipated problems, many of them difficult to resolve. The agent, in contrast, seems mild and tolerant; he is not as powerful as the parolee had imagined while he was still an inmate, but he turns out to be the one official who can occasionally give advice or make opportunities available. And society—that opportunity system which the parolee had expected to enter freely—now seems impersonal and unresponsive to his needs, just because he is a parolee.

Ambiguities

Two dimensions, previously unappreciated by the parolee, determine the existential nature of the situation within which the parolee must learn to cope.

Being a nonperson in the community

In a way that he cannot understand until he experiences it, the parolee is not just a "newcomer" or "stranger" in the community; he is an outsider, with many duties and obligations and few rights or supportable claims on others.

While the parolee was an inmate in prison, he was a nonperson in every sense, so far as membership in the community of free citizens is concerned. However, in prison he was only one nonperson among many; and among his fellows he could establish a certain kind of recognized personhood. And in prison, the free part of the world had obligations to provide housing, food, clothing, work, and recreation for him while he lived through his punishment.

As a parolee in the community, however, he bears his nonpersonhood among associates who are free persons in law and in action and with whom he must compete in order to survive.¹¹ To remain in the community the parolee must exercise full responsibility for himself; and he can only do this by finding some mode of entry into the normal system of reciprocal relationships within which ordinary free men sustain themselves. Yet at no point is anyone obligated to provide such opportunities to him, while many doors are barred and others he enters at the cost of living under suspicion. Thus, the parolee often finds himself solely responsible for "reintegration"; he must prove himself in the community by "making bricks without straw."¹²

11. See Philippe Nonet, Administrative Justice: Advocacy and Change in Government (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969), pp. 256-60, for a discussion of the differences between the status of person in the legal sense and in the quite different welfare concept of a human being in need of help.

12. It is too seldom recognized that "reintegration" is a two-way relationship requiring open doors and support from the community as well as responsible performance by the parolee. No one can reintegrate in vacuo.

"Doing parole" and reintegration

The parolee has been told that parole exists to help him gain the entry to normal systems that is necessary to reintegration; and, further, that doing a good parole is valuable training for becoming a normal member of the community. In the actuality of his experience, the parolee tends to find that being on parole in itself sets up certain barriers against reentry into normal systems; and that it often adds tasks and harrassments to an already difficult undertaking. Thus, the official source for help to parolees often proves to be the source of handicaps. Accordingly, what the parolee learns on parole is often less how to be a responsible free man in the community than it is how to cope as a marginal person.

Strategies for Coping

Parolees have many different ways of adapting to the built-in ambiguities in their situations. The examination of many reports of parolee experiences suggests that each of the following strategies for coping is used with some frequency.

1. "Going PAL": Disappearing from official notice by going AWOL.
2. "Passing": Hiding the fact that one is a parolee and acting "as if" the conviction and period in prison had not occurred. This is a difficult strategy to pull off successfully, requiring cooperation from the agent and unusual ability on the part of the parolee to play a role consistently.
3. "Playing the professional parolee": Openly using the fact that one is a parolee to engage the interest and support of sponsors, often with the goal of becoming a helper to other unfortunates.
4. "Manipulating": Living as close to a normally unrestricted life as possible, while managing to keep the agent unaware of much that is

going on.

5. "Doing time": Voluntarily maintaining constrictions on his way of life—underemployment, limited social activity, restricted purchasing—until discharge is achieved.
6. "Parasiting": Living on family and friends but doing nothing illegal.
7. "Giving up": More or less consciously "asking" to be returned to prison by the use of alcohol or drugs, petty criminal behavior, and open violation of the rules.
8. "Taking a vacation from prison": Living it up on parole until he is caught.

This is not an exhaustive list of possible coping strategies, and does not include those parolees who, because of a fortunate confluence of personal skills and social resources are able to take up the business of being normal persons in the community while they are discharging the parole obligation. The list does account, however, for a sizable proportion of the parolee population; and no one of the coping strategies in the list can be termed a fully satisfactory training for normal life in the community. Whatever the parolee's choice, however, his career as parolee is apt to be a "perilous journey," highly vulnerable to the impact of accidents and contingencies. Most parolees find it difficult to manage the ambiguities of the situations for coping; some parolees take several trials before they find the way it is accomplished; and occasional others go through to legal discharge direct from prison without ever finding the key to "making it on parole."

Nor is any one of the coping strategies listed above easy for the agent to supervise. We shall examine supervision of parolees from the agent's perspective in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE AGENTS: JACKS OF ALL TRADES

From the perspective of the agency, the agent occupies a critical position because his supervisory activities constitute the agency's primary means for protecting the community and rehabilitating the parolees. From the parolee's perspective, the agent is the one official, representing the agency, who deals directly with him. Consequently, some notion of who the agents are, what they bring to their tasks, and how their tasks are organized is essential for understanding what goes on between agents and parolees.

AGENTS ARE PEOPLE TOO

Although the PCSD selects its agents (in cooperation with the State Personnel Division), trains its recruits, and promotes its own people, an observer newly introduced to a collection of agents notices first how little they show signs of a common occupational identification.¹ In fact, these men appear to

1. In California, beginning parole agents enter the system via civil service examinations. Eligibility to take the examination is established by evidence of graduation from college, preferably with a social science major; and one year of employed experience in some sort of people-work, such as public welfare, teaching, probation, law enforcement, or institutional work. A variety of patterns for meeting these educational and experience requirements are provided in order to increase the pool of applicants. A certain amount of additional experience can be substituted for education, so long as a minimum of two years at college is offered. Actually, the large majority of California parole agents are college graduates or above; a study conducted in 1964 reported that among California agents only 24 percent had not graduated from college, while over half of these had at least 90 units of college level education. See Paul Takagi, Evaluation Systems and Adaptations in a Formal

be as individual in manner, speech, and point of view as any heterogeneous group whose members customarily wear business suits to work.

On better acquaintance, however, certain similarities among the agents emerge, related not so much to common ideologies or shared professional patterns as to a recognizable approach to life. Almost all of the agents seem to move directly from problem situation to action. They share a limited tolerance for analysis; when they argue—and there is much argument—their accepted mode is to assert personal values and clinch their points with anecdotes. They seem immensely tolerant of interruption, switching easily from one focus to another.² In action, most agents are shrewd and intuitive, evidencing an

Organization: A Case Study of a Parole Agency. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Criminology, University of California, Berkeley, 1967.

Once a beginning agent moves into a parole job he is exposed to various kinds of training programs. Initial training is usually provided by the supervisor of the unit to which he has been assigned. At some period within his first six months he attends a statewide, week-long institute where, together with other new parole agents, he is instructed on a variety of topics that can range from the use of casework and group counseling techniques to the laws and policies that govern parole operations. Additional training programs, providing so many hours of training per month for each level of personnel, are organized by the regional training officer. The content of such programs can vary from region to region, as well as from year to year; however, most training schedules include some group sensitivity training as well as sessions devoted to formal instruction on such topics as making arrests, Adult Authority procedures and policies, and writing reports.

2. When the observer wanted to interview an agent it proved much more productive to insert occasional questions during a period of field work observations than to attempt an organized discussion during a single two-hour sitting.

ingenuity apparently based on extensive experiences with the ways of the world. Each agent maintains a tough loyalty to his own definition of good—no matter how different that definition may be from those of his fellows or the agency itself. And most agents show an unexpected capacity for compassion when the situation does not directly offend the individual's personal moral code. In general, the agents give an overall impression of being experts in "coping," amateurs in almost everything else but amateurs who are good enough in the practical world to feel no need of—in fact to be a little contemptuous of—formal training and discipline.

As the observer in the Interaction Study came to know the eleven agents in that sample, their past histories revealed some of the reasons for the generalized competence in coping that most of them displayed.

One agent had graduated from college in law; he later became an accountant for a stock broker; at a time of economic recession he took a job in the sheriff's office; and he finally moved to the position as parole agent from which he will retire.

Another majored in psychology in college, was an interviewer for a research institute, spent some time teaching, worked for public welfare as an investigator, and in his later thirties became a parole agent.

Three of the agents in the sample of 11 had retired from highly responsible military careers; each then worked in correctional jobs, such as that of custodial officer, while taking additional college courses in order to qualify for a second career in parole.

A Negro agent started in college to become a doctor; switched to a mathematics major in order to maintain his star position in college football; graduated later in social science after his period of military duty; worked for four years as a bus driver, while organizing a citywide campaign against racial discrimination in the local transportation system; became a public welfare worker; and finally moved to parole.

Not all agents had such colorful and varied backgrounds; but most had experienced struggle, change, and diversion from original career goals before reaching parole.

For many of the agents, parole or a job in corrections was not a first career choice. Quite simply, parole offered the best-paying job with security and personnel benefits available at a critical choice-point in their work lives.³ It was a solution to an atypical career line, providing each with an opportunity to exploit the value of his varied experiences without taking time out to achieve a specialized professional competence. It is not surprising that, although parole agents talk much of being recognized as "professional" in correctional conferences, they often refer to themselves informally as "jacks of all trades." Both their past histories, and the demands of the current job, have emphasized for them the values of making a rapid and efficient adaptation within the system of the moment while maintaining a tough, individual identity in both work performance and personal life.

The agents whom the Study came to know in some depth shared a tendency to keep their personal lives separate from their work. They tended to protect their family and home lives from contacts with parole; and most were engrossed on a personal level with concerns outside parole, such as playing the stock market, politics, caring for sick family members, building a summer home, collecting art, or working during evenings and weekends on advanced education that might lead to still another career. They did not talk much among themselves about these interests; the observer learned of them only because of the long conversations in cars between visits to parolees.

3. In California, the parole agent position pays a somewhat higher salary than do most other "human relations" jobs in the state's personnel structure, in large part because the bulk of parole work must be done by men who, as peace officers, are exposed to special risks.

The agents were also remarkably uniform in reporting the nature of the satisfactions they gained from parole work. Almost without exception they listed these as (1) enjoyment of the power they exercised in people's lives; (2) their freedom from direct supervision in the field; and (3) the drama and variety of the human situations to which they were exposed. One mentioned the deep pleasure he experienced when participating in the discharge of successful parolees. In only the very rare instance did the Study's interviewers observe an agent evidencing, in either words or action, the need to hurt or punish that is often so glibly imputed as motivation to those who enter correctional work, although many of the agents interviewed appeared insensitive to the more subtle expressions of human feeling.

At the same time the agents were consistent in reporting what most irritated them in their work. For all of them, impatience with "red tape" and "meaningless" instructions from above was chronic. As in most bureaucracies, these bottom level workers felt unrecognized and unappreciated by upper administration; in the agents' view the people "at the top" had little awareness of the real nature of the agent's job.⁴

In spite of the tough-minded individualism of the parole agents, all were employed in a bureaucracy, so all worked within the same prescribed structure of activities. This structure had much to do with the way all agents managed their supervisory activities with parolees; at the same time it created certain dilemmas which each agent needed to resolve for himself.

4. See Raymond E. Miles, "Human Relations or Human Resources?" Harvard Business Review (July-August, 1965) for an analysis of such attitudes of lower-level workers.

WHAT AGENTS DO

Almost every grade I agent in the California parole system has responsibility for a caseload of approximately 35 to 75 parolees. For each individual in his caseload he is expected to provide "custody in the community" and service. He is responsible for his work to a supervisor, along with the five to seven other agents in the unit.

Each agent is equipped with certain tools for performing this work. These include: a badge, a manual, and handcuffs; an agency car; a large notebook in which he carries background and current information about each parolee, including a picture of the man taken in prison; a set of rules governing each parolee; power to arrest the parolee and to search his body, his home, and his possessions without a warrant; and power to recommend to the Board the return of the parolee to prison. In addition, certain auxiliary programs in the agency and in the Department of Corrections are available for the agent to use either for control or service, including the Outpatient Psychiatric Clinic, the Narcotics Testing Center, short-term return programs in the institution, and, in certain areas, a half-way house. The agent can also issue small loans in real emergencies, as well as provide housing and meal chits for short periods. Over and above these resources the agent's chief tools are expected to be himself, the competence he brings to the job, and the relationships that he can establish with strategic persons and agencies in the community.

Every agent is expected by the agency to pattern his use of these tools according to certain categories of activities. These include:

1. Contacts with parolees: Most of the contacts with parolees are expected to be in the field, at the parolee's home or place of employment, and most such contacts are required to be unscheduled or "surprise" visits. The largest proportion of the agent's work is devoted to making these contacts, with the time invested in travel often equalling or exceeding that spent in actual interviews. Some part of field work time is absorbed each month by "no-calls," or uncompleted contacts; because the agent is responsible for a quota of actual visits per month for each parolee, depending on how that parolee is classified, a certain amount of step-retracing is expected in every agent's work month. The agent also talks, when in the field, with family members, employers, and others who know the parolee personally. Field work can be performed by the agent according to his own schedule at any time of the day or night; since parolees are often more easily found at home between the hours of 5 and 10 p.m., most agents schedule themselves for some evening work in the field each week. Some agents schedule regular group meetings for parolees, usually at the office.

2. Desk work: Work in the office usually occupies at least one day each week and often requires some time on other days. Desk activities include recording, writing reports to the Board, completing agency accounting forms, organizing work plans, and telephoning. A good deal of this work involves keeping track of what is happening to parolees who are currently involved with other programs or agencies such as correctional institutions, jail, job training, or welfare agencies.

3. Service to the agency: This activity includes officer-of-the-day duty, assisting in the transportation or arrest of parolees on other agents' caseloads, speaking to pre-parole classes at the institution, helping to "cover" caseloads when other agents are on vacation, and occasional other duties not required by the agent's own caseload.

4. Meetings: These include regular unit staff meetings, specially called meetings for the unit or the district, and training meetings. Conferences with the supervisor for periodic case reviews can also be included under this category. Most meetings are scheduled for two hours at a time, although some occupy a full half-day or day.⁵

5. Community contacts: Community relations work often occurs during field work hours and includes interviews with influential persons in the community, employers, and personnel in police or other agencies. Agents vary widely in the amount of time devoted to this activity; an occasional agent invests some time outside of normal work hours in community lay groups of various kinds, acting as a representative of parole.

Although all these activities are performed by all agents, one is particularly struck, when observing the work of a number of agents in sequence, with the idiosyncratic nature of their work patterns. Because the agent is free to follow his own preferences in much of what he does, his work style tends to reveal a great deal about his personality. Since all human phenomena in the lives of parolees can conceivably be significant for parole success, each agent sees and attends to those aspects of life that seem significant to him, given his own orientations and work goals; and each acts at his own pace much as he would in dealing with family matters or his own business.

During extended field work tours with individual agents one also sees little evidence of planned work toward goals. Agents do vary markedly in the way they organize their desk work or plan the use of their time during the week; but the agents in our samples gave minimal attention to the systematic

5. One agent reported that, because of meetings, case reviews, holidays, training sessions, and officer-of-the-day duty, he could rely on only ten to twelve days a month for work in the field with parolees.

analysis of and planning for individual cases, and almost none to the examination of their total caseloads in terms of types of needs represented.

Instead, most agents' work revealed an ad hoc, reactive approach to problem solving, at least in part a response to the somewhat conflictual pressures in their assignments. On the one hand, every agent's schedule is vulnerable to the crises endemic in the lives of parolees, and they are expected to respond quickly to such emergencies because of the potential social danger. Crises might appear singly or two or three at a time, and any one emergency could occupy most of a day or a week. On the other hand, every agent needs to schedule himself for considerable routine work, such as recording, filling out forms for agency accounting, and completing monthly quotas for contacts with parolees. Since both crisis and routine activities are given high priority in relation to other tasks by agency administration,⁶ most agents' work time tends to fall into periods of somewhat frenetic activity interspersed with periods devoted to fulfilling routine requirements. Neither crisis nor routine activity encourages or supports the concentration and frame of mind required for intensive analysis and systematic problem solving.⁷

6. Priority is given to crises because the public is often involved in some way; there may be danger in permitting such situations to escalate, and reports to the board may be required. Routine work is emphasized partly because this is one of the few measures that administration can use in checking on what the agent is doing.

7. Much of the agent's griping about red tape and agency accounting might be attributed, not so much to the excessive amount of such duties, as to the conflicting orientations generated in the agent by crisis activities, routine activities, and planning activities and by the difficulty involved in combining all three in one job.

ORGANIZATIONAL CONDITIONS AND AGENT DILEMMAS

Organizational Conditions

Three characteristics of the structure under which the agents work contribute to the dilemmas agents face and the adaptations they make.

Two authorities

The agent deals with his cases under the policies and procedures established by two different authorities: the Department of Corrections Division of Parole and Community Services, which administers the personnel procedures governing agents under the policies of the State Personnel Division; and the Adult Authority, which is the parole board that determines whether or not the parolee remains in the community. Both of these authorities have specific responsibilities for decisions about individual parolees, as well as for what the agent does with parolees. In any structure with more than one superior authority responsible for substantive case decisions, some divergence in policy formulations can be expected.

During the period of the Parole Action Study, 1964 until 1969, certain important philosophical differences were expressed in the various policies and procedures established by the PCSD administration on the one hand and by the Adult Authority on the other.⁸ The PCSD tended, in its policies for work with parolees, to emphasize keeping parolees on the street unless there was considerable evidence of social danger. It encouraged certain kinds of risk-

8. Since the Study was completed in 1969, it is reported that useful steps have been taken to bring PCSD and Board policies into a closer congruence, with an increasing emphasis by both on keeping parolees in the community as long as it is reasonably safe to do so as well as on discharging parolees as soon as possible.

taking, and frowned on any tendency to revoke parolees without strong evidentiary support. During the Study period, however, the Adult Authority was often more conservative in making its decisions about parolees. The Board's policy (Manual Section 412) required agents to refer cases involving specified types of parolee misbehavior to the Board for revocation consideration, regardless of the agent's judgment about the social danger involved; and, at times, the Board approved the return of parolees to prison for what the agents believed to be relatively minor violations of the parole requirements. Thus, as the two policies impinged on the agents, they appeared to differ strongly in the degree of social danger that was seen to warrant revocation, in the kind of justification required to recommend revocation, and in the measures deemed appropriate for dealing with problem situations. In essence, the agent often had to choose between two standards for "drawing the line" between nuisance behavior and signs of social danger. This kind of uncertainty in the official guides to making decisions in the supervision process inevitably introduced strains into the agent's day-to-day operations.

Role incongruities

The agent's work life, like the parolee's role structure, is divided in space and time, as well as in functioning, between two arenas. One is a "private" world in which the agent operates on his own initiative, relatively unobserved and unsupervised; its activities occur chiefly in the area where the parolees in his caseload live; and in this domain the agent is "Mr. Parole," the agency in action. This area is the agent's "manor"; and it is here that he experiences self-direction; freedom to follow his hunches, to invent and to deviate; as well as the relatively unchallenged exercise of authority toward most persons whom he meets. In this domain, the agent develops his own resources, and makes arrangements with local officials that

leave him free to maneuver on a case-by-case basis. It is in this arena, also, that the agent is free to leave the evaluation of parolee behavior fluid in those "gray areas" where no official decision is yet required.

The "public" world in the agent's work life is the bureaucracy, and it becomes activated primarily in the office. In this public world, the agent's decisions become known to superiors and to officials in other agencies, are subjected to policy controls and procedural regulations, and are criticized and evaluated. For official purposes, the behavior of parolees must be categorized and labelled, and decisions about it formulated for the records. The drastic role-change, that this movement between private and public domains involves for most agents, is evident in the different manners, attitudes, and even moral orientations, each exhibits as he moves from one to the other. It is also highly evident in the changes that occur in the individual agent's relationship with a particular parolee when he moves from general supervision of the parolee in the community into the official procedures of a revocation investigation. Inevitable strains for both agents and parolees are associated with this kind of frequent role-shift in the agent's work life and relationship with parolees.

Organization of work by caseloads

The fact that the agency organizes most of its responsibilities for control over, and service to, individual parolees as caseload assignments to agents places extensive demands on each agent for perceiving and responding to every conceivable kind of human situation. Under this plan of organization the agent becomes "the agency" for each of "his" parolees. It is he who "plays God" as he makes decisions in the individual's life; interprets and implements the rules; accumulates the information which he can use in accord with his own hunches and value system; and either provides, or arranges for, all services

that he may perceive the parolee as needing. The role implicit in this assignment demands a superhuman range of competences from the individual agent and suggests impossibly high standards for success. It adds to decision making the continuous strain of adjusting standards and goals, case by case, to what ever seems possible for that agent with that case.

Agent Dilemmas

Agents do not experience the problematic aspects of this structure for action in the orderly fashion suggested by this outline. Instead, the various dilemmas combine, mix in action, and reinforce each other, often resulting in a general strain toward the erosion of the agent's sense of competence and integrity. Certain of these strains can be suggested as follows:

The "fate-maker" role

The agent is responsible for helping the parolee remain on the streets; at the same time he is expected to initiate the processes that return the man to prison if he observes signs of social danger. In both types of activity the agent performs a fate-determining role in the parolee's life. For the agent this role involves seductions to use power, through either manipulation or the threat of force, over persons who cannot complain against them, together with ambivalence about the destructiveness potential in the use of that power. It also tempts the agent to tie the parolee to himself as a person: "You stick to me and keep me informed, and I will see that you are taken care of." The frequency with which agents speak jokingly of "playing God," indicates some of the tensions raised by their "fate-making" power over individual lives.

The information game

Agents are the other half of the information game they play with the parolees. They have difficulty securing adequate information on which to base

decisions because of the "suspicion context" for communication, generated by the parolee's fear of the agent's use of information and the agent's fear of being "conned"; and they often express insecurity about the drastic decisions they must make on the basis of inadequate information. Agents are also limited in knowing how to evaluate what information they do get because of their lack of guidelines for the use of information in decision making, and the fact that there are important differences between the agents and parolees in the way they perceive both the relevant facts and what is going on between them.

While the agents experience uneasiness due to constraints on the information they receive, they contribute to the uncertainty of communication by limiting the information they give to parolees. The agent may not want to "tip his hand" until he has investigated further and reached a decision; he may not be sure of the position his superiors will support; or he may fear losing his influence over the parolee's behavior if he lets him know too clearly where he stands. Thus, on both sides there is a tendency to turn communication into a competition over who can gain the most information, and give the least, instead of using communication as a cooperative endeavor for pooling the information necessary to problem solving.

The problem of competence

Agents are expected to be expert in a vast range of human problem situations far beyond the possibilities of individual competence. Thus, there is a strain for agents toward the erosion of respect for competence in anything, and a tendency to assume a kind of arrogant pride in being what they jokingly refer to as a "jack of all trades and master of none."

Pressures toward deviation

Perhaps most serious for the agent's sense of responsibility and integrity is the strain he experiences between his extensive discretion in the use of information to which he has unique access, and the limitations set on his use of discretion by laws and policies, many of which he may evaluate as contraindicated, futile, unjust, or harmful. The potential conflict between the concern for the individual parolee, necessary to "keep men on the street," and the concern with public safety that counsels returning men to prison whenever there is a suggestion of "deterioration," introduces an additional strain into the agent's use of discretion. Such strains tend to push agents toward deviation from policy by "interpreting policy," "keeping myself covered," and developing explicit modes of avoiding the official detection of deviance. Under such conditions, the lines between lying, not reporting, deciding that "this is not an instance covered by policy," and "sticking my neck out because this is right for the parolee," can become extremely blurred; the maintenance of integrity is challenged by other values; and open discussion about what is actually going on, with either colleagues or supervisors, can become impolitic.

These system strains on the agent, like the system strains on the parolee, use energy that might otherwise be invested in helping parolees—a task that in itself is complex and difficult. As could be expected, agents vary widely in the way they combine "coping with the system" and serving parolees. But before we consider the various adaptation patterns used by agents, it is important to note that agents also suffer frustration from their lack of tools for providing the services needed by parolees.

PAROLEE NEEDS AND AGENT TOOLS

Even a cursory examination of parolee experiences reveals that many of their problems are highly practical, consisting of either a lack of economic resources or barriers to opportunities. Yet the agent lacks many of the tools he would need to provide services for dealing with either type of problem.

During the reentry period of parole, the lack of sufficient funds to provide for reestablishment and support during the job-finding period is acute for many parolees and their families; yet the agent can do little but provide small loans or refer the parolee to public welfare for equally small grants. Although one of the most important needs of many parolees is an introduction into the world of work, most agents have limited influence in that world, except when employers are seriously in need of manpower. Transportation problems plague many parolees, and again, there is little the agent can do to help. The fact that agents work a 40-hour week, and are often away from the office in the field, limits their ability to respond quickly to emergencies, even those in which immediate intervention is critical for the success or failure of the individual's parole. Moreover, many parolee problems can be solved only by changes in policy on the part of other agencies, the local communities, or the state; and the agent is in no position to initiate, or to carry through to completion, such community organization endeavors.

As a consequence of the agent's limited means for providing relevant and effective services in important areas of parolee needs, agents and parolees tend to agree that the "good" agent is one who does what he can to make the parolee's career in the correctional system as uncomplicated as possible while offering whatever help he can give if a specific occasion arises. Much as the parolees settle for "making parole," the agents tend to settle for "helping the man do his parole" rather than attempting to work toward the parolee's

"reintegration into the community."

AGENT ADAPTATIONS

Although agents vary among themselves in their adaptations to the conditions of their work, the result of all these somewhat contradictory strains is to push the individual agent, as he gains experience, toward a high degree of reliance on himself and on his own judgment, abilities, resources, and personal values. Little in the organization of his job encourages, or makes possible, teamwork among the agents in dealing with those parolee problems that are common to all the caseloads. The possible solutions to the complex problems presented by parolees are so various that one man's judgment is conceivably as good as another's; and there are few mechanisms for formulating, from group experience, improved guides to decision making. No one man can possibly master all the kinds of competence that could be needed in dealing with even one caseload; as a consequence, each agent does what he can, within the limit of his own vision and wisdom, with each case. Accordingly, in any group of experienced agents one finds highly individualized styles of management, each reflecting the particular agent's personality and moral code, with each agent interpreting a somewhat different parole agency to the parolees in his caseload.

Although most agents tend to move, as they gain experience, toward a highly individualized version of parole operation, they also appear to move toward resolution through similar stages of development. Agents repeatedly mentioned the stages of adjusting to parole work that they recognized in their own careers, as well as in those of other agents. According to many agents, the new agent usually starts with some idealization of his helping function, and evidences a good deal of naïveté in interpreting the responses of parolees.

As a result, he experiences disillusioning episodes, in which an occasional parolee makes a fool of him, whereupon he meets ridicule from his colleagues who eagerly undertake his "toughening-up" education. The second phase follows quickly, with the agent becoming somewhat harsher and more punitive than many of his fellow agents. He may compete during coffee hours in the contemptuous denigration of parolees, tell stories about how smart and tough he has been in detecting misbehavior and applying sanctions, and become suspicious and threatening in dealing with parolees. Most agents move on to a third stage, known as "mellowing." The agent begins to see parolees as "human beings like myself who should have a second chance when they make mistakes"; finds ways of protecting himself and the parolees in situations of minor deviance; settles for giving help when an occasion arises; and talks much less about how he deals with parolees to his colleagues. Occasional agents reach a fourth stage of disillusionment and look for opportunities to move into some other type of work.

IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERACTION

In the last two chapters we have examined in some detail each of two paired roles—that of the parolee and that of the agent—as these persons experience their roles in action. The official expectation is that when the persons in these two roles interact the work of problem solving will be accomplished. Yet it is evident that the design of these roles, as they are experienced in interaction, is dysfunctional for many problem-solving purposes. In certain ways, the two roles are mirror images, each of the other, so that the dilemmas of the one reinforce the uncertainties of the other. In other ways, the two roles are so asymmetrical that it is difficult for them to mesh in action.

The similarities between the experiences of the two actors are numerous. Both the agent and the parolee assume different roles when interacting with each other than those they perform in other arenas where the important decisions of parole get made, in the behavior of the parolee as "man in the community" and in the work of the agent as official bureaucrat. Because the interaction roles are often quite different from the decision-making roles, it is extremely difficult for either actor to use what goes on between them as a way of predicting what the other will do when he is in his other roles. Both agents and parolees are uneasy about the "fate-making power" of the agent, the parolee because of the implications for his own life and liberty, the agent because of the seductions to use personal power. Both experience the uncertainties generated by the "information game" and by the lack of needed information, while both continue to limit the information they give. And both tend to settle for the goal of getting the parolee through to discharge—"making parole"—in large part because both lack the means to work toward the desired, and officially approved, goal of reintegration into the community.

In other ways the design of each role is inappropriate to the built-in characteristics of the other, so that, like malformed gears, they are more apt to stop the engine than to facilitate work. The parolee may need help of various kinds, while the agent often lacks the tools for giving the needed help. The agent works a 40-hour week and is often unavailable to receive messages during many of those hours; yet the parolee's primary need for help may be during an emergency that might occur at any time during the 168 hours of the week. When the agent can help by introducing the parolee into normal social roles, through referrals to jobs or other agencies, he automatically spreads the stigma that reduces the parolee's chances of being dealt with in the new role as a normal person.

These dysfunctional reinforcements and anomalies, which both the agents and parolees report as frustrating, are so obvious when they are outlined in this way that it seems reasonable to ask why the agents and parolees do not break out of the assigned roles and get to work on joint problem solving. Neither agents or parolees are lacking in ability to cope; both are aware of the nature of the problems; and few on either side are destructive in their intentions. Given the amount of freedom they have as they interact in the field, why do they not set up their own patterns for problem solving?

The answers to such questions are found in the traditional technologies for parole supervision which the agent is employed to use and the agency is organized to support. In the next chapter we shall examine how that technology operates to focus, and set limits on, what the agent and the parolee can do together.

CHAPTER IV

PAROLE TECHNOLOGY: THE STRUCTURE FOR INTERACTION

Broadly speaking, technology is the application of science to the accomplishment of objectives; it includes all the methods and materials necessary to accomplish those objectives; it is based on propositions about the reality to which work is addressed, and provides the rationale for using certain methods and tools rather than others.¹

When the objectives of work concern people and their life adjustments, as they do in parole, certain critical aspects of the interaction between the workers and the clients are determined once the technology to be used is selected and established.² The technology determines:

1. Which problems will be attended to and which will be ignored.
2. How the problems to be addressed are to be defined, e.g., do they arise because of inadequate persons or because of dysfunctional system arrangements?
3. What information is needed to solve the problems, and how that information shall be secured.
4. What methods may be used to solve problems.
5. What tools are required for problem-solving work.
6. What kinds of problem resolutions are possible.

1. Webster defines technology as: "Any practical art utilizing scientific knowledge, as horticulture or medicine; applied science contrasted with pure science."

2. Perrow proposes that technology should be conceived as a determining, rather than as a dependent, variable in organizations. In describing his approach to organizational analysis, he states, "First, technology, or the work done in organizations, is considered the defining characteristic of organizations. That is, organizations are seen primarily as systems for getting work

The choice of technology also determines the design of the roles available to both workers and clients, as well as the kinds of work relationships that can occur between them. Taken together, these technological arrangements in parole establish the framework for all interaction between agents and parolees.

On the surface, the technology of parole appears to be simple and straightforward. Basically, it consists of a single person—the parole agent—providing "custody in the community" for each parolee in his caseload. The method he uses is known as "supervision," in which two sets of techniques—"surveillance" and "helping"—are primary. The tools at his command include a car, which affords him access to parolees in any part of the community, and other tools, such as handcuffs and a set of rules, to use in limiting the behavior of the parolees. According to this technology the problems to be addressed are clearly those that arise from the parolee's own inadequacies and motivations; they are problems that might be expected to be amenable to personal influence over the individual. The relationship between the agent and the parolee is conceived as a continuation of the guardianship that was originally provided by the institution during the first part of the parolee's sentence.

Organizationally, the use of this technology requires that a large percentage of the agency's personnel be assigned as agents to work with parolees in one-to-one relationships, and that a significant proportion of the agency's budget be used to ensure close contact between agents and parolees. In this

done, for applying techniques to the problem of altering raw materials—whether the materials be people, symbols or things." He goes on to say, ". . . this perspective treats technology as an independent variable, and structure—the arrangements among people for getting work done—as a dependent variable." Charles Perrow, "A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Organizations," American Sociological Review, 32 (April 1967), pp. 194-95.

technological design, the work of administrative personnel is focused on enhancing the effectiveness of the agents, either through guiding their actions or by providing resources for them to use, rather than on direct efforts in behalf of parolees. In such a technology, the burden of implementing agency goals in the lives of parolees—actually the task of effectuating the agency's success—devolves largely on the agents and the influence they can exert on the lives of individual parolees.

Given this allocation of the critical work of the agency to one set of personnel, with each individual performing a similar assignment, it would appear at first glance to be relatively easy to describe the technology of parole supervision and the way it operates in action. In actuality, the Parole Action Study found it extremely difficult to describe in behavioral detail. In the first place, the agent and parolee behaviors in interaction appear significantly different from the words that are used about them in the literature, as will be suggested by much of the data reported in the coming chapters. In addition, two conceptual problems complicate the description and analysis of parole technology.

A first problem arises because the traditional technology of parole is seriously underdeveloped for any purpose.³ Its techniques are the products of accumulated practical experience rather than of tested experiment and systematic conceptualization. Any such technology is vulnerable to ideological influences, so inevitably parole's current version incorporates the conflicting doctrines espoused over the years by the various professional interest

3. Parole is not alone in this matter. All service agencies are forced to use untested and conceptually inadequate helping technologies that rely heavily on intuition and experience for their formulations concerning the nature of reality and the methods of helping. All such technologies also tend to be doctrinaire in some fashion.

groups within parole. And its technical terms are often more useful for polemical purposes than as precise symbols for describing and manipulating reality. Inevitably, the guides to agent behavior in such a technology tend to be hortatory rather than clear and specific prescriptions for behavior.

A second difficulty in describing parole technology arises because it is a combination of two sets of prescribed techniques, sufficiently different as to constitute two technologies. Each of these technologies—surveillance and helping—seeks to implement a somewhat different goal of the agency; but since each goal is supposed to be implemented in all parole agent contacts with parolees, the two interweave in action in a way that prevents either from being clearly discernable, except on those occasions when one or the other becomes dominant. Partly because the other criminal justice agencies rely on the surveillance aspect of parole operations in permitting convicts to be released before the end of their sentences, the surveillance techniques are more clearly specified and routinized, while the formulation and practice of helping techniques remain more diffuse and unspecific.

To illustrate the effect of combining two differently focused technologies in action, let us use an imaginary illustration that compares two possible first interviews with a newly released parolee. In the first instance, the agent has been instructed to forget surveillance and control goals, and to use whatever "competence in coping" he may have, along with tools provided by the agency, to help the parolee get established within the normal community system. In the second instance, the agent is in the more usual position of having to use both technologies at the same time, while he lacks many of the tools needed for practical helping.

Given a single mandate—"to help the parolee"—our first agent meets the newly released parolee in his office, or perhaps at the bus station. He encounters a person who is both somewhat dazed by the sudden impact of new and

varied stimuli and emotionally absorbed in his first taste of freedom. The agent uses this meeting to welcome the new arrival, while helping him gradually to focus on the practical steps he must take to establish a beachhead for his new life. Remembering some of his own experiences as a beginner in a new system or community, the agent might inquire about the parolee's bonafides. Does he have a valid driver's license and if the answer is no, would he like help securing one? Does he have family or friends who can help him get his check from the state cashed; if not, the agent can refer him to a bank. What will he need to do in the first week? Is housing, transportation, clothing, telephone communication, employment, or any other major life arrangement a problem for him? If so, certain resources can be provided and the agent will be available during the next weeks to assist him in making these arrangements.

Hopefully, since the imaginary agent's job is to help a newcomer with limited resources get established in a strange community, the agent will have been provided by the agency with the necessary tools for such a task, each to be used as needed. Such tools might include: a public fund, like unemployment compensation, to provide weekly stipends pending the receipt of the first salary check; a pool of properly repaired used cars to be rented or sold to the parolee under financial arrangements he can manage; an answering service to receive potential calls to the parolee from employers and a telephone for the parolee's use in reaching friends or applying for work; a fund for buying the tools or clothing required for a job, or for paying the union initiation fee without which he cannot be accepted at the hiring hall; and a car for immediate use by the parolee in taking the test for his driver's license. By the end of the interview, the agent knows whether this parolee needs his assistance in any of the initial tasks required for getting established. If he does, a plan for providing assistance is outlined, with appointments scheduled ahead as they may be needed. In such an interview, the agent has learned something

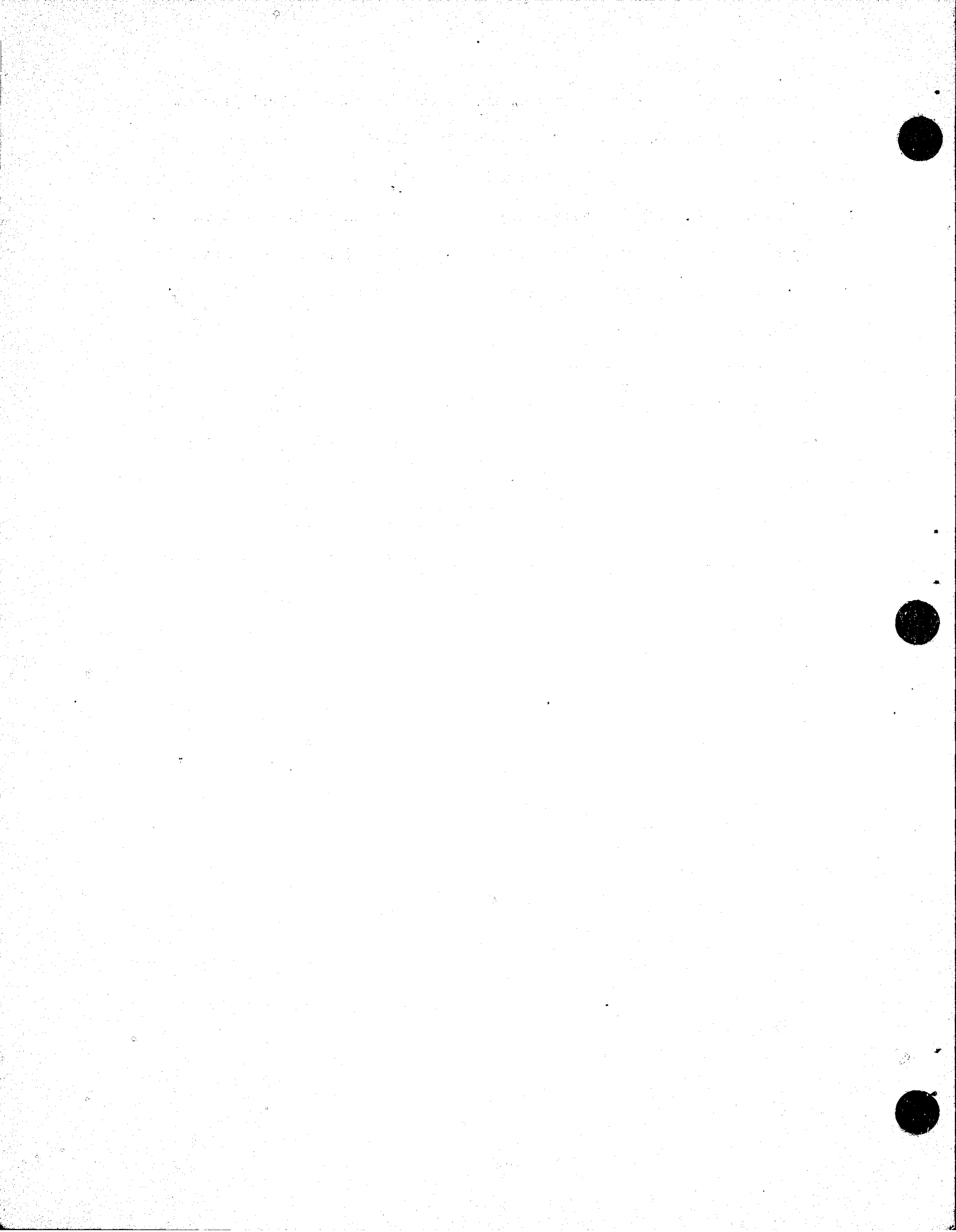
about the parolee's approach to problem solving, while the parolee has gained the security of knowing there is one person, who seems to be both understanding and effective, to whom he can turn for help.

In parole reality, however, the agent meets his newly released parolee with two assignments, to control and to help. The major tools at his command are the rules of parole, the monthly report forms the parolee is to mail to the agent each month, housing and meal chits to provide as a loan, information, and whatever influence he may have developed with other agencies. Because the parolee needs to know immediately how his agent interprets the parole rules, so he will not become involved in rule-violations during his first days, much of the first interview is absorbed by a statement from the agent about the restrictions which he expects the parolee to observe in his behavior. Since in most instances the parolee's mind is obviously elsewhere, the agent dismisses him kindly, with a suggestion he take a day or two to get oriented, promising to see him sometime soon for a discussion of whatever problems he may be facing. As the parolee leaves, the agent says to the observer, "He didn't hear a word I said. They all come out that way. It will take a while to establish a relationship."⁴

4. This example is clearly oversimplified. A small check from the State is usually turned over to the parolee; the agent usually confirms the release plan that was agreed upon before the parolee left the institution; and if such help is needed, he may suggest places to look for work or housing. However, in six years of observing many such initial interviews, the Study director saw only one that differed in its essentials from that described above. In that one exception the agent began by saying he would like to become acquainted with the parolee as an individual and learn what he wanted to do with his life. This interview was the beginning of a good relationship, but it did not address certain important practical details with which the agent's help was needed.

These two vignettes suggest the extent to which the technologies used in parole work affect the nature of the relationship that develops between the agent and the parolee, and the kinds of interaction that become possible to them. Although in both instances the agents were kindly in intention, one was supported by agency directive and the provision of tools in making his kindness effective; the other agent was expected to perform two different technological operations at one time, and in consequence was relatively ineffective in accomplishing either.

Because of the importance of both the parole technologies for agent and parolee interaction, and the critical differences between them, we must analyze them separately. We shall start with examining surveillance because, as the more clearly specified of the two technologies, it tends to create the framework within which all kinds of interaction, including helping, occur.



CHAPTER V

INTERACTION IN SURVEILLANCE

Discussions of surveillance, except in polemical terms, are rare in the parole literature. However, a forthright definition of surveillance is found in the report of the workshop on "Parole Concepts and Terminology" that was scheduled during the second National Parole Conference in 1956:

Surveillance. Surveillance is that activity of the parole officer which utilizes watchfulness, checking, and verification of certain behavior of a parolee without contributing to a helping relationship with him.¹

Another workshop in the same Conference that was concerned with "Parole Supervision" added a refinement:

. . . there is general agreement over two basic elements [of parole casework]: one is primarily concerned with effecting changes in the environment—service; the other aims to assist the individual in handling his personal adjustment problems—treatment. In the protective and corrective field, a third element is added which is designed to protect the client against himself and to protect the public from him. This watchfulness is known as surveillance.²

Thus, surveillance is that parole technique most directly concerned with detecting social danger in order to take the action necessary to protect the public; and it involves the agent's taking responsibility for the parolee as a person who cannot be relied on either to take responsibility for himself or to cooperate in joint problem solving.

1. National Conference on Parole. Parole in Principle and Practice: A Manual and Report (New York: National Probation and Parole Association, 1957), p. 70.

2. Ibid., pp. 129-30.

The term surveillance arouses in many agents the feelings associated with those issues around which they sometimes divide into polarized camps of "helpers" and "controllers." For those who wish to emphasize their service role, the word tends to evoke images of snooping, "playing cops and robbers," and tricking parolees into confessions of misdoing through police-like interrogations. The more control-oriented agents take pride in the detective skills used in surveillance, and think of themselves as more manly and realistic than the "bleeding hearts" and "easily conned caseworkers" who emphasize helping. Although all agents, regardless of orientation, perform surveillance activities, the control-oriented agent tends to be conscious of such duties in many of his field operations, while the help-oriented agent often drops this function from his awareness, except when he is dealing with specific parolee difficulties that require investigation.

Parole agents refer to two different models in allied fields of work when attempting to formulate what they mean by surveillance. Some liken surveillance to police duties, requiring of the agent a tough, objective approach and a disciplined attention to evidence. Conceptually, there are real difficulties in sustaining the analogy between police work and parole work. Parole surveillance is concerned with getting information about all the social behaviors of a few individuals over a long period of time, with particular attention to those behaviors suggesting social danger. In contrast, the police are concerned primarily with instances of explicit law breaking in large populations; are typically focused on individuals only when they draw attention to themselves by some connection with particular instances of law breaking; and then, are concerned almost exclusively with the law-breaking behavior, not with the suspect's total social adjustment.

Occasionally, agents try to explain what surveillance is by comparing it to the duties of a custody officer, or guard, in prison, an analogy based on

the legal theory that parole is "custody in the community." This analogy is even more lacking in conceptual persuasiveness than is the one drawn from police work; and the Study located only one agent who attempted to pattern his field operations on this conception. The custody officer's job in the institution involves managing large groups of prisoners on a daily basis. The work is confined within limited and enclosed areas, and is strictly scheduled in time; it provides little opportunity for communication between the individual inmate and the officer; and the content of interchange between them is almost exclusively limited to what is appropriate while the officer is giving orders and directing groups in routine procedures. In contrast, the parole agent must seek out each parolee wherever he may be in the community, and interaction may occur in any of a number of locations, both formal and informal. The meetings between the agent and the parolee are infrequent, when compared with the daily contacts between custody officers and inmates; and, by agency direction, must not be routinely scheduled. Furthermore, the subjects which the agent and the parolee are expected to discuss cover the range of possible issues in the parolee's social and personal life.

Somewhat different perspectives on what goes on between agents and parolees in surveillance interaction emerged from the Study's examination of agent supervision.

THE SEARCH FOR INFORMATION IN PAROLE

The vague responses of most agents to our initial questions about surveillance are explained, in part, by the fact that information gathering for surveillance purposes is inextricably merged within the general search for information of every kind about the parolee. In parole, this "search" process is even more diffuse and unsystematic than is usual for technologies designed to

influence people, although all such technologies tend to have search procedures that are both uncodified and guided primarily by intuition and accumulated experience.³

The notably unfocused character of the search for information in parole is largely due to the agency's comprehensive mandate in relation to the parolee's life. Every aspect of the parolee's social adjustment can conceivably be seen as relevant to the parole task, and any information that can be secured by any means about the parolee is potentially of value. In addition, surveillance tends to lack distinctiveness from other information-gathering activities in parole because the type of information secured by surveillance is often much the same information as that needed to solve problems, the difference lying in the relevance, either for assessing social danger or for helping, that is attributed to the information rather than in its substantive content.

Accordingly the agent's surveillance activities often appear, and actually are, relatively random and undirected. On an initial exposure to surveillance

3. Perrow describes two kinds of search processes that differentiate work technologies. The first characterizes technologies based on the physical sciences. In these, search is unnecessary except in exceptional cases, because the formulas for dealing with most instances is already prescribed; while logical and systematic procedures are available to guide any search that is required by the exceptional case. The second kind of search occurs in what Perrow calls "people-changing technologies." In these, every instance is different and therefore exceptional; search occurs in every case; and there are only "rule of thumb" guides for collecting the information required for problem solving. Clearly parole search processes, along with those used in many other service operations, belong to the second class. Charles Perrow, "A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Organizations." American Sociological Review 32 (April, 1967), pp. 195-96.

in action, it appears to consist of little more than the agent's stationing himself with some frequency at points where information might be secured; absorbing whatever information proves to be forthcoming; and depending largely on hunch, or luck, for being at the right place at the right time to secure significant information.

Continued observation and analysis, however, revealed certain patterns of importance in the surveillance activities of the agents.

SURVEILLANCE AND THE STRUCTURE OF INTERACTION

Perhaps the most important fact about surveillance is that its requirements determine the basic patterns for all the work done by the agents with parolees. Helping, when it occurs, must be performed within a framework for interaction that has been designed primarily to serve the purposes of surveillance.

Four surveillance requirements are specified in various ways by the manual; and the stipulation that the agent produce evidence that he has met these requirements each month constitutes the primary means for exercising administrative control over what the agent does in the field.

1. Frequency of contacts. All cases are administratively classified according to a rough scale of degree of social danger; and for each classification a certain frequency of contact with the parolee is required. Every parolee starts at the beginning of parole in the class requiring the maximum number of contacts and remains in that class for a specified period of time; advancement to a less intensively supervised class requires a period of satisfactory adjustment by the parolee prior to the reduction in frequency of contacts, and must be approved by the agent's supervisor in a case

conference.⁴ After a period in a less closely supervised class, any parolee showing evidence of social difficulties may be reclassified for maximum supervision.

2. The use of surprise. All agents are required to make some unexpected, "surprise" visits on each parolee, in order to see him "as he really is" when he has had no time to prepare for observation. In actual practice, agents tend to use unscheduled, "drop-in" visits as their major means for getting together with parolees; they make appointments primarily when there is something especially urgent to discuss, or when the parolee has not been located through the "stopping by" technique.

3. Covering all bases. All agents are encouraged to see the parolee in as many of his social roles as is practicable: in the prison during the pre-release period; in a half-way house, if he is lodged there; at home; at work; in the parole office; in jail; or in places of recreation, such as the corner bar. Visits in the home are required for all parolees; visits at work are required except in those cases in which such visits would cause embarrassment for the parolee with his employer.

4. Use of the parolee's role partners. Some collateral visits are required in every case. For surveillance purposes, this means securing information from persons who can observe the parolee at times when the agent is not present, such as family members, employers, landlords, representatives of other agencies serving the parolee, or interested friends. Most agents speak of these persons as especially valuable sources of information and consciously cultivate relationships with them. At times, the agent uses such persons in

4. The reader is reminded that two supervisory programs are operating concurrently in the PCSD, the work unit program and conventional units. Each program has its own classification system.

the role of "deputy agent," explicitly relying on them for supervision over the parolee's behavior in the agent's absence.

These four requirements determine the patterns the agent uses for all his work with parolees. They are specified in the manual and standards are set for minimal performances in each type of activity. The agent accounts for the use of his time at the end of each month by reporting the number and type of such visits he has made during the month in each case. It is administratively assumed that helping activities have occurred in the course of completing the required contacts.

Surveillance and Helping

It is important to note, however, that in designing the structure for the agent's use of time with parolees according to the requirements of a surveillance technology, a surveillance framework for helping activities has also been established. In order to highlight the significance of this fact, we need to compare the surveillance framework for interaction with the framework for interaction specified for casework, a process in which the helping purpose is dominant.

One of the most important skills in casework helping involves designing the plan, or framework, for problem-solving interaction between the caseworker and the particular client. An essential step preceding the development of this plan is the joint exploration between worker and client of the nature of the problem and of the situation in which the problem occurs. Following the assessment process, the plan for continued work is outlined as appropriate for that problem and that client, including decisions about how often they will meet and where, what other persons will be involved and how, what life areas need to be examined, and what resources should be mobilized. Each such plan tends to be somewhat different from others because it is specified for

a particular situation. Rarely would an appropriate casework plan include as its primary components a specified number of unscheduled contacts a month, occurring primarily at the initiative of the worker at times when the client is unprepared for problem-solving work, and involving all key persons in the client's milieu in the communication process.

By establishing requirements suitable for surveillance purposes as the basic design for interaction in every case, the agency essentially removes from the agent's control those critical decisions in problem assessment and case planning on which much of the focus and pace of the helping process depend—decisions as to frequency, timing, and place of contact, together with decisions about the social roles to be examined and the additional persons to be involved.⁵ At the same time, the agency implicitly communicates by such requirements, to both the agent and the parolee, that surveillance is the primary purpose for their getting together.

Agent Awareness

Of almost equal importance is the fact that agents lose awareness that their accustomed work patterns constitute surveillance. Most agents consciously cultivate collateral persons as sources of information, although not necessarily for surveillance purposes; and occasionally an agent will show minor

5. This is not to say that an experienced caseworker with a strong professional discipline, who can operate well in spite of structural handicaps, would not be able to design and implement useful case plans within the working patterns established by the surveillance requirements. However, such plans would inevitably reflect a lower order of skill, and the problem-solving work itself would tend to lack precision, because of the caseworker's limited control over critical factors in the helping process. When agents learn the helping process first in parole work, as many of them do, the patterns they are expected to use from the beginning subtly limit their ability to develop more advanced skills as they learn from experience.

embarrassment with the parolee because there is nothing new to discuss during a visit that is made simply because another contact is required for that month. But, almost universally, the practices of dropping by a parolee's home without appointment, maintaining a certain frequency of contacts, stopping to say hello at the place of employment, and talking with any one who happens to be available about the parolee, are so ingrained in the agent's work patterns, as well as in the patterns of those who work around him, that he does not notice that he is performing surveillance any more than an experienced driver notices the habitual motions he performs in starting a car.⁶ Since the parolees know that the agent determines the frequency and place of contact, and that they are expected to adapt to the agent's pattern of work, they seldom voice questions or comments that could alert the agent to what he is actually doing.

Parolee Awareness

In contrast, many parolees and their families are highly aware of the surveillance aspects of the agent's work patterns. They, rather than the agent, feel the embarrassment and intrusiveness of the surprise visit; and the tension that develops over what can be done with the evenings when the agent has telephoned to say "I will probably be by this evening; if not tonight, then tomorrow night," and then does not appear until the next week. It is the parolee, not the agent, who experiences the misunderstandings and uneasiness that sometimes appear in personal relationships after a person close to the parolee has talked with the agent; or the anxiety that spreads through the family when the agent leaves a message that the parolee should get in touch

6. A consistent lack of awareness of the nature of functioning is an important handicap in the development of professional-level skills.

with him immediately. Many parolees are also much more conscious than the agent of being watched during each contact, knowing that whatever is observed registers in the agent's mind as information that can be used, whenever the agent feels it is needed, as either positive or negative evidence supporting an important decision about the parolee's life. Some parolees have told us that after each visit from an agent they wonder, "What did he find out about me this time?"; and family members have talked uneasily about the possible consequences of remarks dropped inadvertently in a conversation with the agent.

Whenever the agent appears, no matter how kindly and helpful his intentions, his presence changes the personal gestalt, bringing whatever parole means to the individual into the focus of attention. An abrupt change of focus, introduced without warning from the outside, is experienced by almost everyone as intrusive and mildly unpleasant, even when the new focus is essentially welcome. When the introduced focus is parole, with its common connotations of subordination, inadequacy, and jeopardy, the experience of the parolee and his family tends to be one of exposure and vulnerability.

THE SURVEILLANCE POSTURE

Specific Surveillance Activities

The agents do notice that they are engaged in surveillance when they make specific checks on the behavior of a particular parolee. Observation revealed that such checking operations could be of many kinds, including: scheduling naline clinic appointments or taking urine samples, also often by surprise; occasionally dropping by a parolee's known "hangout"; comparing the parolee's written monthly report with the information received during recent interviews or from collateral sources; checking a credit report on the parolee; visiting

the local police station to examine the list of unsolved crimes in that area; on occasion, searching the parolee's body or living quarters. One agent looked for beer cans or liquor bottles in the garbage cans near a house when the parolee he was visiting was "a 5b"; another spoke of regularly visiting "5bs" on Friday night when they were most apt to be drinking.⁷ Another routinely inspected the arms of addict parolees for signs of needle marks at the beginning of an interview.

An agent who was known for his competence in surveillance techniques mentioned two incidents, occurring on one field tour (during which five visits were made), in which he felt surveillance was involved. In the first, he noted that the white wife of a black parolee came into the living room to greet him during the visit, although on previous occasions, when she was having trouble with her husband, she had stayed in the back of the house whenever the agent was present; he concluded that the marriage was currently more stable. In the second incident, he observed a new motorcycle in the driveway of the apartment building to which an aging homosexual parolee had just moved, and he later questioned the parolee about this matter. Other agents were observed reacting to such "signs of social danger" as evidence of a woman's occupancy in a single parolee's living quarters, a bruise on the parolee's face that suggested he had recently been in a fight, and pipes included in a psychedelic wall decoration that could possibly be used for smoking marihuana.

An interesting fact about these agent activities was that almost any one of them might be labelled either helping or surveillance, depending on which agent was being interviewed and how he felt about the parolee under discussion. The agents tended to attribute their different definitions of what constituted

7. "5b" refers to the special condition in the parole agreement that requires certain parolees to abstain completely from drinking alcoholic beverages.

surveillance to the differences among agent ideologies: e.g., "He's a surveillance type," or "He thinks he's a caseworker." But as data accumulated, it became increasingly evident that all agents performed some surveillance activities, even though of different kinds; and that all agents recognized, at least vaguely, that there was a distinction in action between the gathering of information for surveillance purposes, and the kind of information gathering that occurs in helping.

Surveillance as a Posture

On closer analysis, it appeared that what could be called a surveillance posture was assumed by the agent when he was faced with a sign that meant social danger to him; and that he usually experienced this posture as a shift from the more neutral or benign or warmly helping posture that he customarily assumed in approaching parolees. What was considered a sign of social danger varied greatly from agent to agent, but for every agent there were some such signs; the surveillance posture proved to be much the same for all agents; and for all agents it tended to be accompanied by shifts in attitude, focus, and emotional tone that were registered in awareness. Once the agent assumed the surveillance posture, it might last for only a moment; it could characterize the discussion of only one among several topics; or it could dominate the emotional tone of an entire interview.

In the surveillance posture, the agent assumes a critical, potentially suspicious, attitude toward the information he receives; he tests each piece of information offered by the parolee for what may be incorrect, covered-up, or deliberately misleading; he focuses his attention on undesirable behavior or events; and he evaluates the information received for its relevance to making his decision about social danger. In the helping posture, in contrast, the agent is involved with the parolee in a shared search for information; he

treats the parolee's perception of the facts as useful data for understanding the nature of the problem; he seeks information about assets as eagerly as about weaknesses or difficulties; and he evaluates the information received for its relevance to solving a problem. In short-hand terms, surveillance activities are essentially watchful, self-protective,⁸ critical, and cool in their associated affect; helping activities, on the other hand, tend to be clearly more empathic, involved, open, and essentially warm in affect.⁹

Agents vary greatly in the frequency with which they adopt the surveillance posture. The observer spent a week with one agent for whom this posture constituted his customary approach to parolees; with only two parolees during the week did he assume a more relaxed, benign manner. As might be expected, he had so integrated this basic stance toward parolees into his ideology that for him it was "helping," the kind of helping required by the "slack no-goods" who constituted most of his caseload. At the other extreme, the observer spent a week with an agent who never once appeared to assume the detachment and self-protectiveness characteristic of the surveillance posture; he was the only agent of this sort observed during the Study's field work.¹⁰ One agent, who

8. The self-protective component of the surveillance posture relates to the "risk-taking" the agent experiences in his "fate-making" role. If he overlooks a serious sign of social danger, he may be placing his own job in jeopardy, while he exposes the community to the danger of criminal behavior.

9. It is probable that much of the emotional concern expressed in the literature over the attempt to combine helping and surveillance activities in one process arises from the essential differences between the two postures. The definition of surveillance, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, recognizes this difference when it says surveillance is those "watchful" activities undertaken by the agent "without contributing to a helping relationship. . . ."

10. His relaxation and attentiveness to the parolee as a person seemed undisturbed even during an interview with an extremely hostile and manipulative drug addict.

had the reputation among his fellows of "going overboard" for helping, adopted the surveillance posture on only two occasions during the week of observation. Both times the change in affective tone was quite dramatic; both times he attributed the change to his feeling of being "let down" by the parolee, whom he saw as "playing games with me," evidently for this agent the primary sign of social danger; and on both occasions, his behavior was more personally attacking toward the parolee than was any other agent's behavior observed during the Study.

THE ESCALATION EPISODE

On most occasions when the surveillance posture was assumed by the agent, nothing more serious resulted than the addition of another fact, either for or against the parolee, to the agent's accumulating fund of impressions and information. But occasionally, such a fact, even though apparently of minor significance at the time, suggested that a further search for social danger should be undertaken. This expansion of the surveillance posture into an investigation phase tended to occur most frequently when the new fact was introduced by someone outside the agency, such as a family member or a law enforcement official. In part, the increased alertness aroused by an outside complaint is due to the fact that, once there is public knowledge of the possibility of social danger, the agency is much more vulnerable to criticism if it does not take action than it is when the information is known only to the agent and the parolee.

Once an investigation is initiated, it can move into a full-fledged escalation episode. On such occasions, dramatic changes tend to take place in the relationship between agent and the parolee, and the pace and intensity of the agent's work on the case accelerates enormously. Often, in such

episodes, negative information about the parolee is accumulated at every step,¹¹ and anxieties are spread throughout his entire nexus of social relationships. During such an episode, drastic decisions about the ultimate disposition of the case can be made long before all the evidence is in.

A particularly striking example of a major escalation episode is the following. A query from a juvenile probation officer, who was concerned that a parolee was dating one of her girl probationers, led to a search for the parolee that occupied two agents and the observer for most of a day. Two agents were involved because the parolee had originally been convicted of statutory rape and it was assumed that he would be arrested as soon as he was located. The investigatory activities included two separate searches of the parolee's apartment, one of them uncovering personal letters from which the agent learned about a previously unmentioned marriage and divorce in the parolee's background; two visits to the parolee's father; the questioning of friends of the parolee who were found at a nearby service station; an interview with the girl probationer, who was warned against associating with the parolee; an interview with the employer, who up to this time had been favorably impressed by the parolee, during which the employer revealed new information that the parolee "fooled around with young girls"; and a "stake-out" at the parolee's apartment building, with agents at both entrances, in the hope that he might appear.

In another, less dramatic episode, what was at first perceived as minor trouble escalated into a serious consideration of revocation; it was triggered

11. In the Interaction Study, the agents reported that a major consequence of this sort of episode in 30 percent of the 125 cases was "I found out a lot about the parolee I didn't know before." Often this new information was actually needed much earlier for the problem-solving work that might have averted the crisis.

when the agent learned from a Monday police report that a young black parolee had been jailed on Friday night for an unpaid traffic warrant. The agent arranged for the man to be released from jail and left word that the parolee should meet the agent at his apartment that afternoon. On reaching the apartment, the agent learned that the parolee had gone out earlier but was expected back soon. However, the common-law wife was at home with her new baby; she took this occasion to tell the agent she was considering leaving the parolee because he was sometimes physically rough with her. The rest of the afternoon was largely devoted to activities that ranged from searching the extensive case record for evidence of previous violence to investigating the possibility that the parolee's aged parents could provide housing for him temporarily, pending the results of further investigation. By the end of the afternoon, although the parolee had not yet been interviewed, the agent and the supervisor were outlining the case for revocation which they expected to use with the Adult Authority.

Such fully developed escalation episodes were relatively infrequent during the Study's observational tours; and probably few who make parole on the first try are subjected to an intensive investigation of this sort. But minor versions of such escalations occurred at least once during most observation weeks. They often consisted of trying to locate a parolee about whom the agent had some reason to feel uneasy, if only because the parolee had not been at home at the time of the agent's visits for some recent period. On such occasions, half a day's tour in the field might be occupied in a search for one parolee, with the agent moving from one to another of the persons with whom the parolee was known to associate, often doubling back later in the evening to check on the parolee's return, while leaving at each stop increasingly urgent messages that the parolee should communicate with the agent "at once." Even though the parolee might have no inkling that the agent wanted to

reach him, the effect on most agents of such a fruitless search tended to be an increased sense that the parolee was being deliberately evasive. In fact, the major effect of such sequences seemed to be increased anxiety about the parolee on the part of the agent, along with an increased readiness to see signs of social danger in any of the parolee's current activities. Thus the context of suspicion, affecting both agent and parolee perceptions, was intensified by the agent's own activities.

The Study was seldom able to follow individual cases over long enough periods to learn what happened to the parolee who survived on parole after a full-scale escalation episode. Often, enough negative information about the parolee accumulates during an intensive investigation, with its search for trouble in all areas of the parolee's life, to warrant a report to the Adult Authority with the possibility of revocation and a return to prison.

The Study's staff, however, did gain the impression from the numerous stories heard from agents and parolees that, once a full-dress escalation episode had been lived through, sufficient damage had been incurred, both to the parolee's relationships with other persons and to his relationship with his agent, to make the prognosis for a successful completion of parole "on this trip" very poor. Such episodes often meant that the parolee spent a period of three to six weeks in jail while the investigation was completed, the report was prepared for the Adult Authority, and the Authority made its decision. At the end of such a period, the parolee who was not revoked might have to start "from scratch," once again hunting for a job and a place to live. At the very least, such an episode on the record meant the almost certain denial of discharge at the time of the Board review which occurs at the end of two years' continuous parole in the community. Parolees tend to dread such extensive investigations into their lives, even when the outcome is favorable, because of the inevitable complications introduced into their

personal relationships and the heightened sense of jeopardy that ensues.

On the agent's side, the escalation episodes seemed, on occasion, to provide the chief source of excitement and color in parole work, involving teamwork, colleague support, and something dramatic to talk about during lunch or coffee breaks. Such episodes often constitute the only experiences in which agents cooperate with each other in dealing with parolees; and to listen casually to the lunch table conversations among some agents is to assume that no other kind of event ever occurs in parole.

INFORMATION FROM SURVEILLANCE

During the course of surveillance observation, the Study's staff was particularly impressed by the fact that the agent's ordinary field activities seemed never to turn up evidence of criminal behavior, except in the case of occasional drug use; and that, actually, it was rare for any facts gathered in routine field visits (with the possible exception of a complaint from a family member) to result in the type of investigation that led to revocation. This finding was particularly surprising, since the agents spend a large proportion of their time making the required surprise visits in the field; and according to all parole doctrines frequent contacts in the field are peculiarly important for protecting the public from the danger of criminal behavior by parolees.

A study of 90 reports to the Adult Authority in which revocation decisions could have been made was undertaken to check this observation.¹² The study was designed to find out just what sources of information led to those

12. The 90 cases included all such reports written from November, 1969 through March, 1970.

reports to the Adult Authority on the basis of which revocation decisions could be made. During the five months of this Study, every such Board report in one District Office was analyzed; and each agent was interviewed to discover, first, what information started him on the investigation that eventuated in the report to the Board; and second, how he acquired that information. Specific questions were designed to identify any information that the agent himself secured in the course of his normal surveillance activities.

The findings of that study are summarized in Table 1. They revealed that in only 3 of the 90 cases was positive information about antisocial behavior acquired through surveillance activities in the field; in all 3 of these cases the parolee was either under the influence of drugs at the time of the agent's visit or volunteered that he had reverted to using. The agent's ineffectual efforts to find the parolee over some period of time accounted for another 10 cases; and in an additional case the lack of a monthly report in the mail initiated the investigation. Except for one other case, in which the parolee walked into the parole office during a psychotic episode, the rest of the investigations were triggered by information from persons outside the parole organization.

In addition, the signs of social danger that could be detected by an agent in the course of field visits were often not indicative of the actual social danger represented by the parolee. The Study's most striking example of the limited predictive power of evidence gained during field visits occurred in the case of a parolee who was observed with the agent but who was never interviewed independently.

In this case the agent and the observer visited the service station where the recently released parolee was reportedly working. The station manager said the parolee had quit the job three days before; he had just stopped by to pick up his final pay check. The employer said the parolee was a good workman,

Table 1

SOURCES OF INFORMATION LEADING TO REPORTS TO
ADULT AUTHORITY

<u>Source of Information</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Agents' surveillance	14	15
Parolee not locatable	10	11
Evidence of drug use	3	3
No monthly report	1	1
Other agencies	75	84
An arrest	56	63
Antinarcotic test	12	13
Complaint from family	5	5
Information from law enforcement	2	2
Parolee himself	1	1
Psychotic episode	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	90	100

but mentioned in passing that he had been involved in a car accident in which his girl friend's arm had been broken. The agent and the observer went immediately to the parolee's apartment. At first the agent was frankly angry because he had not been notified about the job change, but he gradually relaxed as the parolee explained what had happened. He left the job because the owner's son, who also worked at the service station, was regularly stealing money from the cash register and the parolee felt he was under suspicion, although he had been exonerated during the investigation of a particular instance. In addition, both the agent and the parolee agreed he was seriously underpaid for the kind of work he was doing and the hours he was required to work. The parolee reported that he was picking up occasional money playing his guitar at a bar in the evenings; a friend had offered to include him in a small rock group with regular engagements. During the course of the conversation, the parolee's girl friend dropped in from her nearby apartment in the housing complex; she explained that her arm was in a cast because, in a playful tussle with the parolee, a small bone in her wrist had been broken. She and the parolee seemed relaxed and friendly in talking about the episode; it was an accident and the parolee had taken her for medical care immediately. The car accident had happened to a friend of the parolee; the parolee was involved only because he did some work on the car after the accident at the service station where he was employed. The interview ended on a friendly note, with the parolee and the agent agreeing on the next steps to be taken in looking for a job. The parolee was willing to be interviewed as part of the Study.

When the observer talked with the agent about this interview, the agent was primarily concerned that the parolee was an unstable person who should be discouraged from regular employment as a guitarist because it is easy for tavern musicians to drink too much. The observer asked the agent if he would report the injury to the girl friend's arm as a case of violence. The agent said

CONTINUED

1 OF 3

this incident did not seem to fall into that category; however, he expected to watch for additional signs that could be construed as a tendency to violence.

A week later the Study's interviewer could not locate the parolee. When he was checking the address with the agent he learned that the parolee had left town. The parolee had telephoned the agent from another city and had promised to turn himself in as soon as he returned. Three weeks later the parolee was jailed in another state, charged with murder. Nothing in the interview with the parolee and his girl friend, or in the later discussions about the case with the agent's supervisor and colleagues, had suggested that any behavior as serious as murder could be predicted from the agent's observations during the interview.

There were other cases in which nobody expected the agent to be able to detect criminal behavior, if it occurred, by any surveillance techniques available to the agent. Such a case was the expert safe-cracker who lived with his brother's family in a middle-class home and had a steady union job as a truck driver. The agent and his supervisor scoffed at the idea that, if the parolee chose to "pull another job," they could possibly know anything about it unless the parolee was arrested. Those cases in which criminal behavior could be inferred from surveillance observations seemed few in number, most frequently involving cases of renewed drug addiction. Agents reported that there were definite signs to be noted when the parolee was involved in pimping, such as the appearance of expensive clothes and car among the appurtenances of a young, black, "hoodlum" type, parolee who had no regular employment; the Study's observers heard about such cases but never encountered a specific instance.

The kind of information that is gathered through surveillance activities in the field seems to be primarily characterological evidence based on aspects

of the man's body,¹³ living arrangements, and intimate relationships. Thus, surprise visits can reveal that parolees, in common with other unstigmatized persons, occasionally give misinformation about where they are living and working, have domestic problems, lead unconventional sexual lives, have engaged in physical combat, or have been drinking or using drugs; and talking with an angry wife or landlady can elicit information about troubles the parolee has not mentioned to his agent. Such visits can also reveal good family relationships, heroic struggles against odds, and other positive adjustments. Much of the characterological data is not officially recorded by the agent unless it later becomes important for a report to the Adult Authority or is needed to complete the outline for summary recording. Information gained from surveillance, vague and ambiguous though it may be, does, however, remain active in the agent's developing impression of the parolee, to be used as needed when a decision is to be made, either for planning a helping program or for supporting a judgment that "the parole adjustment is deteriorating" when the agent desires to recommend revocation.¹⁴

13. Drug addicts are particularly vulnerable to surveillance activities because their bodies can reveal evidence of drug use.

14. See Aaron V. Cicourel, The Social Organization of Juvenile Justice (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1968), for an analysis of the process by which characterological impressions are condensed for the purposes of agency records into official shorthand; and are then categorized in terms of the limited dispositions available to the control agency. Robert Emerson, Judging Delinquents (New York: Aldine Press, 1969), pp. 100-41, discusses the process by which the "moral character" of delinquents becomes formulated and crystallized through the concretization of official impressions into official action.

SURVEILLANCE AND CUSTODY

If surveillance techniques are limited for the purpose of securing information, they are even more limited for the purpose of controlling behavior. Over the months of repeated observational exposures the inappropriateness of the term "custody in the community" to describe agent supervision in the community became increasingly apparent. In no realistic sense did even the maximum number of agent contacts in a month constitute anything that could be called "custody," in the sense of limiting and regularizing the parolee's behavior through supervision of his person.

In prison, custodial supervision is provided 24 hours a day, the location of each inmate is determined by "counts" conducted several times a day, mail is censored, and frequent "searches" for contraband are used to remove forbidden articles from inmates' possession. Nevertheless, anyone in the confidence of the inmates learns quickly about the extensive rule breaking that occurs throughout the prison as a matter of course. In the community, even maximum supervision over the parolee often means little more than four 15- to 30-minute visits by the agent during a month. Inevitably, therefore, the parolees—caught up as they are in the normal processes of life in the community—engage in many activities without the agents' knowledge, even though formally they are required either to avoid such activities or to gain the agent's permission to undertake them.

Parolees whom the Study followed for a period of time revealed to the interviewers quite casually the areas in which they could operate in violation of the rules, so long as they were not arrested in the course of breaking a rule and no person close to them revealed their activities to the agent. Parolees established credit accounts without permission. They were involved in automobile accidents, drove without insurance, discarded one car and

purchased another one, and entered into complicated financial transactions in order to repair an old car or buy a new one, all without agents' knowledge. Many parolees maintained accommodation addresses at the homes of relatives for parole purposes, while actually living with one girl friend or another. Agents seldom know whether or not a parolee has established a checking account, and the Study's observers heard of more than one case in which bank accounts were overdrawn, or in which family members or friends advanced sizable amounts of money without the agent's knowledge. Many parolees left town for the weekend without permission, while an occasional parolee went on hunting trips in spite of the absolute rule against guns.¹⁵

It should not be assumed, however, that these failures to observe the rules in action can be attributed entirely to irresponsibility or defiance by the parolee. As the months of parole go on, and the parolee seems to the agent to be fairly well established at home and at work, neither the agent nor the parolee thinks of the rules in the same way he did at the time of the first interview. The parolee with a job who becomes ready to purchase new furniture establishes a credit account without consulting the agent, much like any other customer; the observer has been present when the new stereo or living room suite was proudly displayed to the agent without the agent's introducing a single question about the mode of payment or the permission required before establishing credit. Once permission to drive one car has been granted in writing, it seldom occurs to the parolee that he needs another permission when he acquires a new car or drives the car of a friend; and only one agent was observed attempting to enforce the rule that permission must be secured for each different car driven by the parolee. An established parolee usually tells the agent when he plans to take a two-week vacation trip, but seldom thinks to

15. It is this kind of information that often accumulates during an escalation episode.

get permission for a drive out of the county during the weekend. And no agent was observed routinely introducing questions into interviews about such matters as "What did you do over the weekend?", "Have you opened a checking account since I last saw you?" or "How many cars have you driven in the last month?" and so forth.

Additional factors enter into the tendency of both the parolees and the agents to ignore many of the rules as guides for actual behavior. From the parolee's point of view, the difficulty of reaching the agent at the time he decides to go on a weekend trip, or to take advantage of a bargain at a sale, is often a determining factor; and in the Interaction Study 70 percent of the 125 parolees reported at least one occasion in which each had broken a parole rule because of inability to reach the agent before taking action.

From the agent's point of view there is no effective sanction he can use if the parolee chooses to do what he wants to do, with or without permission, since under current policies no revocation action would be supported on evidence of a single broken rule, provided the behavior was neither criminal nor specifically forbidden to that parolee by the Adult Authority. Inevitably, therefore, both agents and parolees tend to behave realistically about the meaning of "custody in the community": so long as the parolee seems to be doing well at work and at home, an accumulation of violations of the formal rules is overlooked. However, if signs of breakdown in primary role adjustments are observed, the agent makes a detailed examination of the parolee's activities, and often discovers a variety of rule-violations that can be summarized in the report to the Board under "not cooperating with the agent."

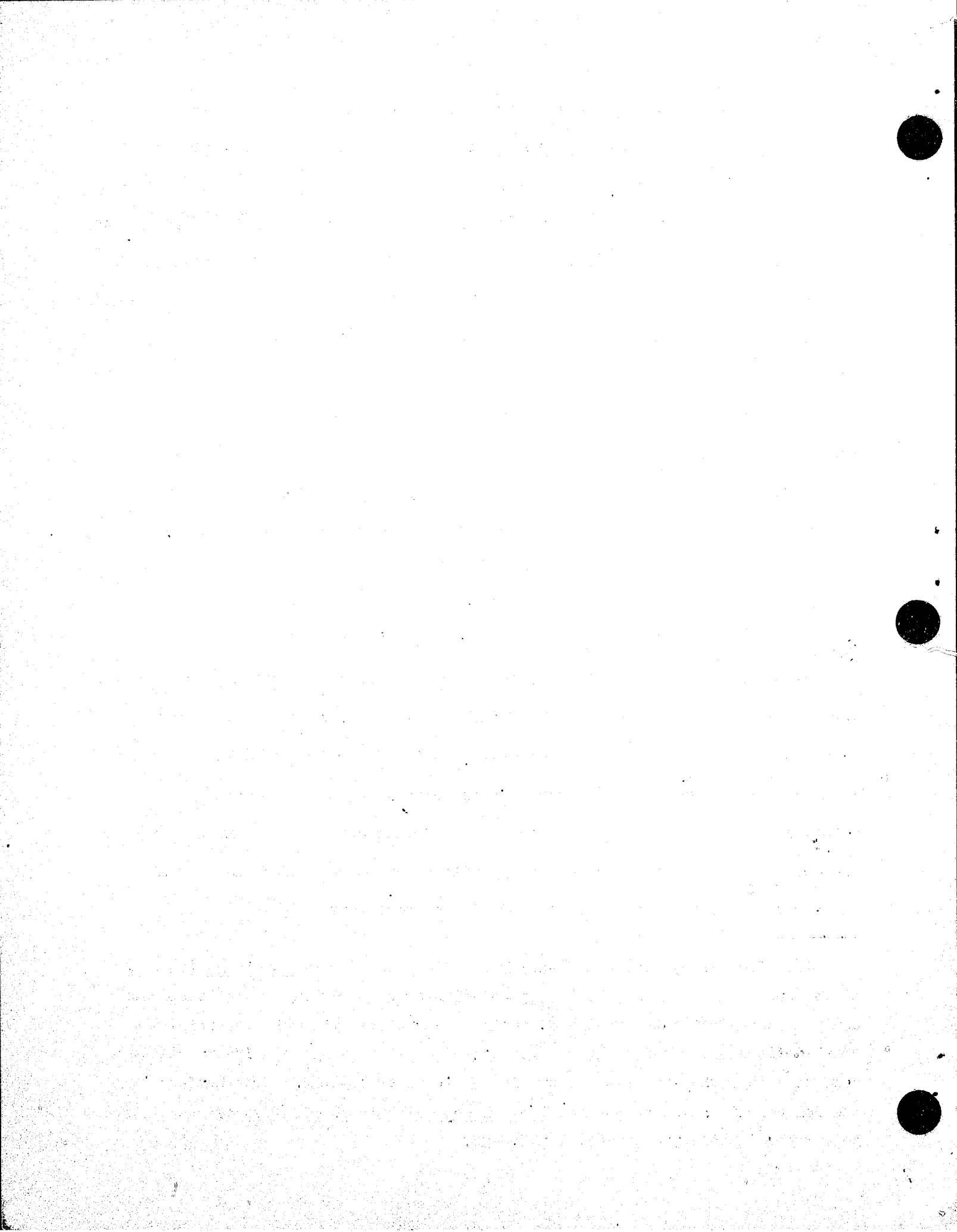
Most agents are keenly aware of the serious inadequacy of the available surveillance techniques for effective "custody in the community," and of the degree to which they rely on the voluntary cooperation of the parolees to keep their behavior within reasonable limits. In his daily work, the agent

experiences that a parolee who chooses to be evasive can force the agent to schedule appointments, simply to secure the required number of contacts for the month, as well as the various ways parolees can manage themselves and their intimates so as to remain essentially in control of the information that reaches the agent. Several agents remarked on the superficiality of their interchanges with the parolee when frequent visits had to be made for surveillance purposes only. The occasional agent who had little investment in parole showed his cynical evaluation of surveillance activities by making a game of his monthly contact count. One agent bragged to the observer that a 10-minute stop at the service station had netted him three contacts; one with the parolee who was employed there; a second with the station manager as the employer of the parolee; and the third with the manager as a collateral contact for his nephew who was also on parole.

THE CONTEXT OF SUSPICION

Although the surveillance structure, established as the organizing principle for agent-parolee relationships, has limited effectiveness either for securing information about criminal behavior or for custodial control of parolee behavior, it does serve to maintain and intensify the context of suspicion within which all agent-parolee interaction takes place.¹⁶ That this context has implications for the development of a helping technology will become more evident as we examine the service aspects of the agent's work in the next four chapters.

16. See Barney Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, Awareness of Dying (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 47-63, for an analysis of the "suspicion context" among patients, families, doctors, and nurses when the possibility of death defines the situation for interaction. Carl Werthman and Irving Piliavin also describe "the situation of suspicion" in their article, "Gang Members and the Police," in David J. Bordua, The Police: Six Sociological Essays (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967), pp. 56-98.



CHAPTER VI

THE CONDITIONS FOR HELPING

Helping activities are even more difficult than surveillance activities for agents to specify, or for researchers to be sure they are observing. For one thing, there is a widely held assumption that something of value for the parolee occurs in any contact with his agent. Agents say, "It does him good to know someone is interested"; "Seeing me reminds him he is on parole and should keep his nose clean"; "Each contact helps to keep up the relationship, whether we have anything specific to do together or not." A second assumption is that, because the parole adjustment involves the total life of the parolee, the agent can and should respond with some sort of helpfulness to any problem that appears in the life of a parolee on his caseload, even though his capacity to help may be minimal.

In combination, these two assumptions create an amorphous image of the agent as helper, attributing an almost mystical efficacy to his mere presence, quite apart from the conscious use of task-focused skills. It implies a range of competence in problem solving that no individual can conscientiously claim. It further suggests that all parolee problems can be solved by intervention at the individual level, given sufficient ingenuity and skill on the part of the agent and proper motivation on the part of the parolee, in spite of the fact that many of the most important problems arise because of conditions quite outside the influence of either parolee or agent.

This diffuseness in the helping assignment to the agent contributes in large measure to the development of idiosyncratic helping ideologies among agents. Given the expectation that almost anything he does can be helpful, the agent tends to bring order and purpose into his operations by building a personalized helping rationale out of common sense aphorisms, the cliches of

current therapeutic technologies, his personal experience, and his own value system.

For one agent, criticism, scolding, exhortation, and strict enforcement of the letter of the rules combine in a preferred helping pattern, incorporated in his ideology and regularly used with any parolee whom he perceives as inadequate. Another agent, who believes in psychological help, tends to intensify his personal relationships with parolees in lengthy interviews involving intimate explorations of feelings. Still another rejects what he perceives as the "godlike" assumption that agents have power to influence personalities and concentrates his efforts on making quick and efficient response to the practical problems of getting parolees established in necessary social roles. Other agents see themselves as most fully helpful when they act as mobilizers of resources for general use, through developing employment opportunities and encouraging personnel in law enforcement and service agencies to be responsive to parolee problems.

More specification about the nature of helping activities in parole can be achieved by bringing into focus the idea that helping involves a two-person situation. In any common sense use of the term, help involves not only the person giving help but also another person who needs help and makes some use of it.¹ In the two-person context it is relatively easy for both agents and parolees to be specific about what is intended to be helpful, and what is perceived as help, in particular situations.²

1. Webster defines help as a two-person interaction, with effectiveness as an essential quality. "Help: To furnish with strength or means for the successful performance of any action or the attainment of any object."

2. The Agent-Parolee Interaction Study schedule gave both agents and parolees two different opportunities to specify the kinds of help provided in each case. One hundred and twenty-five parolee schedules and the schedules

The range of helping activities in parole, when they are identified by such means, appears to include responses to almost every sort of human difficulty, from procedural facilitation within the parole agency to the mobilization of resources and the provision of emotional support. However, before we can describe the range of helping activities, we must explore the nature of the relationship in which help occurs and note certain conditions that set limits on the helping interactions between agents and parolees.

THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP

Any helping action, whether it occurs in ordinary life situations or is provided by the employees of a service organization, occurs within a relationship in which there is some understanding of the roles to be performed by the two actors, a certain degree of warmth and empathy, and certain conditions that support or limit the shared activity. Accordingly, in attempting to understand helping interactions between agents and parolees, we need to consider the kind of relationship within which such helping activities occur.

Role Models for the Agent-Parolee Relationship

Three quite different models for the relationship between agents and parolees coexist in the thoughts and actions of agents and parolees and are usually left implicit rather than made explicit. The models are in general use in everyday life, and each assumes a different distribution of responsibilities between the two actors in the giving and receiving of help. Because agents and parolees tend to act on different models, and to change models according

of 11 agents for each of the 125 parolees are available. The findings of this Study are reported throughout this and following chapters.

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to situations, ambiguities are often introduced into helping interaction, and there is a tendency for the relationship between the agent and the parolee to change in its fundamental character under the stress of changing conditions.

The three relationship models are known in everyday life as the guardian-ward relationship, the supervisor-subordinate relationship, and the insider-outsider relationship. The first two are highly formalized in common life usage, and are frequently referred to, either explicitly or implicitly in the parole literature. The third occurs more informally in ordinary life; it appears sporadically in the practices of certain agents, and quite widely in the assumptions made by parolees about the nature of help, but it is dealt with only tangentially in parole writings. All three relationships contain authority, competence, and helping components, although these are defined quite differently for each relationship.

In general use, the guardian-ward model emphasizes the responsibility of the guardian to the ward for guidance and advice, instruction and direction, and the approving or withholding of permissions. The guardian is a legally designated parent surrogate who is expected to use all the means available to the managing authority in the ward's life for molding his character and shaping his career. At the same time this model, as it is used in everyday life, stipulates the guardian's responsibility for the nurture of the ward and for providing the necessities for his welfare and development. In this model, authority and responsibility for care are equally broad in scope, with the implication that the guardian's provision of care, like that of a parent, provides the base for the effective use of his authority.

The parole version of the guardian-ward relationship, however, leaves out certain important components of the general life model it invokes. The agent is legally assigned a broad decision-making power over the life of the parolee, much like that assumed in the usual guardian-ward relationship, involving

concern for the moral and social development of the parolee. But the agent is strictly limited in his responsibilities for nurture and maintenance. The agent is responsible only for assisting the parolee to secure the necessities of life for himself; he is not held accountable if the parolee does not, or cannot, do so. Since authority and nurturance responsibilities are not co-extensive in the agent's role, only limited kinds of giving are available to him with which to make his authority effective. Psychological support of various kinds is the agent's primary tool for making the guardian-ward model effective in his relationship with the parolee. If this is not sufficient, the agent must rely on his power to use the force of the state, as provided in his legal assignment, to secure compliance from the parolee.

A second model, even more frequently referred to in the parole literature, is that of the supervisor and his subordinate. In the ordinary use of this model, the supervisor's authority is exercised over a strictly limited area of the subordinate's functioning, that of a defined work assignment. The authority is not legal in power and scope, but is bureaucratically assigned, and is based on the supervisor's demonstrated competence, which is assumed to be greater than that of the subordinate. Finally, the effectiveness of the supervisor's authority over the subordinate depends on the subordinate's recognition of the supervisor's competence and on his voluntary attribution to the supervisor of the right to exercise authority in that area. This is the model of authority used in most organizations for getting specified work done, and its effectiveness in action depends on the legitimation of authority by the subordinates themselves.³ The supervisor's responsibility for help is equally

3. See the section on "Power and Authority" in Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, eds., Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings (London: The Macmillan Co., 1969), pp. 133-85, for an elaboration of this formulation.

limited in this model; he is expected to facilitate the subordinate's work, and to teach him the necessary skills. Any extension of the relationship beyond this point is an informal matter depending on the personal desires of the two actors.

Again the parole version of this model differs from the usual pattern in important respects. The assigned authority of the agent is exercised over a wide range of activities in the parolee's social existence, rather than restricted to specific tasks. Although the competence of the agent is officially assumed to cover an equally extensive range of skills, it cannot in actuality be that generally effective; nor is it so perceived by the parolees. The structural base of the agent's authority is not voluntary legitimation by the parolee in recognition of competence, but power to take away the parolee's freedom, based on the force of the state. A true authority relationship, according to the ordinary supervisor-subordinate model, occurs in parole only when the parolee recognizes a pertinent competence in the agent and attributes the appropriate authority to him by requesting his help in a specific task. And helping occurs in parole, according to the general understanding of this model, when the agent facilitates something the parolee needs to do or teaches him some skill related to specific tasks.

The third common life model for the parole relationship, the insider and the outsider, is less frequently used by parole officials than are the other two, although it is implied by those who speak of the agent as a "broker" between the parolee and the community. The parole agency structure allows this kind of a relationship to occur, but does not allocate decision making and other responsibilities in such a way as to require its use. The parole literature evidences only limited recognition that such a model is a possible form of relationship between agents and parolees.

In ordinary life, the insider-outsider model emphasizes help and competence more than authority. In this model the insider is one who has already achieved membership in some system through competence; he is responsible not for increasing the competence of the outsider or for directing his work, but for opening doors in that system to him. Once inside a system, the erstwhile outsider is responsible for his own performance, although he may rely on continued help from the door-opener while learning his way in the new system. This model assumes that both the insider and the outsider belong, at least potentially, to the same system; and that the insider has power to open doors because of advanced competence in the system to which the outsider desires admission.⁴

Again, the agent-parolee relationship differs significantly from the general life instances of this model. The agent and the parolee are usually not, even potentially, members of the same system (other than the correctional system) except in the most general sense of living in the same community. The agent has power to open doors in only one system, that of corrections, although he may have developed some influence in other systems for which the parolee is eligible. And in the agent-parolee relationship, the agent does have broadly defined authority over the parolee's life. However, in spite of lack of fit of this model to the parole relationship as it is now defined, it is this model that in the parolee's mind best fits the facts of his situation, and describes the kind of help that should appropriately be given by an agent.

Although the agent-parolee relationship does not adequately provide the conditions essential for the complete fulfillment in action of any one of the

4. I am indebted to Gertrude Selznick for highlighting this point in the analysis. The operation of this model in parole interaction became inescapable during the analysis of the parolees' responses to the questions in the Interaction Study schedule.

three models, all three exist in some form in the presumptions that agents and parolees bring to their interactions, defining in part for the agent the kinds of help he can and ought to give, and for the parolee the kinds of agent behaviors he can recognize as help. Because each actor—agent and parolee—uses those elements from each of the models that fits his own experience in the role, each tends to use a different set of parameters to define any helping situation, often with resulting ambiguity in the communication between them.

Since the agents do not find in traditional parole technology a clear and coherent model for their relationships with parolees, each agent selects from the three general life models those elements that best fit his perceptions of the nature of parolees and of his assignment toward them. In general, agents depend largely on elements from the guardian and supervisor models, emphasizing on the one hand their responsibility for improving the character and social competence of the parolees, while relying on their own competence in coping, together with psychological support, to make their authority effective with the parolee. They use the door-opening activities of the insider sporadically, rather than systematically, whenever they happen to have access to some employment or service system which the parolee is qualified to enter. When it does become necessary to invoke the guardianship power in order to return the parolee to prison, the helping component of the relationship tends to disappear, and a fourth model—that of prosecutor and defendant—tends to structure interaction. The Study's data suggest strongly that the agents are seldom clear about the different kinds of roles they play with parolees, perceiving changes in their own behaviors primarily as responses to different kinds of parolee behavior rather than as shifts from one definition of the relationship to another.

In contrast, the parolee draws on other elements of the three models to explain and structure the situation as he experiences it. For the parolee, the managing role of the guardian is a part of his punishment, the "custody in the

community" to which he must submit during his sentence. Parolees do not accept at face value the supervisor-subordinate model because they explicitly do not attribute general competence to the agent. Instead, the parolees distinguish explicitly between those instances in which they recognize a particular competence in the agent, and attribute the appropriate authority to him by asking for advice or help, and those other instances in which they obey the agent's directions because of fear of his power to initiate revocation. For most parolees, the insider-outsider model seems most pertinent to their actual situations, and it is within this model that they look for help.

The Quality, or Tone, of the Relationship

The lack of a coherent, and shared, set of role models to guide agents and parolees in helping interactions appears to press each toward an unspecific presentation of himself as a generally likable, friendly, agreeable person. Although the parole literature has emphasized the hostility that parolees express toward the agents, the evidence of the Study's data overwhelmingly supports the probability that maintaining at least a friendly appearing relationship is important to most parolees and agents.⁵

In the many encounters between agents and parolees witnessed by the Study's observers, only a few could be characterized as entirely and openly hostile. Most of these instances occurred when a revocation decision was imminent, or had been already made, and the parolee felt free to reveal his feelings because the agent had already used his primary sanction. Occasional flashes of anger on either or both sides were observed, but on such occasions both the agent and

5. A study of parole agent behavior in Connecticut observed this same kind of muted, gentle behavior on the part of the agents. See Pepper L. Schwartz and Mark V. Tushnet, "Observations on the Administration of Parole," Yale Law Journal, (March 1970), pp. 698-711.

the parolee appeared to move quickly to cover the breach. A few parolees seemed wary, or sufficiently unresponsive as to appear sullen; but even in these cases the basic courtesies were usually observed, the weather or baseball was discussed, and the fundamental coolness of affect was obscured by the kind of pleasantries customary between any client and any official in a bureaucracy.

The agents seemed to work harder than many parolees at maintaining an appearance of friendliness in the interchanges. All but one of the agents in the Interaction Study sample tended to underemphasize reproofs and reprimands. Even when the agent had expressed personal dislike toward the parolee before the interview, his manner during the interview was friendly and attentive. Some agents assumed a jocular, "us boys together," approach toward most parolees, as though to underline their essential good will and to ward off the recognition of possible conflicts between their interests. In general, both agents and parolees behaved as though the consequences of an open expression of hostility were too dangerous to be allowed in a relationship that is already burdened with tensions and ambiguities.

The most impressive evidence of the lack of personal hostility in relationships between agents and parolees came as the parolees reported in private interviews that they generally liked the way the agent dealt with them. In the first sample of 16 newly released parolees, all 16 expressed considerable anxiety about their agents before release. Four months after release, 11 of these parolees said they were impressed with how decently their agents were treating them. The Interaction Study, conducted three years later, further confirmed the continued observational evidence that parolees in general like the agents' ways of operating even when they dislike the fact of parole. In the responses from 125 parolees in the Interaction Study, 85 percent of the parolees said they generally liked the way their agent dealt with them; while

69 percent reported that the agent treated them like a "man" or a "friend." Only 18 percent of the parolees said they felt treated "like a parolee," and only 6 percent believed they were dealt with as an "inmate" or a "criminal." (See Table 2.)

The agents had a somewhat less sanguine view of the interaction than did the parolees, although they evidenced a generally friendly feeling toward parolees; and they were prone to underestimate the friendliness with which they were perceived by the parolees. Thus, the agents reported of the 125 parolees that only 48 percent saw them as a "friend" or "counselor"; while they believed that 34 percent of the parolees perceived them somewhat impersonally as "another official," and that 16 percent saw them as "a cop" or "an enemy."⁶

The differences between the parolees and agents in their perceptions of each other's roles are further illuminated when the responses of both are cross-tabulated. It was evident throughout the interviews with parolees that when a parolee said his agent treated him "like a man," he was paying the agent a high compliment; but for half the cases in which the parolee said he felt treated as "a man," the agents reported they felt perceived as "another official" or a "cop," roles that are less highly valued by the agents. For many parolees, parole is a business to which they must attend because of legal obligations, rather than an opportunity to develop a relationship with personal

6. The size of the figures, summarizing the responses to particular questions, are not in themselves as convincing of the generally benign character of the agent-parolee interaction as in the cumulative effect of the responses to all the questions, for any one of which the agent might have given a hostile, denigrating answer if he chose. For something between 10 percent and 20 percent of the parolees, depending on the particular question, the agents seemed consistently pessimistic, irritated, or depreciating; for the rest, the agent responses were generally at least tolerant, often kindly, and even approving.

Table 2

ROLE IMAGES OF AGENTS AND PAROLEES BY PERCENTAGES
(N=125)

<u>Parolee's Role Images</u>		<u>Agent's Role Images</u>	
<u>Felt Treated as:</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Felt Perceived as:</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Man	47	Friend	34
Friend	22	Counselor	14
Parolee	18	Official	34
Inmate or criminal	6	Cop	14
		Enemy	2
Other	<u>7</u>	Other	<u>2</u>
	100		100

meaning. Parolees tend to be most pleased when they feel they are dealt with respectfully and expeditiously by the agent as an official, while the agents—trained in the tradition of helping—tend to look for a warmer response to their efforts. Accordingly, agents are often ready to personalize any expression of irritation about parole itself by the parolee.

It is important not to conclude from the generally mild tone of agent-parolee interaction that the relationships observed between the agents and the parolees were necessarily strongly influential and effective for problem solving. Observational materials and comments in unstructured interviews gave evidence that what the parolee liked about his agent's way of dealing with him could vary widely. At one extreme the parolee might appreciate the agent's understanding and guidance; at the other the parolee might very much like the fact that "The agent doesn't bug me"; or "He leaves me alone to do my own parole." All the evidence from every source supports the Study's findings that parolees are, in general, not actively hostile toward the agents as persons, tending instead to blame "the system"; that they often find agents more decent as persons than they expected; and that personal antipathy is not the ubiquitous block to helping relationships that it has sometimes been described as being. On the other hand, the Study's evidence suggests equally strongly that most agent-parolee relationships are superficially friendly; and that the ambiguous structure in which interaction occurs, together with the critical jeopardy inherent in it for the parolee, tends to press both agents and parolees toward (1) the maintenance of an interaction relationship that is bland and diffuse, and (2) the avoidance of confronting tough issues until a problem situation becomes openly critical.

CONDITIONS AFFECTING HELPING INTERACTION

Additional conditions affecting the helping interaction between agents and parolees seemed to reinforce the tendency of both actors to maintain a somewhat diffuse, unfocused mode of communication. We will list these conditions without extensive documentation, since pertinent data have already been introduced in previous chapters.

The surveillance framework. As will be remembered from the surveillance chapter, most of the contacts between the agent and the parolee carry surveillance connotations. They usually occur as surprise visits, catching the parolee unprepared for serious discussion, often at a meal with his family, during a momentary absence from his work, or in the middle of some other activity; while many contacts occur in the presence of on-lookers. Under such circumstances the conversation tends to be short and cursory, unless some particular problem has arisen for either actor since the last interview. What has primarily occurred in such a contact is that the parolee has been checked on and found in his proper place; such is not an appropriate context for the development of a problem-solving relationship.

The information goal of the agent. A high priority assignment to the agent is that he remain current in his information about all the basic social facts in each parolee's situation. Thus, for each interview the agent has a somewhat routine agenda of items, including such topics as the parolee's situation at work, his family relationships, and his living arrangements, about all of which the agent needs to know if any change has occurred or is anticipated. These items, together with some friendly small talk, constitute the content of most agent-parolee interviews unless there is some specific additional problem to discuss. As a consequence, communication between them assumes the

pattern of covering a range of topics, each fairly casually, at each meeting. This kind of routinized pattern for communication neither deepens the relationship between them nor establishes the patterns of problem solving in their communication.

The lack of availability of the agent. When the parolee does experience some emergency situation in connection with which he would like the advice or help of the agent, he quite often finds it difficult to reach the agent; and because of the agent's working conditions, there is often a lapse of time before the agent responds. In consequence, when the agent does get to the parolee in response to a call, the problem is frequently already resolved, less urgent for the parolee, or has escalated into big trouble requiring crisis measures rather than the step by step problem solving possible when the situation was still fluid and uncrystallized. Parole is a 24-hour a day, seven days a week, matter for the parolee; the agent's availability is not co-extensive with the status he is managing. As a result, many issues that would otherwise contribute to building a focused, problem-solving relationship between the agent and the parolee remain unexploited for helping.⁷

Given such conditions for agent-parolee interaction, it is not surprising that the outstanding impression about helping activities in parole, gained through weeks of observation, was one of sporadic effort. There was a notable lack of concentration of such activities within the work week of any given agent. The process for bringing together identified need with specific problem-solving resources seemed very haphazard, with much depending on the parolee's

7. Certain agents make a practice of giving their home phone numbers to parolees in order to deal more adequately with emergencies. Three of the eleven agents in the Interaction Study sample did so; and the parolees in their caseloads tended to express a relatively high degree of security in their agents' helpfulness.

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willingness to reveal a problem and make a request, much on the agent's availability at the time of parolee readiness, and still more on the agent's capacity to produce an appropriate and effective response. Finally, even though the researchers searched diligently to locate cases of planned helping, in which the steps of problem solving were followed through systematically from problem definition and analysis to problem resolution, only a few such cases could be located. Regardless of the agent's skill and conscientiousness the strains in the conditions governing the helping interaction seemed to be toward ad hoc, reactive behavior on the part of the agent and sporadic use of help by the parolee.

The lack of a systematic approach to helping in parole, the unevenness among agents in the kinds of service offered, and the frequent lack of fit between parolee needs and the available services, becomes increasingly evident as we examine in the next chapter the specific kinds of helping activities in which the agents engage.

CHAPTER VII

HELPING ACTIVITIES

No clearly defined techniques for helping are prescribed by parole technology as they are for surveillance. However, certain kinds of parolee functioning are specified by the parole rules and by the agent's manual as behavioral areas concerning which the agent is expected to have knowledge, to show concern, and to take action when necessary. In general, these areas include release planning, residence, employment, transportation, conformity to the parole rules, family relationships, the management of finances, and involvement with law enforcement.

The Study found that each agent develops his own patterns for addressing these functional areas, elaborating certain kinds of helping practices, while remaining minimally aware of certain others. When the various kinds of offered help, either actually observed on tours with agents or reported by agents and parolees, are categorized, an extensive list of helping activities results. However, no one agent performs all the activities on the list; and no single parolee has access to the full range of services potentially available in the parole agency.

DEMOBILIZATION

In reading the literature, one is led to believe that developing residence and employment plans for newly released parolees is a major service provided by agents.¹ According to the formulations of parole technology, this service

1. In his comprehensive study of prison and parole, Glaser writes:

This [parole] is a release before the sentence is over, on condition that these men obey certain rules of proper conduct, and

fulfills two necessary functions: (1) It assures the parolee of a benign, nondelinquent, setting within which to begin his difficult journey toward ultimate discharge; and (2) It provides concrete help for the parolee at a time when he is apt to be disoriented and lacking in resources. Because this initial planning service is valued so highly in parole technology, every agent is required to scrutinize each case before release for indications that assistance is needed; and all pre-release activities are scheduled by definite procedures.

Several procedures are specified by the agency as structure for the agent's work on release plans. Some weeks before the parolee's release, the agent receives a memorandum from the institution in which the plan for residence and employment is reported as it has been outlined by the inmate and his counselor. The agent then interviews the persons mentioned in the plan as possible providers of residence and employment, and decides whether or not to approve or disapprove of them as resources. If he disapproves, or if the inmate has no plan to propose, the agent arranges an acceptable program. In any case, he sends a "release program study" to the institution, outlining the plan according to which the man is to be released. In the initial recording summary

generally also on condition that the men have approved post-release jobs and home arrangements. The purpose of parole is to protect the public, first by releasing a prisoner only to the circumstances which are the best available for maximizing his chances of achieving a noncriminal life, and secondly, by permitting return of the parolee to prison for all or part of the balance of his sentence if he fails to comply with the rules of parole behavior believed conducive to the prevention of felonies.

Daniel Glaser, Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), p. 28. (Emphasis added.)

which the agent dictates some weeks after the parolee is in the community, the agent reports what has actually happened since the date of release.

In the Agent-Parolee Interaction Study, the agents were questioned about the help they provided in planning for release; they reported giving assistance, over and above the approval of plans, in 46 percent of the 125 cases. However, from early in the Study onward, the field observers noted that agents almost never disapproved an offered resource at the initial planning stage; and that they seemed to have very limited alternatives to offer if the parolee had no plan of his own. Many times phone calls were used to check on release plans, simply verifying the fact that a home or job would be available on release. A number of agents believed that it was impractical to put much effort into planning until the man was present in the community to start work on his own behalf.²

To check these observations, a separate study was made of the 167 releases to one district during a four-month period from October, 1969 through January, 1970. In each case, three documents were compared: the proposed release plan from the institution; the release program study submitted by the agent; and the initial recording summary dictated after the parolee was established in the community. In addition, each agent was interviewed about his contribution to the release plan.

In none of the 167 cases was a plan offered by the man in the institution disapproved.³ Agent disapproval was registered in 8 cases at some early

2. The fact that the agents receive no caseload credit or time allowance for cases served during the pre-release stage may contribute to the frequency with which this position was espoused by agents. However, there do seem to be realistic barriers to the development of specific plans before the agent can talk directly with the parolee.

3. The one case observed in a different sample (the Interaction Study), in which disapproval of a release plan was a major factor, involved a case of

period after the man had been released, 7 questioning residence plans, and 1 questioning an employment plan. All such disapprovals were phrased as warnings or "advice against" taking the proposed step; none effectively prevented the parolee from making the arrangements he preferred.

Tables 3 and 4 report the percentage of the 167 cases for which different kinds of resource persons assumed responsibility in arranging for residence and employment. Assistance with the residence plan was offered before release by the parolee's relatives or friends in 76 percent of the cases; after release 80 percent of the parolees were actually housed with the help of such persons. In 13 percent of the cases, the parolee himself accepted responsibility for obtaining housing before release; after release, 16 percent of the parolees made their own arrangements. Before release, the agent agreed to find housing for 17, or 10 percent, of the 176 parolees, although at that time definite plans had been formulated for only 2 cases. After release, the agent was actually responsible for housing only these 2 parolees, while an additional 2 parolees were lodged temporarily in the county hospital and the jail.

As might be expected, the agents assumed more responsibility for employment plans. Even in this area, however, the original plans provided that employment would be arranged either by the parolee himself, or by some person known to him, in 117, or 71 percent, of the cases; and by the time of the initial recording summary, 73 percent of the parolees had actually secured employment through means independent of the agent. At the time of the release program study, the agent assumed responsibility for the employment plans of 42, or 25 percent, of the cases; by the time of his first recording in the case file the agent had actually arranged for the employment of 22, or 13 percent,

incest; the daughter who had been molested still lived in the home to which the man wished to return.

Table 3

PROVISION FOR RESIDENCE: PRE-RELEASE PLANS AND
AFTER-RELEASE ARRANGEMENTS

	<u>Pre-Release Plans</u>		<u>After-Release Arrangements</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Parolee Resources ^a	127	76	134	80
Parolee	22	13	26	16
P A L ^b	1	1	3	2
Agent	17 ^c	10	2	1
Hospital	---	---	1	1
Jail	---	---	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Totals	167	100	167	101 ^d

- a. Includes family members or friends.
- b. Parolee AWOL since pre-release furlough.
- c. Only two of these placements were arranged by the agent before release: Veteran's Administration - 1; Seven Steps Foundation - 1.
- d. In this and subsequent tables some percentages do not add to 100 because of rounding.

Table 4

**PROVISION FOR EMPLOYMENT: PRE-RELEASE PLANS AND
AFTER-RELEASE ARRANGEMENTS**

	<u>Pre-Release Plans</u>		<u>After-Release Arrangements</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Parolee Resources ^a	52	31	46	27
Parolee	65 ^b	40	76 ^e	46
Vocational Rehabilitation	4	2	3	2
P A L	1 ^c	1	3	2
Unemployable	3	2	5	3
Agent	42 ^d	25	22 ^f	13
Unemployed	---	---	11	7
Jail	---	---	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Totals	167	101	167	101

- a. Includes relatives, friends, former employers, and institutional work instructors.
- b. Of these job offers, 9 were obtained by the parolee himself while on pre-release furlough.
- c. Parolee AWOL since pre-release furlough.
- d. Agent plans: State employment agency - 5; agent resource - 1; Vocational Rehabilitation - 3; Service Center - 2; Half Way House Employment Service - 1.
- e. Of these jobs, 7 were actually obtained because of arrangements made by the parolee during a pre-release furlough.
- f. Agent arrangements: State employment agency - 10; agent resource - 4; Vocational Rehabilitation - 5; Service Center - 2; Union Hiring Hall - 1.

of the parolees, while 11 parolees were still unemployed. The agent used employment resources that he himself had located for 4 of the 22 cases; for the rest, employment was arranged by another agency on referral from the agent.

These figures do not necessarily reveal the more subtle kinds of assistance, such as suggestions about inexpensive temporary housing or advice on the procedures of job-hunting, that may have been contributed by the agents at some point after release to those parolees who did not "come out" to a secure, pre-arranged program. They do suggest, however, that there may be wide discrepancies between the number of parolees who actually need and use certain kinds of routinely provided service procedures and the agency's estimation of the parolees' need for that kind of help. It is clear from the case records that the two parolees (both unemployable) who needed assistance in planning for residence, and the 22 parolees who required agent help in developing employment plans, needed official facilitation of some sort.⁴ It is less evident that all the agent activity that went into the review of release plans for the 167 parolees should be labelled "help" under the common sense, or Webster, definition of the term.⁵

4. A dramatic case of agent assistance at the point of release was discovered during the Interaction Study. The parolee was a paraplegic with no family and none of the necessary equipment. The agent's activities in securing a wheel-chair, locating a suitable apartment, finding a person to provide daily care, and getting the man settled in his residence required of the agent both tremendous ingenuity and physical strength, as well as an extensive expenditure of time on the one case.

5. This comment should not be read as suggesting that agents should give more assistance in cases that are not in need of help. The pre-release planning is the beginning step in the parolee's reintegration into his own community, and the more active he and his associates can be in developing their

STATUS CLEARANCE SERVICES

In contrast to pre-release services, parole technology as it is formulated in the literature makes almost no reference to services connected with the regularization of the parolee's civil status. Accordingly, the agency has no regular procedures to direct agent attention to such matters; and most agents think of status problems as idiosyncratic to the occasional parolee's situation, rather than as relatively common problems requiring systematic attention. However, from the beginning of the Study, it was evident that for a certain group of parolees the reentry period was seriously complicated by two kinds of status problems. The first is the lack of the bonafides that everyone requires to operate as a normal unit in today's society; the second arises from legal and economic encumbrances incurred by the parolee before or during commitment to prison.

Accreditation Problems

The Study's staff was alerted to the parolees' need for bonafides in the first month of observation. During several weeks the observer attended the meetings of a small group of newly released men, all of whom were living on hotel and meal authorizations from the agency while they looked for work. At one meeting, an older man reported with some jubilation that, in spite of difficulties with the union, he had finally obtained a job in his own trade, electrical refrigeration. He said he would have to walk to and from work—a distance of four miles each way—until he received his first paycheck because the funds provided to him on leaving the prison had been exhausted by the long

own plans the better it may be for both, provided disabling strain for either is not incurred.

period of job-hunting. The next week he came late to the meeting. When he arrived he reported that, having received his first paycheck that day, he went immediately to a clothing store to purchase socks, shirts, and underclothing. When the store manager refused to cash his salary check because he had no evidence of his identity except his parole papers, he went to a large drug store where he attempted to purchase much-needed items for personal hygiene and grooming. Once again his check was refused. In desperation, even though his parole rules forbade him to drink alcoholic beverages, he went into a bar, where the bartender cheerfully cashed his check after he ordered a double whiskey.

Alerted by this incident, all the Study's interviewers were instructed to ask parolees about what we called the "accreditation problems" experienced during the reentry period. It was discovered that many parolees come out of the institution carrying only parole papers as proof of their identity; some also have among their possessions a social security card or an old draft card; a few still have valid driver's licenses. For those parolees who have no families, or whose families lack established credit and business connections, the problems of getting checks cashed, securing a valid driver's license, arranging for car insurance, and so forth, can be formidable, often requiring the aid of someone who is bureaucratically sophisticated for resolution. When parolees were asked about help received from agents in such matters, they often expressed hesitation about bringing these problems to the agent's attention, while a few were either unclear about the nature of the problem or unaware that the agent might be able to help. Accordingly, a number of them continued to drive illegally and to depend on family members or friends to cash their checks for them.

In the sample of eleven agents in the Interaction Study, the observer found only two who made systematic arrangements for accreditation services to

all those parolees who needed such help. One agent routinely told each parolee at the initial interview that he expected him to drive, and to drive legally. He asked questions about problems that might arise in securing a valid driver's license, and checked with the state office of the Department of Motor Vehicles if the parolee was not sure. In many cases, the agent had already determined the facts before the parolee was released and had taken steps to remove possible difficulties. This agent communicated directly with judges and traffic bureaus about dismissing outstanding warrants for old, unpaid, traffic fines; and he was able to refer parolees to insurance offices where they could be sure of getting fair treatment. The other agent had made arrangements with a local bank where parolees could cash their state checks.

Complications from the Past

Another, related set of problems, also particularly troublesome during the early reestablishment period, concerned the legal and financial encumbrances that the parolee may have incurred before his commitment to prison. These included such matters as unpaid debts, outstanding warrants, obligations for child support, income tax claims, and unclear marital status.⁶ Again, only an occasional agent seemed to learn about such problems, or to have means for dealing with them other than to suggest that the parolee get help from a lawyer or accountant.

Since the formal termination of the Study, the director has conducted additional small studies with the help of students, and has learned more about the many technical areas in which agents need expertise if they are to provide

6. A small study in 1971 of 16 parolees newly released from prison revealed that over half had problems of this sort that interfered with their ability to get reestablished in the community.

adequate status clearance services to parolees. One agent was discovered who has developed a wide repertoire of such skills. He reported that each year he assists a number of parolees in preparing their income tax returns. He found it necessary to learn how to facilitate appeals for the payment of unemployment compensation when there was a conflict between the reports of the former employer and the parolee. He also discovered how to give procedural guidance to parolees who needed to file for bankruptcy or to sue for divorce. Although no agent can be expected to have all the kinds of competence the various status clearance services require, the fact that he knows the procedures and has contacts with helpful experts can often prevent the parolee's continuing to live in an ambiguous situation or his being exploited by unscrupulous advisers.

It is useful to note that the type of assistance needed for dealing with the various status problems falls within the insider-outsider model for the agent's relationship with the parolee. The agent who does specifically concern himself with helping the parolee "get straight" with the various governmental and commercial agencies that affect his standing in the community is providing the technical guidance and official influence that only an insider can offer; and at the same time he is helping the parolee become a more secure candidate for an insider position in the normal community as his status becomes regularized and less problematical. That the parolees may place a higher value on this kind of help than do the agents is suggested by the fact that in the Interaction Study, 37 percent of the 125 parolees thought to mention that they had had some help from their agents in connection with obtaining a valid driver's license, as against the agents' report of giving such help in 27 percent of the cases.

TRANSPORTATION

For many parolees the problem of securing adequate transportation in the early days of parole proved to be almost insurmountable.⁷ Before the parolee accumulated enough funds to purchase a car, the cars of family members or friends were pressed into service; or family funds were pooled to purchase old cars that occasionally broke down at critical moments, such as on the way to work. The parolees who tried to use public transportation when looking for work told stories of repeatedly getting to personnel offices to apply for jobs long after the positions had been filled; and a number of the parolees were already heavily in debt to relatives or friends by the end of a few weeks on parole, because purchasing a car, or repairing one that had turned out to be a "lemon," had been essential to getting and keeping a job.

Again, the agency had no planned service to help parolees resolve transportation problems. An occasional agent gave information to those parolees who asked about places to look for good used cars. Only one agent was observed regularly discussing car values and financing with parolees; he went with those who asked for help to look over cars in which they were interested. In one case he required the parolee to turn back a car he believed too expensive for the parolee's financial situation, an instance of control combined with helping. When their schedules permitted, certain agents drove newly released parolees to meet prospective employers or to perform other initial steps in getting established.

In completing the schedules for the sample of 125 parolees, the eleven agents reported giving some help or advice in connection with buying a car in

7. The Study's interviewers were more than once helpful in solving a transportation problem during or after an interview.

23 percent of the cases while 22 percent of the parolees reported having received such help from the agent. It was the impression of the Study that a higher proportion of parolees than these figures represent had transportation problems of various kinds with which some form of help would have been useful.

EMPLOYMENT SERVICES

Help in connection with employment was often needed by parolees either at the time of release or later; and all the agents were expected by the agency to perform such services. Both agents and parolees recognized several different kinds of employment assistance: getting a specific job in the case of unemployment, arranging for vocational training when the parolee was otherwise unemployable, and working out problems between the parolee and his employer. In the schedules obtained on the 125 parolees, agents reported giving help with getting a job in 60 percent of the cases, while 46 percent of the parolees reported receiving such help; agents reported giving help with arrangements for vocational training in 28 percent of the cases, while the same percentage of the parolees reported receiving such help; and agents reported giving help with a problem between the employer and the parolee in 26 percent of the cases, while only 12 percent of the parolees reported receiving such help.

Agent Strategies

The agents varied widely in their strategies for giving assistance with job hunting. The different approaches seemed as much related to the nature of the agent's caseload, and the resources located in the area which he supervised, as to the agent's own preferences and skills.

One agent with a high percentage of Mexican addicts on his caseload believed he could be of little help in employment matters to the parolees whom

he supervised; the jobs for which most of them were equipped were casual in nature; and a referral by the agent to more demanding types of work often alerted the employer to the possibility of addiction on the part of the applicant. Several other agents with districts in ghetto areas reported that they had only limited access to employment opportunities because the local businesses were small.

At the other extreme was an agent whose district was located in a suburban area near a cluster of large industrial plants. Over a long period of time in the same district, this agent had established working relationships with both union business managers and personnel managers; he kept track of fluctuations in employment needs, and frequently had a variety of jobs to which he could refer parolees with considerable assurance that they would be employed. In order to maintain his reputation with employers for referring only those parolees who were capable of handling the work, the agent exercised a good deal of discretion in making referrals; he was also careful not to share such employment resources with other agents whom he felt would not be equally selective in making referrals.

Other agents developed regular communication lines to job-placement agencies. One agent, who gave considerable attention to the employment needs of his parolees, had developed a close relationship with the counselors in the local state employment office. He referred all his parolees in need of jobs to that agency, often telephoning the counselors ahead to describe the parolee's situation. He consistently chose not to refer parolees directly to employers, because he felt under pressure from employers to give more background information about the parolees than was advisable; in addition, he did not want to be obligated to those employers who accepted his referrals. Still another agent, with a large proportion of unskilled black parolees on his caseload, organized his employment service strategy through the use of the job counselors

and vocational training personnel in the various job development agencies located in his ghetto area. One agent in the sample had established a useful relationship with a private employment agency.

Problems in the Employment Services

Almost all agents referred on occasion to "last resort" employment resources, "where a parolee can always get a job," which they tended to use only when finding a job of any sort became an absolute necessity. They often spoke of these resources in a disparaging manner; the pay was low; the hours of work made it difficult for the parolee to search elsewhere for better employment; parolees were discriminated against and exploited; turnover of employees was rapid; and there was no future. Car wash stations were frequently used in this way, and the Study's interviewers believed that one such business was kept operating largely by parolees who were recently released. Another "last resort" business, used by all the agents in one district, was a small silk screen printing shop whose owner was known to prefer parolee employees, even if they remained for only short periods, in order to maintain a low salary scale. The agents in the same district took turns maintaining public relations with a temperamental personnel manager in a tire factory, even though they agreed that parolees were paid at lower rates than other employees simply because they were parolees. It was noteworthy that only this kind of employment resource was treated by the agents as equally available to any agent in the district office.

In certain cases the problem of securing employment was seriously complicated because of lack of funds for proper clothing, the required tools, or union fees. In one case, a parolee who had completed a course in auto mechanics, financed by Vocational Rehabilitation, went without a job for three months while his family remained on welfare because some difficulty in the

procedures of the rehabilitation agency had postponed provision of the set of basic tools usually issued to the student on completion of the course. In another case, the agent made a sizable personal loan to a parolee for the purchase of tools, because the district emergency fund was too low to permit an expenditure of that size and the employment opportunity was too good to allow it to be lost for such a reason. In another case, a number of agents pooled their own contributions to pay the parolee's initial union fee, again because employment had become critical in the individual parolee's situation. In many cases, however, the lack of proper clothing, transportation, or tools simply meant that the parolee entered unskilled employment in order to survive, even though he had skills that could have been used to better advantage.

A complicated system of personal obligations appeared to develop for those agents who were specially active in job finding and placement, affecting their relationships with employers, parolees, and other agents. Because such agents depend on the performance of referred parolees to support continuing useful relationships with the employers, they tend to impress an obligation on the parolees to please the employers so the agent can continue to use these job placements for other parolees. Three agents were observed expressing personal anger directly to parolees who had each "loused up a good placement resource." The agents recognized also that they assumed obligations for services to the employers who accepted their parolees, such as screening the applicants, providing information about the parolee's background, and exercising special surveillance over the parolee's behavior on the job. One agent was observed "selling" the advantages of employing parolees to a new employer on the basis of such agent services. When an agent shared with another agent a job lead for which none of his own parolees qualified, he could become very angry with his colleague if what he considered to be an injudicious referral was made. In general, the agents used these job opportunities as tools for managing their own

operations, and were reluctant to make them available to a district pool of employment resources for use by all agents.

When a parolee was seriously in need of a job, he tended to welcome a job referral from the agent, even though he knew this entailed certain disadvantages. However, a referral to a job by the agent automatically established the applicant as a parolee in the mind of the employer, and the agent often supervised the parolee more closely on the job when he had himself made the referral. For these reasons, parolees often expressed a preference for finding their own jobs. Agents were more ambivalent about this matter, tending to believe on the one hand that the parolee could do better for himself if he obtained the job without agent intervention, while at the same time recognizing that an important source of information was barred to the agent if the parolee got the job without revealing his status and asked the agent not to talk to the employer. Cases were observed in which the parolee was later dismissed because the agent went to such an employer during an escalation episode in spite of an agreement with the parolee not to intervene in the employment situation.

Parolees tended to be particularly unhappy when employment problems arose because the agent's requirements interfered with potential or actual employment. An occasional agent refused to approve the parolee's acceptance of bonafide job opportunities. In one such case, friends of the parolee arranged housing and employment for him in an adjacent parole district; the agent required the parolee to remain living on meal and rooming tickets in the original district, because he believed the parolee should not return to the bohemian culture in which he had lived before prison. Another parolee was denied permission to accept two job offers; one for installing floor heaters because he would be required to enter private homes in the process of his work; the other with a repair garage whose owner was suspected of illegal practices in car-

towing operations. Still another parolee was refused permission to engage in his only trade, that of bartending. In one case the requirements of the job included making emergency deliveries out of the county, and the parolee had trouble with his agent for not observing the rule about securing permission each time before leaving the county. One parolee had invented certain technical improvements for a company that manufactured electronic equipment, and the employer needed him to act as a traveling consultant to customers in other states. The agent established such rigorous controls over the parolee's traveling schedule that the company could not use him in this capacity and the parolee was forced to change jobs at considerable loss to himself. As economic conditions became more difficult and employment opportunities more scarce, however, agents tended to be less ready to interfere with employment of any kind so long as it was legitimate.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Although financial problems were often spontaneously mentioned by the parolees when they were being interviewed by Study staff members, relatively little discussion of such problems was observed during agent-parolee interaction, perhaps because both parolees and agents were aware of the limited resources available to the agent with which to respond to such needs. When a financial discussion occurred, it was apt to be introduced in connection with other decisions, such as a parolee's proposal to change jobs because he was receiving pay too low for the work he was doing, a plan to buy a car or a home, arrangements to repay a bill at the half-way house, or a parolee's long-range plans for going into business for himself. One agent was observed talking with a parolee about using a bankruptcy procedure to consolidate his debts; another agent had a detailed and thoughtful interview with a naive youth who

was working on his first job, about how to save in preparation for purchasing a car.

Partly because this subject arose infrequently in the observational data, the interaction schedule did not offer sufficient response opportunities in this area to obtain adequate statistical data. However, one question was asked of both agents and parolees about the provision of small loans: the agents reporting making loans in 12 percent of the cases, while 8 percent of the parolees reported receiving loans. Another question concerned the giving of advice or assistance in connection with the repayment of commercial loans: the agents reported giving such help in 5 percent of the cases, while approximately 1 percent of the parolees reported receiving such assistance.

REFERRAL TO SERVICE AGENCIES

Relatively few agents and parolees reported helping activity in connection with referrals to other service agencies. Referrals to vocational training was the one exception, and both agents and parolees were consistent in reporting such a referral as help.

In the Interaction Study, both the agents and the parolees reported referrals for vocational training in 28 percent of the cases. In response to questions about referrals for other kinds of service, the agents reported giving aid with welfare or other agencies in 24 percent of the cases, and with medical care in 12 percent of the cases; only 11 percent of the parolees reported receiving aid in connection with welfare, and only 7 percent mentioned help with medical care.

Most agents seemed frustrated by the realistic problems they encountered in attempting to obtain services for parolees from other agencies. They found it difficult to build relationships with the appropriate personnel, partly

because of staff changes in both the parole and the other agencies. Agents were often in the field during the periods when personnel in other agencies were available for calls; and at times it was difficult to find out from another agency's switchboard or records' office which person should be approached for information. One agent was observed trying for more than two hours to reach the proper person in a welfare agency by telephone. As the "war on poverty" agencies proliferated, agents seemed to lose track of the procedures appropriate for referral to each, settling instead for giving an agency name and address to the parolee and leaving him to fend for himself.

In one such case, a black parolee with hospital aide experience was referred in this somewhat casual way to an agency for placing minority workers. Later the parolee told the interviewer a long story about keeping repeated appointments during which he was given various tests, only to be told at the end that he was too high on the educational scale to be eligible for this service. Another parolee whose case was followed by a student for over a month was told by the agent to apply to four different agencies in connection with his physical disability and resulting unemployment. When the student first talked with the parolee, he was spending most of his time keeping appointments at the various agencies, only to be told by each that he must go elsewhere before he could be accepted for aid. The student discovered that one of these agencies was expected to initiate service in such cases and to involve the others in case planning; it was largely due to his asking questions that the case was retrieved from the red tape in which it had been all but lost.

The Study observed only one agent who had mastered the process of obtaining services for parolees through other agencies. He often went with the parolee through the admission process, making sure he was established in the right bureaucratic slot before leaving him to manage for himself; he cultivated relationships with helpful personnel in each of several agencies, establishing

new contact points whenever there was a change of personnel; and he evidenced a high level of patience and skill in using the phone for case planning. However certain agencies, including medical and psychiatric services, proved generally difficult to involve in cooperative planning, even by an agent with these skills.

Many of the problems encountered in obtaining social services in the community for parolees are due to the fact that local agencies often perceive the parolee as a "ward of the state" who should be taken care of in one way or another by the state's correctional services. In part, their resistance arises because the service agencies do not like to share their cases with another agency whose superior guardianship authority over the client may interfere with case plans; in part, overcrowded agencies such as local hospitals and psychiatric facilities use the presence of medical and psychiatric services in the correctional system as an excuse to avoid taking on additional clients. In addition, most social agencies perceive parolees as especially difficult clients, "not amenable to treatment," and are hesitant to accept them on any terms. The parolees tend to reduce still further the possibility of successful referrals by their general reluctance to become involved in additional bureaucracies; they have observed "official systems" at work in the correctional facilities, and they tend to be suspicious of any organized set of "do gooders."⁸ Throughout the Parole Action Study, it was evident that only an agent with a firm conviction that parolees need services beyond those he can supply is willing to invest the energy required to develop a repertoire of reliable referral resources.

8. The conceptual and organizational problems inherent in inter-agency collaboration are usefully outlined in Mark Lefton and William R. Rosengren: "Organizations and Clients: Lateral and Longitudinal Dimensions," American Sociological Review, Vol. 31, No. 6 (Dec. 1966), pp. 802-10.

SERVICES FOR PAROLEES INVOLVED WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT

Agents and parolees agree that agent help in certain arrest and traffic fine situations is usually valuable and often critical. In the 125 cases for which the Study has interaction schedules, agents reported helping with arrest and police problems in 30 percent of the cases; 24 percent of the parolees reported receiving help of this nature. The agents mentioned help in handling traffic fines for 14 percent of the cases, while 13 percent of the parolees said they had received this kind of help. When a Parolee Advisory Board was established in 1970 in one district to advise administration about parolee problems, the Board gave top priority in its initial report to increasing the speed with which agents could be notified about this sort of trouble and involved in action. For the parolee who is trying "to make parole," any involvement with law enforcement may be critical for his entire parole career, whether or not he is guilty of wrong-doing, and help from someone with official power to intervene is often needed to ensure his fair treatment.

Despite the urgency associated with this sort of problem, agents are frequently handicapped in giving the quick and effective service they might hope to provide, in part because adequate channels for communication between law enforcement and parole have not been established at higher administrative levels. Inter-agency collaboration problems arise in relation to law enforcement to an even greater degree than in work with welfare agencies, sometimes because the arresting officers actually do not want other persons involved until after an investigation is completed. Cases were observed in which the arrest report never reached the parole agent, or arrived too late for him to be of much help. Since an agent is often in the field during office hours, telephoned messages are sometimes delayed in reaching him; and those crises that occur during the weekend, when the parole office is closed, are often not dealt

with until the following week. Although agent intervention is most critical during the period before a man is booked and charged, agents seldom have lines of communication with the police that ensure their involvement early enough to affect the process that is set in motion once the charge is filed. Although agents located in small-town, suburban areas often cultivate relationships with the police, district offices in large metropolitan areas seem to have few lines of communication with police at the precinct level; and the maze of red tape with which agents were required to contend in the large central police offices was clearly frustrating to the agent in his efforts to help.

Once the parolee was jailed and awaiting the outcome of the adjudication process, the need for another kind of assistance became evident during the Study, in part because the Study's interviewers usually made special efforts to interview the parolees when they were in the middle of such a critical event. Often during such interviews the researcher was asked to communicate with the parolee's agent, family members, or employer about some urgent matter that the parolee could not manage for himself. Parolee needs for information, advice, clean clothing, money for canteen purposes, and for getting information to critical persons on the outside were uncovered in such requests; and in a number of cases the researchers were able to provide a "go-between" service. In one case a diabetic parolee was being kept in solitary confinement by the local jail farm because this arrangement was routine in that facility whenever the inmate was a parolee unless the agent specified a different kind of housing. The interviewer found the man in a desperate physical condition due to the limited diet and a lack of medication. Since the agent for this parolee was on vacation, the researcher talked with his supervisor, who was able to arrange for the man to be released into the general population and given medical attention.

Agents varied notably in their readiness to see, or to respond to, the parolee's need for service while in jail.⁹ An occasional agent visited the parolee regularly; interpreted to him the various processes that were affecting his case; kept in touch with the other officials such as the defense and prosecuting attorneys and the probation officers who were involved in the case; and attended the actual trial. Such agents also usually performed the "go-between" services when they were needed. Other agents, however, made the minimum number of visits to the jail required by the manual, and seemed unaware that there was anything further they could do to help until after the adjudication process was completed.

COUNSELING

In the parole literature, counseling the parolee is often discussed as one of the most important services the agents offer to parolees. As a result of such counseling, parolees are expected to learn to curb their impulses, to adopt approved values, and to become less antisocial in their attitudes. In general terms, the parolees are expected to grow into more socially competent persons as the result of the agent's counseling with them. This kind of goal for the counseling process implies the use of growth-inducing psychological processes, usually involving the systematic exploration of feelings, attitudes, and personal relationships.

9. In the Interaction Study, both agents and parolees reported that 50 percent of the 125 parolees had experienced an arrest during this parole. When asked about help given by the agent in connection with an arrest or a period in jail, agents reported giving such help in 30 percent of the 125 cases, while 24 percent of the parolees reported receiving such help.

Throughout the Study, the observers looked with particular care for evidence of counseling activities and found little use of psychotherapeutic counseling techniques by the agents, even by those who had the requisite skills. Instead, the type of counseling used by all the agents, apparently as a matter of course, followed a didactic, instructional pattern that fits better within the guardian-ward relationship model than within any of the psychotherapeutic models currently in use.

The Study did observe a great deal of advice-giving interpolated throughout the interactions between most agents and most parolees. Advice was usually introduced when the parolee was making a decision; it was episodic, rather than part of an ongoing developmental process concerned with underlying personal orientations. The content of the advice tended to urge caution, "taking it slow" and avoiding unnecessary obligations or risks, rather than the widening of horizons and the exploration of life's challenges. Rarely did the agents engage the parolees in an analysis of problematic situations; and almost never were the parolees encouraged to explore the interrelationships between their own internal orientations and the social situations with which they were coping.

Thus, an agent might say when the parolee wanted to change jobs, "I think you would be making a mistake, even though the other job offers more pay. Your present boss doesn't mind the fact that you are a parolee, and you can depend on him to stand by you, even if some trouble occurs." Or if the parolee wanted a marriage permission, the agent's reaction was often, "You've only been on the streets a short while. Why don't you wait for another three (or six) months until your job is more secure and you are both sure that this marriage is what you want." If the parolee was planning to buy a new car, the agent might say: "You ought to look for something that will provide you with cheap, reliable transportation for a couple of years; the model you are

talking about is more flashy, but also expensive to run and not very dependable." If the agent has recently observed signs of potential trouble, he might give his advice in a more general fashion, such as, "This is the third time you have been arrested for being drunk. You know your problem is your temper when you are drinking. You've got to stay out of bars—that's where you get into fights. Bring the bottle home with you if you've got to drink. But another arrest, and I'll have to write a report to the Board." Or more simply, "You've got to straighten up. You're heading for trouble and you know it. You don't want to go back, do you?" On other occasions, often near the discharge date, the agent reviewed with the parolee the progress he had made, offering praise and encouragement.

Throughout the Study it was evident that most agents believed that this kind of counseling was one of the more valuable contributions they could make to the parolee's success. The agents in the Interaction Study reported that "help with personal problems" through counseling was an important factor in supporting 41 percent of the 125 parolees in maintaining satisfactory parole adjustments. That these parolees either did not evaluate this form of help as highly as did the agents, or tended not to recognize such counseling as help, is suggested by the fact that only 19 percent of the parolees mentioned "help with personal problems" as a useful aspect of the parole experience.

On occasion it was evident to the observers that sound advice was what the parolee needed, and sometimes what he wanted and appreciated, but more often what the parolee gained from the advice was information about the kinds of behavior that the agent would approve or disapprove. The instances of counseling observed by the Study in which help was both offered and experienced as help seemed to depend on three conditions that were not always present in the interaction: (1) the parolee wanted help in thinking through some problem and believed the agent competent to assist him; (2) the problem was not one

involving severe jeopardy for the parolee; and (3) the agent had something to offer that was relevant to, and possible to implement within, the particular situation. That these conditions did occur with some frequency is indicated by the fact that the agents in the Interaction Study reported giving help with "making decisions" in 35 percent of the cases; while 25 percent of the parolees reported receiving such help.

The fact that the Study's observers could find few instances of the kind of counseling that is directed toward personal growth, together with the fact that parolees only infrequently mentioned such experiences as part of their relationships with their agents, could be explained in a number of ways. It may be that relatively few parolees need, or can use, such forms of relationship therapy; or that the experience of relating over time with a guardian who is a reliable adviser is the specific and appropriate form of counseling to be used in dealing with parolee problems; or that few agents are competent to provide any other kind of counseling. But the Study's observers believed that the conditions under which counseling in parole occurred had more to do with the apparent lack of skill by the agents and the apparently limited use of counseling by parolees than did the nature of agent capacities or parolee needs. When the guardian-ward model dominates a relationship, it is highly probable that some form of didactic advice-giving, focused on limiting and directing the parolee's behavior, will be used; and it is much less probable that the more risky—because more open to experiment—forms of the growth-inducing psychotherapeutic relationship will appear. In addition, it seems highly probable that when the agents lack the means to resolve the parolees' practical problems they will tend to emphasize the giving of advice as their major contribution to the parolee's welfare.

THE HELPING TECHNOLOGY IN REVIEW

In an effort to translate the notion of parole service into behavioral terms, we have reviewed in this chapter the various kinds of helping activities used by the agents. Certain characteristics of the parole helping technology emerge from this examination of agents in action.

1. Parole technology offers few prescriptions for giving help. Each agent relies largely on his own sensitivity, common sense, and native capacity to alert him to parolee needs for assistance and to guide him in devising means for problem solving.

2. Although the agent may easily recognize the practical problems of the parolee—as in situations characterized by need for money, transportation, housing, or access to another service agency—the agent frequently lacks adequate means for giving the appropriate assistance.

3. Lacking adequate means to address many parolee problems, the agents tend to rely on the giving of advice and personal counseling as their primary contributions to parolee problem solving.

4. When the technology does specify helping activities and the agency establishes procedures to ensure their performance—as in the pre-release activities of the agent—large components of behavior control tend to be associated with the giving of help, following the guardian-ward model for the relationship between the agent and the parolee.

5. When helping activities are developed spontaneously by the individual agent without specific guidance from the technology—as in the emergence of status-clearance services—there is a tendency for the insider-outsider model of relationship to appear in the interaction between the agent and the parolee.

6. Due to the various factors listed above, each parolee experiences a different service agency than that available to parolees on other caseloads,

regardless of his needs or of the range of services actually provided somewhere within the district office.

It is clear from this review that, although service to parolees is emphasized in parole doctrines as a major justification for parole, the agency processes for making sure that service is given are strangely underdeveloped. Not only are the formulations about "how to help" lacking in specificity, but there is also little procedural support for most helping activities. And the Study was unable to locate any regular accounting mechanisms by which the agency recorded the kinds and frequency of helping activities actually performed by the agents.

However, another kind of service—helping parolees through controlling their behavior—is also emphasized in the parole technology and is provided by the agency. As might be expected, the controls over behavior service processes in parole are highly formalized in both procedural specification and official recording. In the next chapter we shall examine the other half of the service technology in parole: the provision of outside controls over behavior.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is essential for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It highlights the need for consistent and reliable data collection processes to support effective decision-making.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the role of technology in modern data management. It discusses how advanced software solutions can streamline data collection, storage, and analysis, leading to more efficient and accurate results.

4. The fourth part of the document addresses the challenges associated with data management, such as data quality, security, and privacy. It provides strategies to mitigate these risks and ensure the integrity and confidentiality of the organization's data.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of data governance and the role of leadership in establishing a strong data management culture. It emphasizes the need for clear policies and procedures to guide data handling practices.

6. The sixth part of the document explores the benefits of data-driven decision-making and how it can lead to improved performance and competitive advantage. It provides examples of successful organizations that have leveraged data to drive growth and innovation.

7. The seventh part of the document discusses the future of data management and the emerging trends in the field. It highlights the potential of artificial intelligence, machine learning, and big data to revolutionize data analysis and insights.

8. The eighth part of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed and offers recommendations for organizations looking to optimize their data management practices. It emphasizes the need for a proactive and continuous approach to data management.

9. The ninth part of the document discusses the importance of data literacy and the need for organizations to invest in training and development to ensure their workforce is equipped to handle data effectively.

10. The tenth part of the document concludes by reiterating the significance of data management in the modern business landscape and the role of each individual in ensuring the success of the organization's data strategy.

CHAPTER VIII

BEHAVIOR CONTROLS AS A SERVICE

From the description of the helping activities already listed, it should be evident that certain elements of control enter into most of them. Because the agent is first of all responsible for detecting signs of social danger, he is always approving and disapproving, at least in his own mind; he is constantly an evaluator as well as a helper. In addition, all helping contacts take place in the framework of the surveillance technology, each constituting a check on the parolee's behavior even when help is also offered or given. Finally, in parole doctrine, providing controls over the parolee's behavior is itself seen as a service, supporting the parolees in maintaining self-discipline as they leave the protected setting of the institution and take on the temptations and responsibilities of life in the community.¹

Three sets of tools for "helping through controlling" are provided to the agent by parole technology. The first is a list of "the conditions of parole," that set of special "laws," or rules; which the parolee is expected to obey in addition to the usual laws and ordinances governing everyone else in the community. A second set of tools is found in the responsibility delegated to the agent by the Adult Authority to give "permission" to the parolee to take certain actions such as marriage, that, because of his loss of civil rights, the parolee may not undertake legitimately without specific authorization. A third

1. The Manual of Correctional Standards issued by the American Correctional Association in 1969 states, on page 114: "Parole is a procedure by which prisoners are selected for release and a service by which they are provided with necessary controls, assistance, and guidance as they serve the remainder of their sentences within the free community." (Emphasis added.)

tool in the area of controls is the agent's responsibility to report violations of law and parole rules to the Adult Authority. Each set of control tools has a different impact on the relationship between the agent and the parolee; and each affects the helping process in a different way.

RULES

One of the most important facts about the use of the rules² as a means for controlling parolee behavior is that parolees who are supervised by different agents tend to experience quite different control systems. We are not referring to the modifications in rule specification that an agent may make for an individual parolee, based on the agent's evaluation of that individual's ability to manage freedom for himself. Rather, we are concerned with the baseline interpretation of what the rules mean in behavior that each agent formulates for use with all his parolees. The wide variation among agents in specifying the rules can create real problems for the parolee who is changed from one agent to another; more importantly, it raises issues of fairness and effectiveness in the exercise of control over behavior.

Certain rules are especially open to varied specification. One such rule concerns keeping the agent informed of changes in residence and employment.

2. The special rules that parolees are expected to follow are often spoken of as the "Conditions of Parole." Appendix B includes both a copy of the parole rules that were effective in California during the time of the Parole Action Study, as well as a copy of the more limited set of rules instituted in California in November, 1971. The original set of rules is much like those used in many jurisdictions throughout the United States. See Fred Cohen, The Legal Challenge to Corrections: Implications for Manpower and Training (Washington, D.C.: Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, 1969), pp. 40-53, for the legal implications of conditions in parole.

One agent in the sample repeatedly reminded his parolees that they must get his permission before moving or changing a job; on several occasions he was heard to threaten revocation if the parolees did not comply. Other agents said they were to be informed at once if such a move was made and showed irritation if the information was delayed in reaching them. An occasional agent said something like, "Let me know if you make a change. You can leave a message for me by calling the office."

Specifications of the rule about getting permission each time the parolee leaves the county of his residence were particularly varied. An occasional agent required explicit obedience to the rule as stated, although most introduced some kind of flexibility into their instructions. A common relaxation of this rule (approved in the manual) was to give a blanket permission to the parolee to leave the county for the purposes of work or looking for work; other agents liberalized this arrangement to permit the parolee to move about an entire metropolitan area for any purpose so long as he did not stay away from home overnight. An occasional agent told his parolees that permission was required only for weekend travel outside the county, even going so far as to say something like, "If you can't reach me before you go, leave a message at the office or call me as soon as you get back." In contrast, one agent was observed "chewing out" a parolee when he was on the job because the parolee had made an emergency delivery outside the county for his employer without obtaining permission from the agent beforehand. It is evident that certain parolees are more severely constricted geographically than others simply because they are assigned to one agent rather than to another.

Few agents, however, were explicit about the various circumstances under which the flexibilities they were willing to permit might be assumed by the parolee; a number of parolees mentioned feeling uneasy about what they could or should do in response to unexpected opportunities when the agent had left

unspecified how the rule was to be applied in unusual circumstances. One recently released parolee was found sitting glumly in his living room on an evening when he and his wife had been offered free tickets to go with friends to the fights in an auditorium located in the next county. Several days before, in the initial interview, the agent had told the parolee that he might go into that county to look for work without getting specific permission; he did not, however, mention anything about movement in that area for the purpose of recreation. The agent had also told the parolee he would be by to visit at his home "some evening soon." The parolee received the invitation too late to reach the agent at the office; he was not sure he had permission to go into that county in the evening; and he was uneasy about being caught out on the occasion of the agent's first visit to his home. He declined the invitation and spent the evening expressing his general anxieties about parole to the Study's interviewer. Such ambiguities in agent communication about the rules contributes to the length of time it takes a parolee to know what his agent expects of him and adds real strains to the reentry period; it also increases parolee resistance to a change in agents, since getting a new agent means another long period of uncertainty.

Another rule that was especially open to divergent interpretations by the agents was the proscription against association with other parolees. This rule was interpreted by agents all the way from a firm, "Don't do anything together other than sharing a group counseling class," to "Avoid getting into trouble with other parolees," or "I just don't want you to spend all your time with a friend who is a parolee." An observer heard the rule against association specified to one group counseling session as, "When you come to group you are of course expected to talk together, and you can walk down the street together to the bus stop. But don't stop to have a beer together." In still another group session, with a different agent, plans were made for one parolee to meet

another the next day to assist him in enrolling in a job training program. For this agent, parolee associations were to be encouraged when he evaluated them as mutually supportive.

The Adult Authority's policy against a parolee living with a woman to whom he was not married, commonly termed "the rule against common-law,"³ caused special trouble for both agents and parolees, and was interpreted quite differently by different agents. Over the months of field work, the interviewer heard several agents speak of doing everything they could to break up such relationships once they were discovered, in the belief that nothing but trouble lay ahead for the parolee who became involved in an irregular relationship. Many more agents overlooked unconventional living arrangements unless signs of trouble appeared; when difficulties arose they used the Board's policy as justification for instructing the parolee to "move out, or else." More than one agent spoke of such relationships as both providing positive supports for the parolee and easing the agent's work, because "you know where to find him." One agent characterized his approach as "playing cupid"; he tended to encourage the parolee in such a relationship to clear up any legal entanglements that interfered with legalizing the relationship and to get married as soon as possible.

The agents tended to be quite ambivalent about the effectiveness of any of the rules for controlling the behavior of the parolees. A number of the agents stated flatly that the rules were of little or no use for this purpose: if the parolee wants to "make it," he will obey the rules simply because he

3. The Adult Authority's general prohibition of common-law relationships remained in written form until sometime in 1968, when it was allowed to lapse without restatement. In practice, however, many agents were still behaving as though the policy remained in force when the Study's formal field work was completed in late 1969.

chooses to lead that kind of life, not because there are rules; if he doesn't care, the fact that the rules exist makes no real difference in what he does.⁴

When the 11 agents in the Interaction Study sample were asked how they used the rules in managing the 125 parolees, the agents responded for 21 percent of the cases, "I hold him strictly to the rules"; but they usually added spontaneously, "Or, let's say, I try to." These were the cases in which the agent saw the greatest need for outside control, yet had the greatest sense of futility in attempting to make the controls effective. The sense of futility arose from the agent's experiential knowledge of two facts: (1) the parolee could in actuality get away with breaking most of the rules without the agent's finding out about it except by accident or information from another source, provided the parolee wanted to break the rules; and (2) the agent lacked any real sanction, short of revocation, with which to enforce the rules. Nevertheless, when the agents were asked in what way parole had been useful to the 125 parolees, they reported for 54 percent that the parole rules had helped the individual "to stay away from trouble"; and for 36 percent that the rules had helped the parolee refrain from engaging in old trouble-making patterns, like drinking, fighting, and drugs.

The agents do find the rules useful for two reasons quite other than controlling parolee behavior, both concerned with facilitating their own tasks. In the first place, the agents use the rules to legitimate their intrusions into parolee privacy in connection with behavior not usually discussed between officials and clients.⁵ For this purpose, the rules act as a kind of agenda

4. A number of parolees also took this position.

5. In the Connecticut study of parole, mentioned earlier, the authors report: "Officers use the conditions not as tools to control the parolee's behavior, but as devices to legitimize their inquiries into areas of the parolee's life which bear on his rehabilitation. As such, conditions are a

for inquiry and information-gathering, a list of items for discussion that are accepted by the parolees as appropriate matters for agent concern; the information so gathered can then be used by the agent either to help or to initiate further investigation as he sees fit.

The second task-management use of the rules by the agent is to legitimize his substantive complaints against the parolee in a report to the Adult Authority when he is recommending revocation. Again, the rules provide an agenda of authorized items, the violation of any one of which can be listed in the Board report as an acceptable support for the recommendation. A list of such rule violations is often used by the agents to "beef up" a revocation report, when the primary charge seems relatively minor. Although the agents frequently criticized the rules as they are now formulated, in general agreeing that there were too many, they differed among themselves as to which rules they would willingly drop; most agents felt they needed at least some rules, simply to legitimize their responsibility as parole agents to recommend revocation when that was indicated.

The parolees also were ambivalent about the rules. When the 125 parolees were asked what had been useful to them about parole, regardless of whether or not they felt they had actually needed to be on parole, 45 percent stated

tool for casework. But because of the parolee's ineradicable fear that violation may lead to a return to prison, the parolee is never fully candid." See Pepper L. Schwartz and Mark V. Tushnet, "Observations on the Administration of Parole," Yale Law Journal, March, 1970, p. 700. The Parole Action Study's findings also support the notion that the parolee's inevitable association of rule violation with revocation reduces his willingness to discuss frankly with the agent certain problem areas in which he could, and often would, use help if it were not for his fear of immediate or later consequences.

that parole had been of some use in helping them "stay away from trouble" in the present; 28 percent said that the rules against such matters as drinking, drugs, or fighting had helped them avoid old patterns of trouble-causing behavior. Additional evidence from the unstructured interviews and from group discussions with parolees supports the notion that the rules—conceived as specific guidelines to approved behavior—are seen by some parolees as helpful to them, especially during the first months of parole. The Study's data suggest that this perception is often a retroactive formulation by a parolee who looks back on his early days of ambiguity and uneasy adjustment to parole from the relative safety of a later, more secure period.

However, many parolees did express antagonism to the use of rule violations by the agent to substantiate a revocation recommendation to the Board, especially if the agent discussed the violations with the parolee but did not apply any specific sanctions at the time. For many of the parolees, the use of the rules by the agent to advise, reprimand, and correct the parolee is legitimate under the "contract" that permits them to live in the community; it is also petty, harassing, and mechanical, an added burden unrelated to the real business of making a life for oneself in the community. For almost all parolees the use of rule violations as the basis for sending a man back to prison, as though such acts were equivalent to criminal behavior, is "dirty pool," an indication of the "system's" essential injustice.

The arbitrariness inherent in the application of all the rules routinely to all parolees, as well as in the idiosyncratic interpretation of the rules by different agents, greatly diminishes their value as "guidelines" to responsible living in the community. For most agents and parolees the rules become something either to forget about or to hassle over, almost never a tool for serious work on the problems of reintegration. For both, the implementation of the rules adds extraneous details to an already complex task, and introduces a note

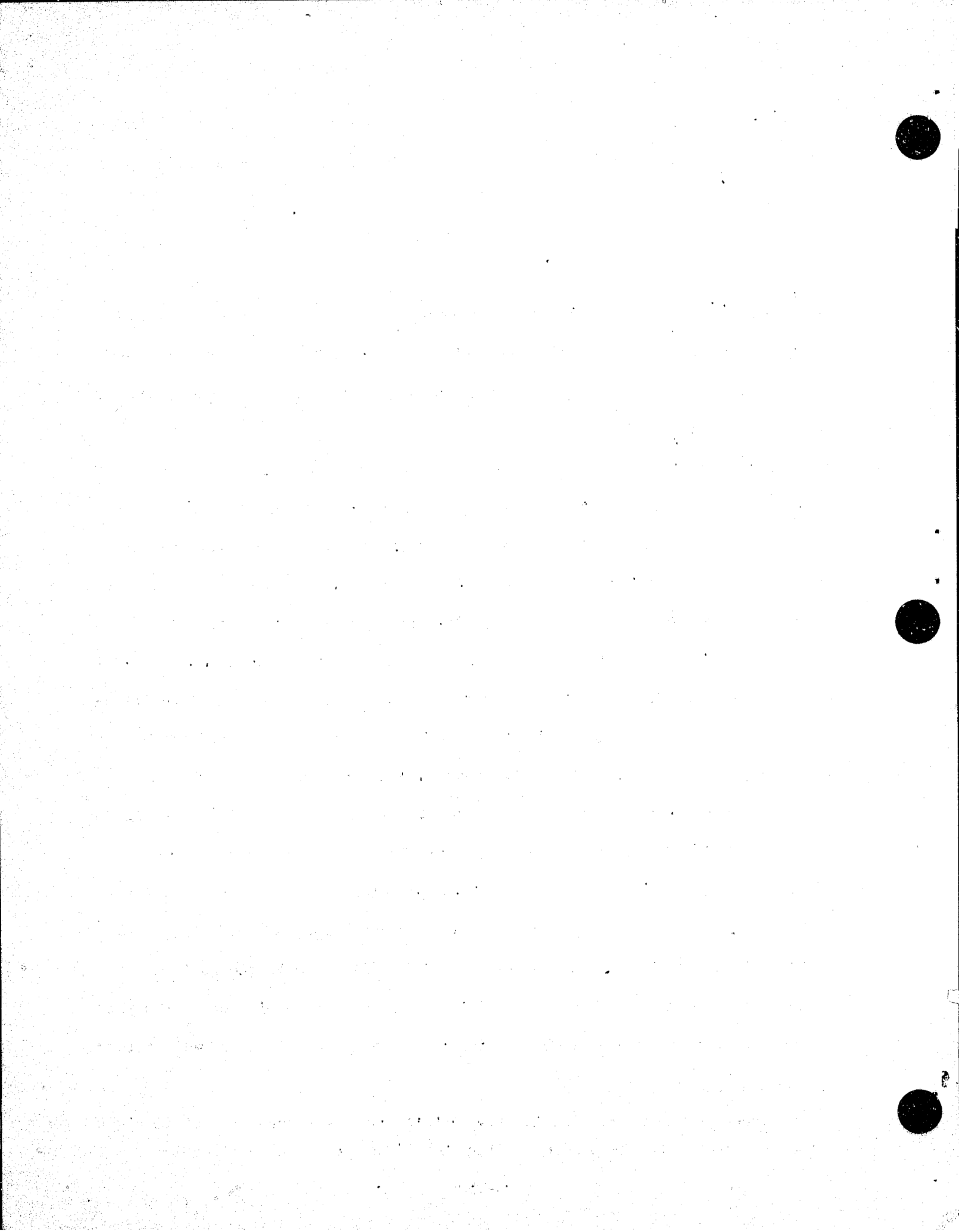
of cynicism into their perceptions of the parole contention that the attempts to control behavior from the outside constitute a "service" mechanism.

PERMISSIONS

The agent's responsibility to give permission before the parolee takes any serious action, such as getting married, buying on credit, going into business, visiting in another state, changing a job, or changing residence, increases the scope of the agent's discretion.⁶

The agents make two kinds of use of the permission-giving situation. In the first place, most agents see the request as an opportunity to counsel the parolee; and, when the parolee already trusts and respects the agent, he often comes to such an interview expecting advice and guidance. However, in many such interviews an important disparity is evident between the perceptions of the parolee and the agent. Often the parolee is, in his own mind, finding out what the agent "will go for," before he develops his own plans too far. Many interviews with parolees, conducted after they had been observed in "permission-consideration" interviews with their agents, revealed discrepancies between the agent's and the parolee's definition of the situation. For instance, in one case the agent told the observer, after a parolee had brought his prospective wife to meet the agent, that he believed the parolee was seeking his opinion of the woman before making up his mind to marry her. The parolee later spoke of the event as simply his way of orienting his wife-to-be to the fact that he was on parole while fulfilling his obligation to get the permission. When the parolee does seek advice on such occasions from the agent, it is usually because

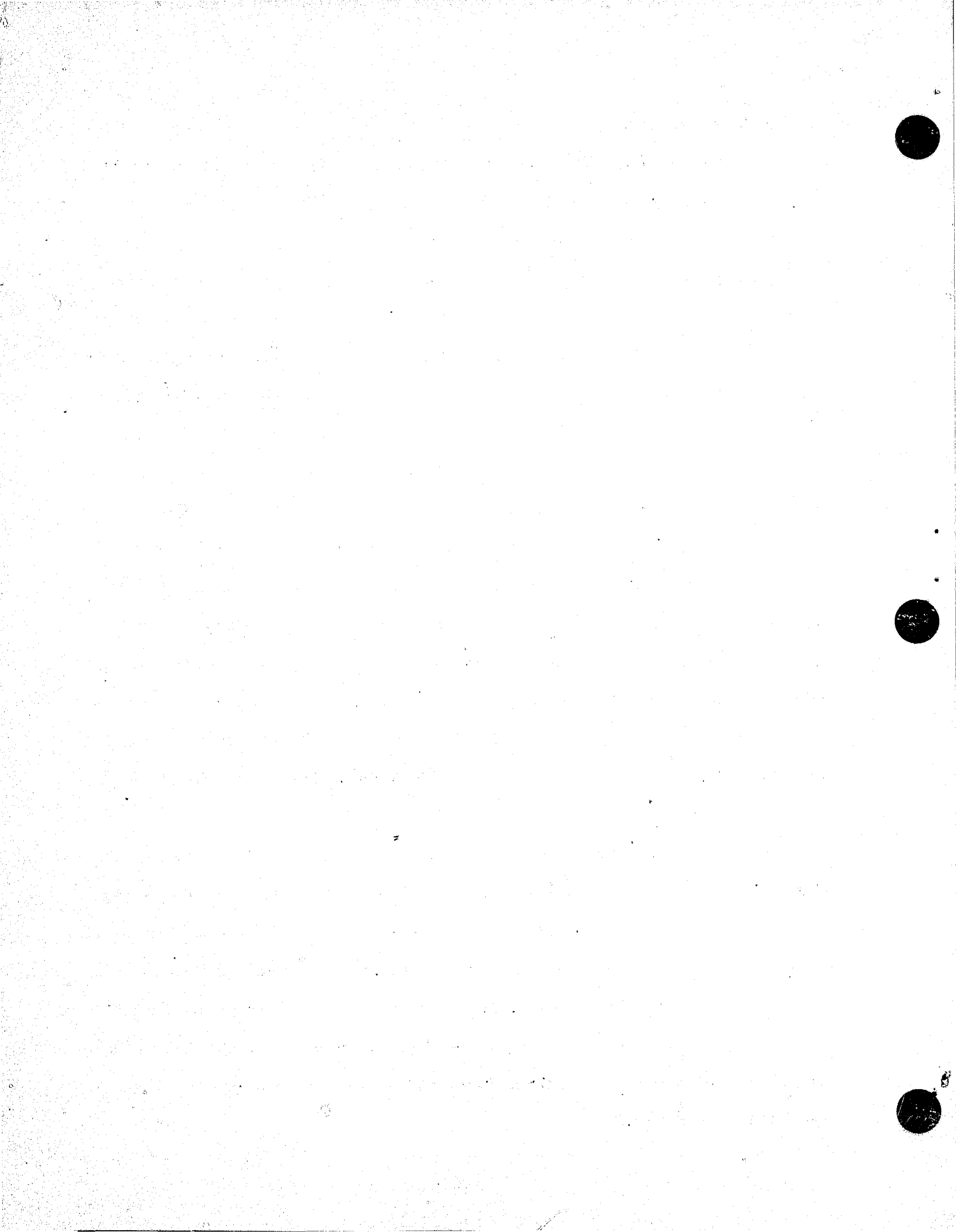
6. The agent's permission constitutes a temporary return of a civil right to the parolee for the purpose of taking action in a particular situation.



his readiness to work.

The parolees also had various ways of manipulating the permission-granting process. Some parolees frankly stated that they did not seek a permission unless they believed the agent would find out about the action anyway; in such a case the parolee would make a special show of being a "good" parolee when asking for the permission, in order to build credit with the agent against other instances in which he might act without permission and get caught. Other parolees preferred to present the agent with an accomplished fact and explain afterwards. The observer was present at one, slightly ludicrous, marriage-permission interview that occurred several weeks after the marriage had been performed in another state, and in which it was apparent that the new wife would soon be delivered of her first child. However, in spite of the mutual manipulation that occurs in many permission-granting situations, the observer believed that, in a few such interviews, more effective counseling occurred than in most contacts between agents and parolees. Because the parolee wants something that the agent has power to give, he is occasionally more apt to legitimate the right of the agent to consider the matter with him and may be somewhat more open as he talks with the agent about a topic of immediate importance to himself.

Despite the opportunity provided by the permission-granting situation for counseling the parolee, a number of agents believed that the parolee's civil rights should be restored in full on his release from prison. In the Interaction Study, all agents and parolees were asked to respond to a list of changes in parole that had been proposed over the years by parolee respondents. In that study, 52 percent of the agents approved of restoring civil rights to parolees at the time of release from prison; 79 percent of the parolees expressed agreement with this proposal.



VIOLATION REPORTS TO THE ADULT AUTHORITY

Among the various reports about individual cases that may be made to the Adult Authority, the violation report is critical for the agent's behavior-controlling services. This report is written when the agent decides that some aspect of the parolee's behavior warrants asking the Adult Authority to consider whether or not he should be returned to prison. In parole doctrine, the agent's power to initiate revocation procedures by writing a violation report is seen as the most effective device in the technological repertoire for securing the parolee's conformity to community and parole regulations; it constitutes a service to the parolee because the threat of such a report is thought to control his daily behavior and so help him to stay out of prison.

When the agent is faced with problem behavior by a parolee, his first decision is whether or not to write the report. Two policies are expected to guide him in making this decision. The agent may make a violation report whenever he is dissatisfied with any aspect of the parolee's adjustment in the community, although administrative policy encourages agents to report only when there is definite evidence that the parolee is socially dangerous. The agent is required to report to the Board whenever the parolee has engaged in aggressive or violent conduct; has used drugs—or alcohol, if that is forbidden to him; has been in possession of a dangerous weapon; has used a fraudulent scheme on a large scale; has been committed to a county jail on a sentence of more than 89 days; or has been convicted in a superior court, regardless of the length of sentence. In any case, the agent must use his discretion in deciding that the particular piece of parolee behavior belongs within one of the categories defined by policy as socially dangerous behavior. Accordingly, unless the behavior under consideration is already a matter of public record—such as when a parolee who has been forbidden to use alcohol is arrested as drunk—

the agent must rely on his own judgment in classifying the behavior as either warranting a report to the Board or as problem behavior to be dealt with in some other way.

If the agent decides to write a violation report, then additional decisions must be made. If he chooses not to write the report, he is "giving a pass" according to the argot used by both the agents and the parolees.

If the report is to be written, the agent makes a second decision about whether he will recommend "revocation" and a return to prison or "continuance" on parole in the community. The Board is not bound by the agent's recommendation; it makes its own evaluation of the seriousness of the violation and determines the disposition. However, the agent's recommendation is expected to influence the Board's thinking and may do so, especially if revocation is recommended. Accordingly, the agent tends to write the body of the report in a way that will encourage the Board to accept his recommendation.

Whatever the recommendation, the agent's report must follow a stipulated outline that, according to the agents, tends to emphasize the negative factors in the case. The "charges" are stated first, followed by supporting evidence; and they usually include not only the specific violation that triggered this report but also all rule violations that may have occurred during the man's parole. The report also includes an evaluative review of all major aspects of the man's adjustment on parole—encounters with law enforcement, employment experiences, family relationships, and other such matters—as well as an outline of the plan the agent expects to implement if the man is continued in the community on parole.

While the report is being written and reviewed by the Board, the parolee is usually held in jail for a period that can last from three to six weeks or

even longer.⁹ Many other agencies and persons can be involved in influencing the agent's decision while he is writing the report, including law enforcement officials, the parolee's employer and family members, and the agent's superior officers. However, the parolee's opportunities to influence what is happening are extremely meager, usually limited to an occasional interview with his agent. If the parolee remains in jail he often receives limited, or even conflicting, information about what is going on in his case; and he has little opportunity either to speak in his own behalf or to mobilize others to speak for him. He does not see the charges alleged against him unless he is revoked and returned to prison, after which he pleads guilty, or not guilty, to the charges in a hearing before the Board, still without knowing the evidence cited by the agent in support of the charges.

For the agents, the violation report presents problems in maintaining a service orientation toward the parolee. It changes the role of the agent in relation to the parolee from service into something more like prosecutor. The writing of the report interrupts the ongoing informal interchange between the agent and the parolee, requiring the agent to adopt his official role along with its responsibility for labelling and categorizing behavior and for choosing among limited dispositions. Nevertheless, many agents try to rationalize the violation report process as a service to the parolee—it is the "short, sharp shock" that makes the parolee more aware of social reality. Even the return to prison can be interpreted by the agent as a service: "He was heading for big trouble. It is better for him to go back for a short stretch now than to wait until he commits a new felony and goes back on another sentence." Or, "He needs more time inside to convince him that society won't

9. Since 1970, the PCSD has been experimenting with permitting selected parolees to remain in the community on bail or on their own recognizance during this period.

tolerate his irresponsible behavior." Or, "He needs more treatment."

In earlier chapters we have noted the parolees' uneasiness about surveillance contacts and their concern for controlling the personal information that gets to the agent. These concerns are kept alive in large part because, until a discharge is actually granted, the parolee is vulnerable to the writing of a violation report at any time, each report involving a thorough investigation into all his tenuous social adjustments and a formal recording of the information that has accumulated about him. Furthermore, the writing of such a report makes it quite probable that the man will be returned to prison. Accordingly, the parolees rarely think of the violation report as a "service." For the parolees, the service occurs when the agent chooses not to write the report, that is, he "gives a pass."

Because the possible service implications of both agent decisions—to give a pass or to write a report—are quite different, the two kinds of events must be discussed separately.

Giving a Pass

"Giving a pass" is an agent decision not to act officially in connection with a piece of parolee behavior which, if policy were strictly construed, would require a report to the Board. The agent's own discretion in exercising power over the life of the parolee assumes its broadest scope in any situation in which giving a pass is a real option for him. It is also the point at which he assumes the greatest risks, for the community and for himself: for the community, if the incident that he has evaluated as not dangerous proves in later events to have been a danger sign leading to socially destructive behavior by the parolee; for himself, because a violation of policy, if discovered, can lead to various kinds of reprimands and possible delay in achieving a promotion. Consequently, most giving of passes by agents occurs in relatively minor matters

that have not been brought to public attention through an arrest or outside complaint. On such occasions, the agent acts as though he does not see the behavior or neglects to report it in the official record; if the agent feels the situation is sufficiently benign, he may not even discuss the matter with the parolee.

Field observations reveal that there are several, quite different, agent approaches to situations in which giving a pass is a real option.

Most agents treat such incidents situationally, making whatever exploration they feel necessary in each case and judging it on its own merits, but not formulating any regular policy about the conditions under which they will or will not give a pass. For example, a good many agents dealt with common-law relationships situationally during the years when the Adult Authority's policy was in force.

One instance of giving a pass on a situational basis was observed after a field tour, when the observer and the agent has stopped in a bar for a beer before parting for the evening. One of the agent's parolees was present in the bar and he joined the agent in the booth. The parolee's face showed a number of abrasions, and it was evident that he recently had been in a fight. He immediately told the agent about his experience the evening before in the same bar: a drunk had molested a woman; the parolee attempted to intervene; and he received several blows before others could evict the drunk from the bar. Later in discussing this incident with the agent, the observer asked about the agent's responsibility for reporting it to the Board as an instance of violent behavior. The agent, after some thought, decided that, because the parolee was the victim, and because he had volunteered the information to the agent, the incident should not be construed as "violent behavior," and therefore did not need to be reported to the Adult Authority.

Another instance, in which the circumstances were more carefully examined, although the decision reached was the same, involved an altercation between an outstanding black parolee and a girl friend, whom he caught in bed with another man. In this case, the girl made a complaint to the police, claiming the parolee had used a meat fork as a weapon, and a preliminary court hearing was scheduled; at this point, the girl withdrew the complaint and the charges were dismissed, leaving the parolee to pay the court fees. Before the agent reached a decision, he interviewed all the persons involved and conferred with his supervisor, who agreed with him in not reporting the incident to the Board, on the basis that the parolee had suffered sufficient punishment from the expenses incurred in the court action.

A quite different approach involving planned excuses was used by a few agents in dealing with parolees who were narcotic addicts. This adaptation involved letting the addict know explicitly ahead of time under what conditions the agent would give a pass if the parolee began to use drugs once again. Usually the agent stipulated that he would not report to the Board if the parolee voluntarily came to the agent, admitted his problem, and agreed to work with the agent to overcome it. The agents who used this arrangement with parolees found that, in a number of cases, the individual could remain on the streets long enough to establish family and work relationships while his addiction was controlled at least temporarily. Agents using this plan tended to differentiate clearly between the addict who could be "treated" in this way, and the addict who became dangerous while using; the agent would explicitly state to such an addict that under no circumstances would he be given a pass, and why. The rationale behind this planned "excuse" system was usually developed by the agent after a long and disillusioning experience with the futility of reimprisonment in treating addicted parolees.

A third mode of adaptation to situations in which "giving a pass" is a real option for the agent was observed in the occasional agent who was a "book man," one who followed policy strictly by reporting to the Board each incident of parolee behavior that fell within the literal meaning of policy while recommending continuance of parole rather than revocation. One agent told the observer his rationale for assuming this position. "If I don't report to the Board and the parolee knows that I am supposed to, I am seducing him into a mutually delinquent relationship between us. He thinks there is something personal between us. Then I lose my ability to help him become less delinquent."

The agents who used the "book man" approach tended to have many self-questioning and unhappy moments when they observed some of the consequences of their strict enforcement of policy. One agent spoke several times to the observer about two common-law relationships that he had broken up by threatening to write violation reports. In each case, the parolee's adjustment had deteriorated soon after leaving his "old lady," and months afterwards the agent was still blaming himself for the resulting parolee failures.

In another case, the observer was present during the arrest of an indigent and ill black youth; the arrest occurred because the Adult Authority had revoked his parole for a violation of his 5b condition.¹⁰ This parolee had been released from prison approximately three months earlier; the agent discovered during the first interview that the man had injured his back so seriously that he was in extreme pain. Welfare aid was obtained, and the parolee was housed in a run-down ghetto hotel full of winos, the only housing

10. 5b. A special condition, requiring the parolee to use no alcoholic beverages, stipulated for that parolee by the Adult Authority.

resource in that area for single, unemployed men. Medical appointments were made but, before the parolee could get to a doctor, he was arrested for being drunk on the sidewalk and taken to jail. When the police discovered the physical state of the parolee, and learned that the drinking had occurred, at least in part, to dull the pain pending the receipt of medication, they recommended to the judge that the charges be dismissed. The judge dismissed the case, recommending that no further action be taken against the parolee. After this event, the agent made arrangements for the transfer of the parolee to the care of the Veteran's Administration as soon as the admitting examinations, scheduled for six weeks ahead, were completed. Because the parolee had violated his 5b condition, the agent also wrote a report to the Board, outlining the circumstances and the plans for medical care, and recommending continuance on parole.¹¹ To the agent's dismay the Adult Authority revoked the parole; the parolee's arrest was one of the more poignant among the observer's many experiences in the field. It is hard to say who felt worse about this incident, the parolee who went back to prison or the agent who had to carry out the arrest order.

Both agents and parolees report a not infrequent strengthening of the relationship between them, after they have lived together through a situation in which the agent has given a pass instead of reporting to the Board. In the Interaction Study, the 11 agents and 125 parolees were asked about emergency or crisis incidents that had threatened to interrupt the parolee's progress toward discharge, and about any changes that had occurred in their relationship as a consequence. The agents reported that, in 21 percent of the cases, the agent himself felt better about the parolee and his ability to

11. Most agents who were observed in the Study would not have written the report under these circumstances.

do a parole after the event; and that, in their opinion, 42 percent of the parolees felt better about the agent as a consequence of what the agent did during the emergency. The parolee's responses to the same questions tend to confirm the agents' evaluations. Only 10 percent of the parolees said there had been a deterioration in the relationship after the event, while 39 percent reported that they felt better afterwards about their agents, "because he stood by me."

The Violation Report

In the chapter on surveillance, we noted the psychological distance established, even if only momentarily, between the agent and the parolee whenever the agent assumed the surveillance posture. When writing the violation report, this distance is greatly magnified, as the agent focuses on communicating to upper decision makers a capsule version of the parolee's "character." In the process of condensation the individuality of the parolee is inevitably sacrificed to the stereotypes of officially recognizable classifications. The "character" so formulated is then assigned to one of the two available dispositions, revocation or continuance. In either case, the conditions for a helping relationship—the recognition of individuality and the reciprocity of problem solving—are abrogated at least for a time; and the agent, isolated physically and psychologically from the parolee, formulates both the parolee's character and a rationale for disposition in terms customary to the official decision makers.

Only rarely, however, are these formulations clear at the beginning of the process, in large part because a number of other persons, who represent contending interests in the community, become involved either in giving information or in advocating one disposition rather than another. The agent may pass through several phases in classifying the parolee's character and in developing

a rationale for his recommendation, depending on which of these persons is most influential.

An example will illustrate what can happen when the parolee as an individual is removed from the scene while the agent, together with other persons, determines his fate. A parolee in his early thirties was released after eight years in prison to the Department of Corrections half-way house, where he was still residing after three months because of his difficulty in finding a job. He was a happy-go-lucky, rather engaging, young man who quickly made friends with everyone in the building, including the parole agents, secretaries, and researchers who were housed in adjoining offices. Everyone knew him as "Happy Danny." A woman volunteer with the research unit was also interested in Dan, inviting him to her home on several occasions and introducing him to her grown son and daughter.

One day Dan was arrested for impersonating a member of the military. As the story unfolded, it was learned that Dan spent one evening in a bar with a soldier who had recently returned from Vietnam. The soldier talked at length about the exploits of a much-decorated marine, whose body had just been returned for burial to his socially prominent family in a nearby city. Danny expressed great concern for the family's loss and visited them the next day to communicate his personal distress, claiming to have been one of the dead marine's buddies. He explained his lack of uniform by saying his gear had been routed to another city on the flight to the States. The family was deeply touched by Danny's concern and included him in the activities preceding the funeral; they expressed much appreciation for his helpfulness in this time of trouble and loaned him one of the dead marine's uniforms to wear as a pall bearer. A day or two later, when the men of the family had to be out of town, Dan was asked to stay overnight in the home with the mother and daughters. A week after the funeral, a friend of the family who was connected with the

police expressed scepticism about Dan's background and investigated the military records. Dan was immediately arrested.

The first decision-making event of importance to Danny's future occurred when a policeman from the neighboring city and two federal investigators met with the agent. The policeman was insistent that the family should suffer no further annoyance: Danny must be removed from the vicinity and the family should not have to endure the discomforts of a trial. The federal investigators did not want to bring a charge of impersonating military personnel because, under federal law, Dan's offense was only a misdemeanor; the resulting sentence would be light in comparison with the cost of prosecuting him. Both agreed that the parole agency, which could reimprison Dan without a trial, should relieve both the family and the federal government of any further responsibility in the case. The agent agreed to start revocation procedures at once.

However, many persons disagreed with the agent's decision. The agent's supervisor believed that Danny had acted out of naiveté, living out a fantasy of belonging to someone; he was not malicious and probably could be supervised in the community. He persuaded the agent to delay the violation report until Dan could be interviewed by the consulting psychiatrist. The volunteer from the research unit took somewhat the same position, offering to help in any plan that would allow Dan to remain in the community. Everyone in the various offices took sides in the controversy, urging the agent to adopt one or another course of action. During the case review, the fact that Dan suffered from a mild epileptic condition was discovered, and his need for medical care further complicated the agent's case planning.

The agent remained firm in his commitment to the law enforcement officials that Danny would be removed from the community. His task therefore became one of formulating a rationale for revocation that could be accepted by his superiors; and before final action was taken, he had elaborated three different

characters for Danny. Because Dan had been loaned a small amount of money by the dead marine's family, the agent first insisted that Dan was a skillful con man who could be expected to earn his living preying on unsuspecting civilians. Since Dan's advocates vigorously rejected this interpretation of his character, the agent decided that, due to his epilepsy, Dan was capable of violent outbreaks in response to any provocation, and that he should be incarcerated to protect the public against physical harm. This character formulation was demolished by the psychiatrist, who found Danny to be a naive, indiscriminately friendly person, lacking violent tendencies, and only mildly affected by his epileptic condition. Finally, the agent presented the case for revocation in terms of Danny's need for treatment as a disturbed personality—although the psychiatrists at the correctional medical facility had already reported that Danny was not amenable to therapy—and the supervisor agreed. Dan's parole was accordingly revoked and he was returned to prison "for treatment."

This case was more dramatic than many; but a somewhat similar process of attempting to reconcile contending interests can be observed in many revocation processes. The agent may need to deal with a mother who is seeking to separate her son from an undesirable girl friend, the police who want a "nuisance" parolee off the streets, or an ultra-conservative supervisor who insists on taking a "hard" line with parolees. But unless the revocation decision is cut and dried—as it is when the parolee has been convicted of a new felony—the on-stage action of the revocation process tends to substitute the active expression of conflicting community interests for any problem-solving interchange between the agent and the parolee.

The Study's interviewers seldom heard the parolees express bitterness about an agent except in connection with his activities during a revocation process. This bitterness rarely concerned the fact that the parolee had been sent back to prison. Most revoked parolees, contrary to the general impression in parole

circles, recognize that within the meaning of the law the return to prison was justified; and those few who claim otherwise usually have good reasons for their contention. What the parolees are bitter about is the agent's violation of both the nature of their previous relationships and of their rights as persons during the revocation process. "He was a decent agent up to that time, but then he just didn't listen to my side of it." "He told me he was recommending continuance of parole, but when I got back in prison I learned he had recommended revocation." "I didn't hear anything for days; then my girl friend visited me in jail and I found out he had told her one thing and me another." "Some of the charges were true but others weren't. I didn't have a chance to set the record straight." Such complaints are validated by the Study's observations of the many revocation processes during which facts get lost in impressions, half-truths are accepted as bases for action, and on occasion deliberate lies are told to one or more of the interested actors. By the time the various contenders who represent different community interests, together with the agent, have worked out the disposition decision, the formulation of the parolee's character finally recorded in the violation report may have little relevance to the parolee as a real person. It is understandable that the violation report process, with its abrogation of personhood and lack of fair procedures to regulate decision making, adds up to something less than "service" in the parolee's perspective.

CONTROLS AND THE RELATIONSHIP MODELS

Each of the three sets of tools used by the agent for control of behavior—the rules, the permissions, and the reports to the Board—tends to invoke a different model for the helping relationship.

In using the rules, both agent and parolee tend to be acting, at least implicitly, on the supervisor-subordinate model. The parole rules are used much like the procedural rules for accomplishing work in a bureaucracy, providing both the supervisor and the subordinate with an agreed list of behaviors about which it is legitimate for the supervisor to show concern. It is not expected by either that the subordinate's performance will follow the rules, as written, in every detail; rather, the supervisor and the subordinate work out what constitutes acceptable performance within the general framework provided by the rules. Both realize implicitly that the only real sanction available to the supervisor for dealing with rule-violation by the subordinate, outside of reprimand and reminders, is the ultimate separation of the worker from the job, or, in the case of the parolee, his revocation and return to prison. Therefore, the rules as such do not constitute the arena in which task-focused relationships develop or in which the final separation decision is made.

In the permission-granting situation, however, the guardian-ward relationship tends to be invoked by the agent and occasionally accepted by the parolee. The issues raised in permission situations are often critical to the parolee's interests and to his own definition of what those interests are. If the parolee, or ward, has already begun to see the agent as a psychologically nurturing guardian, he tends to use the permission experiences for learning and guidance; if he rejects the guardian's authority and sees no value to be received from discussion with him, he manipulates the guardian, as a child does his parent, in order to secure a decision as close as possible to his desired ends. The agent, however, tends to see himself as helpful to some extent in all such cases, even when he is being manipulated, because he accepts at face value the guardian and ward roles and his responsibility for giving moral guidance. Meanwhile, the parolee may well see these interchanges as

simply more of "that custody-in-the-community crap" to which he must submit if he wishes to remain on the streets.

In the agent's use of his discretion in choosing whether or not to report to the Board, the "book man" agent continues to act in the guardian model, and often finds himself at the end allied with interests other than those of the parolee. The agent who chooses to give a pass—on the basis of understanding the parolee's predicament, sharing his goal of "staying out," taking action on his behalf, and accepting responsibility with the parolee for the consequences—moves into some sort of communication with the parolee's implicit insider-outsider model for the helping relationship; in such instances the agent becomes an advocate, concerned for a fellow human being, rather than a judge of his behavior. Under these circumstances, the conditions for effective helping are approximated more closely than they are in most agent-parolee interactions; properly exploited by the agent, such an experience may change his relationship with the parolee into one of genuine influence.

CONTROLS AND THE GOALS OF HELP

The concentration of official parole attention on controls, and the infusion of concern with control into every sort of interchange between the agent and the parolee, has a tendency to deflect all interaction between them from the goal of helping the parolee become viably established in the community toward the goal of helping the parolee "make parole."¹² An especially articulate supervisor who was talking with a group of parolees formulated this displacement

12. It was already noted in Chapters II and III that parolees and agents both independently tend to settle for "making parole" as the reasonable goal for their efforts, given the conditions under which each operates.

of goals, which troubles many agents, quite succinctly. One of the parolees was vigorously telling the supervisor and the agents who were present that parole ought to provide a certain service for parolees. His point was well taken and quite commonsensical. The supervisor spoke directly to him. "So you still believe that crap that paroles is here to help you. Let me tell you what paroles is really all about. We set up a system that makes it as hard as possible for you to make it in the community. O.K. Then we put a bunch of parole agents here to see to it, if they can, that you get through that system with as little damage as possible. That is what parole is all about, and that is all it is, except when some agent finds he can do a little something more. But his main job, and often his only job, is to get you through to discharge in spite of the system."

The conflicts inherent in the agent-parolee relationship appear most clearly in the operation of the helping technology as it deals with control issues. Each of the control tools—the rules, the permissions, and the violation reports—lays the base for a possible revocation action; and the parolee knows that, no matter how understanding and helpful an agent has been during their relationship, he cannot rely on the same kind of attention to his interests once the agent undertakes to write the revocation report. Because the "rules of the game" change when a report to the Board is in process, the parolee cannot fully relax into the offered helping relationship with the agent at any time; and for the same reason, the agent cannot fully commit himself to maintaining the same focused concern for the parolee throughout the relationship. In the next chapter we shall examine the divergent images of what parole is all about that are developed by the agents and the parolees under these conditions.

CHAPTER IX

AGENT AND PAROLEE PERCEPTIONS OF INTERACTION

In this chapter we are not concerned with the fact that agents and parolees have, on occasion, divergent perceptions of what is going on in parole interaction. That fact has already been documented; and differences of some sort could be expected to appear in the perceptions of any set of workers and clients in any service agency. Rather, we expect to identify those areas in which the agents and parolees either agree or disagree systematically, as well as those topics concerning which the disagreement is particularly extensive. By charting the agreements and disagreements of agents and parolees along dimensions of significance for any service technology, we expect to draw a rough profile of what the parole agency offers the parolee as compared with the parolee's perceptions of service relevance and effectiveness.

Four dimensions of the parolee's experience in his client career will be examined in comparing agent perceptions with those of the parolees: (1) the kinds of help provided by the agent, (2) the usefulness to the parolee of being on parole, (3) the costs to the parolee of being on parole, and (4) the kinds of events that cause "trouble" and that, therefore, threaten the successful achievement of the client career goal. For each of these dimensions we have information from the 11 agents and 125 parolees who constituted the Interaction Study sample.¹ The degree of agreement between parolees and agents on each item will be indicated by coefficients of perception.²

1. A description of the Interaction Study's research methods and statistical procedures will be found in Appendix A.

2. The coefficients of perception are nothing more than the agent response percentage on each item divided by the parolee response percentage for the same item and with the decimal points removed. These coefficients, or ratios,

THE KINDS OF HELP

The first section of both the complementary schedules, one used with the agent and the other with the parolee, was focused on the interactions between a parolee and his current agent, asking how each had experienced the relationship. After several introductory questions, each was offered a comprehensive list of possible agent helping activities and asked to indicate which kinds of help, if any, had been given by the agent during the current parole. The agent was asked about the parolee, "Has he ever asked you directly for help?"; and then, "Whether he asked for help or not, have you actually helped him, over and above simply giving a permission, with any of the following matters?" Each parolee was also asked about his agent, "Have you ever asked your agent for any kind of help other than giving permissions?"; and "Whether you asked him to help or not, has your present agent actually helped you with any of the following matters?"

Table 5 shows agent and parolee responses to these questions in percentages, reporting many items that appeared in the original list.³ The items are listed in an order showing the progression of the coefficients from the least to the largest.

are simple but effective ways of showing the relation between the volume of agent response and the volume of parolee response to the same items. For instance, a coefficient of 100 denotes complete agreement between agents and parolees in the percentage of responses to that item. A coefficient lower than 100 evidences a higher percentage of response by parolees than by agents. Similarly, a coefficient higher than 100 indicates a larger percentage of agent choices than of parolee choices of that item.

3. The omitted items were those in which either the agent or the parolee percentages were so small as to make the results unreliable.

Table 5

PERCEPTIONS OF HELP BY AGENTS AND PAROLEES
IN ELEVEN CASELOADS
Percentages (N=125)

<u>Kinds of Help Reported Help With:</u>	<u>Seen as Given By Agents</u>	<u>Seen as Received By Parolees</u>	<u>Coefficients of Perception</u>
Driver's license	27	37	73
Car insurance	18	21	86
Vocational training	28	28	100
Buying car	23	22	104
Traffic fines	14	13	108
Arrests	30	24	121
Getting job	60	45	133 ^a
Making decisions	35	25	140
Medical care	12	7	143
Giving loan	12	8	150
Family problems	51	32	156
Problem with employer	26	12	217
Welfare agency	24	11	218
Place to live	31	12	258
Managing social life	22	7	314
None	0	11	

a. A divergence of no more than 33 1/3% in either direction is accepted as indicating general agreement between the two groups.

Agent question: Have you actually helped him...with any of these matters?

Parolee question: Has your agent actually helped you with any of the following matters?

In examining Table 5 we should note first that the parolees were not unwilling to report help that they had actually experienced. In fact, for two items the parolees reported more assistance from the agents than the agents themselves remembered to report; and for the first seven items, the close correspondence between the agent and parolee reports suggests that both were talking about actual events. Since this question was one in which parolees who were covertly hostile to their agents could easily have chosen to deny that any help had been given, it is significant that only 11 percent of the parolees reported no help of any kind.⁴

An examination of the helping activity items as they are ordered in the list by the coefficients of perception reveals that parolees and agents systematically agree and disagree about quite different classes of help. The first seven items, from help in obtaining a "driver's license" through help with "getting a job," concern highly practical matters in connection with which the agent evidently did something specific that affected the parolee's ability to survive in the community. For these items the parolees and agents are in general agreement that help was both given and received, with more parolees than agents remembering to report assistance with getting a driver's license or car insurance. In the next four items—from help with "making decisions" through help with "family problems"—the agent's action seems less specific (except for "giving a loan"), each activity quite possibly involving the agent in giving advice and expressing approval or disapproval. The agents reported these items as help somewhat more frequently than did the parolees, although a quarter of the parolees reported assistance in "making decisions" as help and 32 percent perceived assistance with "family problems" as actually helpful.

4. These could have included parolees who needed no help, as well as parolees unwilling to recognize agent activities as helpful.

The final four items, however, suggest a wide divergence between the agents and the parolees in evaluating the parolee's adequacy for managing his intimate affairs, with the agents reporting as much as three times more frequently than the parolees that help had been given in such matters as housing⁵ and "managing social life." The data in this table strongly suggest that the more practical and specific the agent's action, the more probable it is that it will be remembered by the parolee as helpful; and that the higher the component of agent direction in the parolee's personal affairs, the more probable it is that the agent will remember the action as help given, and the less probable that the parolee will remember it as help received.

It is useful to consider the classes of helping activities in Table 5 in the light of the different models for the helping relationship. The first seven items, for which there is general agreement between the two sets of actors, fall easily into the insider-outsider model of helping, involving the agent either in status-clearance activities, opening doors, or providing "know-how." In the final eight items, however, the guardian-ward model is progressively more evident as the differences between agent and parolee perceptions of what is helpful become larger, with the agents making stronger imputations of inadequacy and dependence to the parolees as one moves down the list, while the parolees become increasingly discriminating about what is and is not experienced as help.

The suggestion that one important source of differences between agents and parolees in their perceptions of help lies in the different models for helping

5. The only help with housing most agents can provide consists of placement in a half-way house, referral to the welfare department for lodging in a rundown hotel for single men, or referral to a similar hotel on a parole authorization provided as a temporary loan. Few parolees would classify any of these arrangements as "help," even when they needed housing.

relationships used by each, is further supported by the next set of data.

PERCEPTIONS OF PAROLE USEFULNESS

A second section of the schedules probed for the parolee's experiences in the "system." Here we were interested in finding out what the career of "being a parolee" meant for the individual in the community, regardless of who his agent happened to be or what his agent did. Two sets of items, one concerning the usefulness to the parolee of being on parole, the other concerning the costs to the parolee of the client career, were offered to both agents and parolees. In Table 6 we are concerned with the first of the two sets.

The questions on the usefulness to the parolee of being on parole, in contrast to the question on help given by the agent, called for an evaluation by the agents and parolees rather than for the reporting of specific acts. The agent was first asked if the parolee under consideration had needed to be on parole and why; then, "Whether or not this parolee actually needed parole, would you say that parole has been useful to him for any of the following reasons?" Similarly each parolee was first asked if he had needed to be on parole for any reason and, if "yes," what were the reasons; then, "Some men have told us parole has been useful for the following reasons. Whether or not you needed to be on parole, have any of these things been important for you?"

Table 6 reports all the nine items offered in the schedule, again listed in the order of coefficient progression.

Again it is noteworthy that the parolees were not loathe to report that parole itself had been useful in certain ways; although approximately 73 percent said they had not actually needed to be on parole, only 14 percent

Table 6

PERCEPTIONS OF USEFULNESS OF PAROLE BY AGENTS
AND PAROLEES IN ELEVEN CASELOADS
Percentages (N=125)

<u>Kind of Usefulness</u>	<u>By Agents</u>	<u>By Parolees</u>	<u>Coefficients of Perception</u>
Needed a "higher up" to go to bat for him	12	42	29
Useful to kick around pros and cons when making decisions	25	33	76
Needed someone to get things done with other agencies	38	37	108
Reminds him to stay away from trouble	54	44	120
Useful to have advice	58	48	121
Rules keep him out of "old" trouble	36	27	133
Needed help getting started	63	42	150
Kept him working steadily	34	18	189
Needed help with personal problems	41	19	216
Other	6	8	
None	1	14	

Agent question: Would you say that parole has been useful to him for any of the following reasons?

Parolee question: Whether or not you needed to be on parole, have any of these things been important for you?

mentioned no particular kind of usefulness.⁶

When these items are arranged according to the coefficients of perception, again it is evident that the parolee's perceptions of what had been most useful on parole emphasize the insider-outsider model for help. The parolee image implied in the first three items is that of an independent and responsible actor who needs information from an insider when making decisions, and assistance from an advocate when dealing with the bureaucracies. For these items the parolees either greatly overreport in comparison with the agents, or confirm the agents' evaluation of what has been useful in the parole experience. The second set of four items, for which the agents and parolees agree in general, suggests a sober appreciation on the part of both that parolees need support and guidelines in a complex and problematic new world. The final set of two items, however, projects an image of the parolee as inadequate and dependent on the agent; and for these items the agents noticeably overreport, again assuming the stance of the guardian, with particular emphasis on the value of agent help with personal problems.⁷

Keeping in mind the extensive overreporting by agents of help with personal problems, let us turn to Table 7 which shows how the agents and the parolees perceive the handicaps for the parolee resulting from his involvement with the parole system.

6. The agents said 77 percent of the parolees had needed parole and only 23 percent had not needed parole.

7. The agents' tendency to overreport the usefulness of parole in keeping parolees at work could have been predicted from the observational and interview data, since agents consistently underrate the positive interest of many parolees in work as a way of life.

Table 7

PERCEPTIONS OF HANDICAPS BY AGENTS AND PAROLEES
FOR ELEVEN CASELOADS
Percentages (N=127)

<u>Kind of Handicap</u>	<u>As Seen By Agents</u>	<u>As Seen By Parolees</u>	<u>Coefficients of Perception</u>
<u>Agents and Parolees</u>			
Arrested because parolee	4	18	22
Difficulty getting jobs	14	34	41
Uneasy in social situations	30	40	75
Paid lower wages	10	10	100
<u>Agents Only</u>			
Poor self-image	10		
Family conflict because parolee	12		
Limits self because a parolee	13		
None	34		
<u>Parolees Only</u>			
Had difficulty because agent talked with others		14	
Too many know private business		18	
Uneasy that agent gets information about him		26	
Can't take responsibility for own life		30	
Can't get involved with people		30	
Can't fulfill potential		31	
It's hard to relax		42	
Always on watch-out for trouble		65	
Had to break rule because agent not available to give permission		70	
Other		9	
None		14	

PERCEPTIONS OF THE HANDICAPS OF PAROLE

All services, no matter how valuable to the client, are accepted and used by the client at some cost to himself, if only in time and energy. The more extensively, however, any service system intervenes in the client's life-space, the more costly to the client that service tends to be. In the case of the parolee, whose involvement in the parole system is so extensive as to affect all his normal roles, the costs of receiving help can reach the proportions of handicaps. The Interaction Study's findings suggest that the parolees are keenly aware of the way that being a part of the parole system introduces conflicts and insecurities into their personal lives, while the agents appear to be seriously unaware of this kind of "personal problem" as a factor in parolee experience.

The questions about the handicaps of being on parole were hard to formulate, and the Study's staff was not entirely successful. The items for the parolees were easy to select. The unstructured interviews with parolees were studded with quotations in which parolees spontaneously expressed themselves on the system costs of parole. According to the parolees, the personal problems with which they particularly needed help stemmed from the insecurities introduced into their personal lives by the fact that they were on parole.

In contrast, it was very difficult to formulate appropriate items for the agents. We had almost no quotations from the agents about the handicaps suffered by the parolees because they were parolees. In fact, agents were apt to say either that the parolee was better off than other persons with similar problems because he had an agent to help him, or that parolee complaints were "excuses" and rationalizations of their own inadequacies. Furthermore, we had almost no observational data reporting discussions between agents and parolees about such matters, except for an occasional reference to low and exploitive

pay.⁸ In consequence, the agents were offered a much more limited set of items than were the parolees, while certain items were phrased differently for the agents than for the parolees in an attempt to find words and ideas that would be familiar to them.

The questions for the agents included items about both the specific disadvantages the parolee had met in the community because of his status, such as being paid lower wages than other employees, and the more psychological handicaps he might have experienced, such as family conflict or a diminished self-image due to his position as a parolee. The list of items was introduced to the agents as follows: "Parolees sometimes report certain handicaps because of being on parole. Would you say any of the following have been true for this parolee?"

Because the parolees had been quite specific with the interviewers about the differences between the social and economic handicaps due to their status and the psychological instabilities introduced into their lives by the fact of being on parole, they were offered two lists of items. The first was introduced by: "Now we would like to know what being on parole—not just what your agent does—has meant for your life. Have any of the following things happened to you while you were on parole?" The second question began as follows: "Some parolees say that being on parole makes them feel uneasy in various ways. Tell me if you have had any of these feelings."

Table 7 reports the agents' perceptions of the handicaps for the parolee of being on parole, insofar as the Study was able to tap them, as well as the

8. The parolees' comments in occasional group counseling sessions did approach this subject matter. The agents tended to handle such comments either by defending their own performances or by attributing the "gripes" to the individual parolee's "bad attitudes."

parolee's perceptions of parole costs. Both are reported in percentages; coefficients of perception are provided whenever the two items offered to agents and parolees were the same.

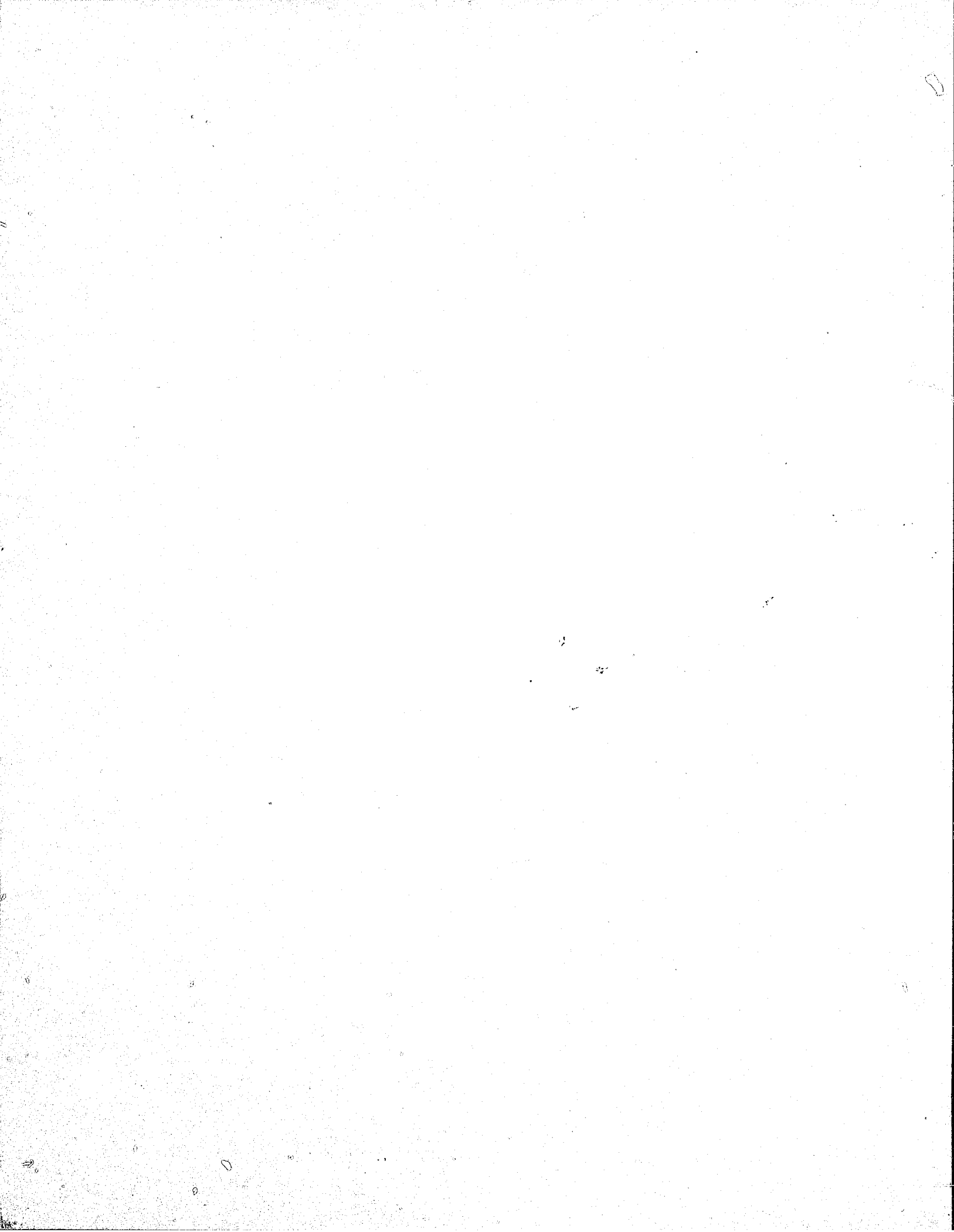
A first glance at Table 7 shows the parolees reporting handicaps with considerably greater frequency than the agents. To a certain extent this was to be expected, since the individual whose own experience is being examined tends to have more to say about it than anyone who has merely observed the experience, no matter how empathic he may be. It could also be suggested that this question gave the parolees a chance to complain, and that they chose to exaggerate the "pains of parole." Neither of these suggestions, however, satisfactorily explains the discrimination among the items shown by the parolee responses; nor the fact that one of the more popular stories about parolee handicaps, namely, the relatively lower pay offered parolees, is reported by only 10 percent of the parolees; nor that the parolees' report on this item is attested as realistic by the agents for the same percentage of cases. Except for this one item, the agents consistently underreport the disadvantages accruing to parolees from their involvement in the parole system. Even when the items concern events in which the agent knows quite well that social stigma tends to operate against the parolee, such as in applying for jobs and in arrests, the agents evidence a singular unawareness of specific instances of such events occurring in their caseloads.

When we examine the items that were offered to the parolees only, we find that they are grouped by frequency of response into three general types of insecurities. The first three items concern problems of privacy and the control of personal information; up to a quarter of the parolees report problems in connection with at least one of these items. The second set of three items, each reported by approximately a third of the parolees, refers to constrictions on exercising one's capacity as a person. The third set of items, each

reported by 42 to 70 percent of the parolees, concerns the discomforts of a constant state of jeopardy. Additional computations reveal that 24 percent of the parolees reported experiencing three or more of these disturbing conditions in constellation.⁹

Classifying the parolee's experienced handicaps in this way makes it easier to identify agent items that could have referred to similar problem areas. A parolee's concern over controlling information about himself was often reported in interviews as one source of "family conflict," a topic on which the agents were also asked to report. Although the agent's item was phrased more generally, so the agents could have included instances of family conflict arising from feelings of being disgraced or imposed upon, the agents noticed conflict between the parolee and his family due to the fact that he was a parolee in only 12 percent of the cases. The sense of constriction on personal capacity reported by the parolees could have been reflected in the agent's report that the parolee had a "poor self-image" or that he "limits self because a parolee"; but although approximately a third of the parolees reported each of the three related items on this topic as an experienced problem, the agents noted evidence of such problems in the parolees' behavior in only 13 percent of the cases. The agents came closest to recognizing the social and personal insecurities experienced by the parolees when they reported for 30 percent of the cases that the parolee was "uneasy in social situations,"

9. Because it was logically possible that those parolees with drug histories, as well as those rated as poor risks by the agent, might have reported more extensive insecurities because of the closer surveillance they experience, computations were conducted to control for these factors. The good-risk parolees and those without drug histories reported three or more handicaps as frequently as did poor-risk parolees and addicts, while the latter groups were equally represented among those who reported one or no handicap.



CONTINUED

2 OF 3

a condition that 40 percent of the parolees reported as a problem. It is also important to note that the agents had observed no handicapping consequences of being on parole in 34 percent of the cases, while only 14 percent of the parolees reported no problem of any sort in this area.

The relative insensitivity of agents to the social problems actually experienced by the parolees is highlighted still further when one remembers that in Table 5 the agents reported giving help to the parolee in "managing social life" in 22 percent of the cases, as against 7 percent of the parolees reporting such help; and that the agents also evaluated the help they had given with "personal problems" as an important factor in the usefulness of parole for 41 percent of the cases (see Table 6), while only 19 percent of the parolees mentioned "help with personal problems" as particularly useful. Although the agents' reports in Tables 5 and 6 suggest that they see themselves as sensitive to social and psychological problems—and that they have skills in dealing with such problems—the agents reveal a serious lack of awareness of the actual problems experienced by 86 percent of the parolees.¹⁰ Identification of this agent "blind-spot" helps to explain the divergence that appeared in Tables 5 and 6 between agent and parolee reports about the helpfulness of the agents' more intimate interventions.

10. Long before the data on this question were assembled and analyzed, the observer was aware that its subject matter was foreign to agent thinking. When the schedules were administered to the agents, most of them appeared to be surprised by a question on the handicaps of parole to parolees; and their responses were often hesitant and constricted in comparison with the ease they evidenced in answering other questions. An occasional agent registered annoyance when asked to deal with this question; and one refused to read the list of items on the schedule after the first case, so ridiculous did he find the whole notion that parole itself might introduce certain disturbances into parolee lives.

From the agent's point of view, his blindness to the insecurities that the parolees report prevents him from observing the effects of his own activities on parolees' lives. Although the activities of community representatives, such as employers and police, contribute a great deal to these feelings of insecurity, it is clear that the agent also has much to do with implementing and exacerbating the barriers and threats to which the parolees are responding. The agent is an important factor in the parolee's lack of control over personal information because he spreads knowledge of the parolee's status;¹¹ at the same time he is a collector and user of personal information, at times without regard to the parolee's definitions of his own interests. The agent's use of rules and permissions has much to do with the sense of personal constriction reported by the parolees. And the agent's responsibility to initiate a return to prison maintains the parolee's continuous sense of jeopardy. Thus the agent, who hopes to help the parolee, acts also to implement certain hindrances to his effective integration into the community. It is easy to understand why the agents are more aware of their own good intentions than of the insecurities to which they contribute; and why the parolees, in self-protection, seldom discuss with the agents the dysfunctional effects of the agents' normal—and officially required—activities.

From the parolees' point of view, the set of data reporting the psychological handicaps of being a parolee documents what they mean when they say it is

11. For instance, the agent sends information to the Department of Motor Vehicles about all parolees who have a history of drug addiction, whether or not they have been involved in moving violations. These parolees are issued a restricted driver's license, subject to review and cancellation at any time. The special license also has more limited value as an identification card, because it signals "trouble" of some kind to those to whom it is presented.

difficult to be, at one and the same time, an adequate "man in the community" and a "parolee in the agency." Insecurities arising from lack of control over personal information, constrictions on the use of one's full capacity, and a generalized sense of jeopardy, are clearly not assets to a person who is trying to reestablish himself in the community under the practical handicaps of minimal resources and low social status. At the very least, such insecurities constitute an additional strain on the parolee's energy, and introduce complicating factors both in evaluating situations and in using the most direct forms of problem solving.

TROUBLE AND PAROLE SUCCESS

Both agents and parolees tend to define success as getting the parolee through to discharge. Thus, completing the parolee career in the agency without interruptions in prison is accepted by both as the criterion for a "good parole." However, because so many of the aspects of a parolee's life are under continuous evaluative review, all kinds of "trouble" can affect the probability of his success or failure in the parolee career.

Early in the Parole Action Study the staff became aware of the critical nature of certain, apparently isolated, events for the course of an individual parolee's career. Many of these events were the kinds of emergencies that might happen to anyone, troublesome in themselves but not usually leading to consequences as drastic as a commitment to prison. Others involved minor moral lapses in which numbers of persons in the normal population indulge, again without being subjected to major social consequences.

But the case with the parolees proved to be quite different. Again and again the Study's staff members were astonished at the ease with which one such emergency could raise serious questions about the probability of "making

parole." In many instances, the agents evaluated these events as "signs of social danger," so that investigation of the one event triggered escalation episodes probing every aspect of the parolee's life. At the same time, the Study's staff noted that the agents and the parolees often did not agree about the seriousness of the various kinds of events; and that parolees, on occasion, were as surprised as the researchers when the agents cited certain events in partial substantiation of either a revocation recommendation to the Board or a recommendation that the man not be discharged from parole when he was otherwise eligible for discharge.¹² Such real differences between the agents and the parolees in the evaluation of the behavior and events causing "trouble" for the parolee's career in the agency seemed to constitute a problematic area in parole technology that should be further explored.

Accordingly, additional complementary questions were asked of both parolees and agents to test how each saw the precipitating events causing difficulties in the course of the parolee's movement toward discharge. To introduce this subject in the schedule the interviewer said to the agent, "Many parolees have things happen that seem to change the way their parole was going, setting them back instead of getting them further toward discharge. Some of these things are listed here. Did any of these happen to this parolee?" The agent was then presented with a list of fourteen items, culled from case stories, and asked to direct the interviewer in checking the appropriate items and to add still other

12. California law requires that each parolee who has completed two years in the community since release be considered for possible discharge, regardless of the stated length of his sentence. In connection with this review, the agent reports to the Board on the man's performance during parole and recommends either discharge or continuance on parole. Both the agents and the Board tend to use events such as those on the list to support a decision for continuance rather than discharge on the basis that the parolee "evidently still needs supervision."

such instances that occurred to him. The parolees were offered the same list of items with this interviewer's statement: "Many men have told us about things that seemed to change the way their parole was going, setting them back instead of getting them further toward discharge. Some of those things are listed here. Have any of these happened to you during this parole?"

A glance at Table 8 suggests that the parolee population is surely a trouble-prone group of human beings. Only 26 percent of the parolees reported no such event occurring during the current parole, while the agents saw only 22 percent of the cases as free from these troubles. A more detailed analysis of the data reveals that many of the 125 parolees experienced several such events, either coincidentally or in sequence.

But these figures constitute not simply a reporting of the troublesome events plaguing parolees while they are trying to establish themselves in the community, but also a listing by the agents and the parolees of those events that were perceived to have implications for the parolee's probable success in "making parole." Accordingly, the coefficients of perception are useful for comparing the relative seriousness attributed to such events by the agents and by the parolees. Coefficients close to one hundred suggest that both parolees and agents were reporting events that actually occurred, and that were also evaluated by both as a proper cause of concern about the parolee's performance as a parolee. When the coefficient rises above 150, evidencing considerable overreporting by the agents in comparison with the parolees, it suggests that the agents evaluated such events as much more problematic for parole success than did the parolees.

Once again, when the events causing trouble in the parolee's career are listed according to the progression in coefficients, several distinct sets of items are evident. In the first set of four items little disagreement is evidenced between the agents and the parolees. Three of the four items involve

Table 8

EVENTS CAUSING "TROUBLE" IN THE PAROLEE'S CAREER
IN ELEVEN CASELOADS
Percentages (N=125)

<u>Nature of the Event</u>	<u>Reported By Agents</u>	<u>Reported By Parolees</u>	<u>Coefficients of Perception</u>
Car accident	11	12	92
Stay in county jail	25	27	93
Arrest	49	51	96
Traffic violation	36	34	106
Too many bills	9	8	113
Car problems	13	11	118
Fight	11	9	122
Employment problems	32	23	139
Drugs	19	13	146
Missed appointments ^a	27	17	159
Drinking	22	13	169
Family problems	35	19	180
Bad associates	28	13	215
Living with girl friend	24	8	300
Other	12	6	
None	22	26	

a. Includes appointments for naline testing, outpatient psychiatric clinic, group counseling.

Agent question: Did any of these things happen to this parolee?

Parolee question: Have any of these happened to you during this parole?

alleged lawbreaking, and the fourth—the car accident—often had law enforcement implications. All four are reported by both agents and parolees with similar frequencies, suggesting that they are speaking of actual events; and both seem to agree that these are matters of significance for "making parole." The next four items are matters of civilian adjustment; and both the agents and parolees agree in general that a parolee with employment problems, too many bills, additional car problems, or a readiness to engage in fights, has difficulties in his basic roles as a member of the community that do not augur well for his success on parole. The next item, about drugs, is problematical, suggesting as it does some diversity of opinion between the agents and the parolees about the implications of involvement with drugs for parole success—even though the parolees know as well as the agents that the use of drugs is both against the law and forbidden by the parole rules. But the final five items, for which the coefficients run from 159 to 300, show the agents greatly overreporting, as having implications for success on parole behavior that under more normal circumstances could be seen as minor moral lapses; while the parolees seem relatively unaware that, for the agents at least, these matters placed their careers as parolees in jeopardy.

The marked divergence between the agents and parolees in reporting on the last five items, from "missed appointments" through "living with a girl friend," suggests at first some failure of communication between the agents and the parolees. Is it possible that the agents, with all their advice giving, have not thought to mention to the parolees that such behavior is a "sign of social danger," and is therefore jeopardizing their parole careers? Alternatively, have the parolees been so engrossed in their efforts to live their own lives while "making parole" that they did not hear or remember their agents' warnings? Or did the agents observe the behavior without mentioning it to the parolees, while the parolees thought the behavior was either unobserved by the agents or

considered by them as too insignificant to mention? None of these explanations seem adequate to the research observers who selected this list of items because references to them so frequently turned up, both in discussions between agents and parolees and in Board reports, as behaviors causing "trouble" for the parolee's career.

Although all of the parolees and agents were interviewed about their relationships before filling out the schedules, while many of them were observed when talking together, we do not have firm evidence as to whether or not this set of agents and parolees had actually communicated about these five types of behavior. However, the divergence in reporting these items strongly suggests that the agents are much more alert to deviations from conventional moral behavior as having implications for parole success than are the parolees. It seems apparent that the agents connect living conventionally with living non-criminally much more closely than do the parolees, who tend to think of parole success as "not committing crimes."

This divergence between the agents and the parolees about what parole success means in behavior illuminates the meaning of their differences about which agent activities constitute help. Since the agents expect the parolee to be more "square" in his life style, as well as noncriminal, by the time of discharge, they tend to take seriously their guardian-like role of responsibility for all aspects of the parolee's social and moral competence as that is conventionally defined. In contrast, the parolees see the agents as helpful when they facilitate the parolees' task of legitimate survival in the community, but do not accept either the agent's responsibility for supervision over their personal life styles or the relevance of noncriminal behavior for a decision to return them to prison.

DIVERGENT PERSPECTIVES

The tables in this chapter, supported by the data in preceding chapters, suggest that there are at least four kinds of divergence between the agents and the parolees in defining the situation in which both are involved; and that each type of divergence is critical for the ability of either one to communicate with the other in effective problem solving.

1. Definition of the task. The parolees see themselves as engaged in survival tasks for which they must assume full responsibility under difficult conditions. Survival is their job, and their own lives are at stake. The agents see themselves as responsible for much of the survival task, with the parolee in large measure dependent on outside control and guidance for success.

2. Definition of help. The parolees recognize and appreciate help from the agent that is specifically related to their survival in the community. They use an implicit, but strictly limited, insider-outsider model for the helping relationship, one in which a newcomer to the community—who remains ultimately responsible for his own performance—is assisted by such activities as opening doors, regularizing status, and providing guidelines and "know how." The agents tend to use the more generalized and directive guardian-ward model for the helping relationship, implying considerable inadequacy on the part of the parolee. In line with this model, the agents seem to value more highly than the parolees, or to be more secure in providing, help with the various aspects of social adjustment, using such means as advice giving and personal counseling.

3. The conditions of helping. The parolees are clearly aware that they remain in the community on the condition that they subject themselves to the activities by which the agent protects the community against them; and that the insecurities so introduced into their lives diminish the effectiveness of help from the agent. The agents are minimally aware of the dysfunctional impact

of these activities on the parolees' lives, tending instead to construe the control mechanisms they use as actual services.

4. The goal of help. The parolees define the goal of the parole period in the community as establishing insofar as possible a way of life congruent with their own life styles, while remaining sufficiently legitimate to avoid attention from law enforcement. The agents tend to see the parole period as the training of the apprentice-parolees in more conventional life styles, with the hope that the parolee will be more "square," as well as noncriminal, at the time of discharge.

Such divergent perspectives on the situation for helping seriously limit the frequency of the occasions on which both the agent and the parolee agree sufficiently to ensure that help is both given and received. It is clear that the agents invest much energy in agency-defined helping activities, which the parolees submit to but do not necessarily find helpful; and that the parolees need and desire a more active program of survival assistance than the agency is now equipped to provide. Under such conditions the amount of help reported as actually received by the parolees is a tribute to the ingenuity and good will of both the agents and the parolees.

The underlying question for the parole agency that seeks to provide effective service concerns the ability of a single agency to operate, on the one hand, as the sponsor and advocate of newcomers into the community and, on the other hand, as the agent of a community that fears and expects protection from the newcomers. When a single agency is charged with two such potentially conflicting functions, it is to be expected that the community will not supply the agency with many of the resources and tools necessary to equip its clients for operation as nonstigmatized "insiders" within the community; that the agency's technology will emphasize processes for watching client behavior, for alerting the community to the presence of potentially dangerous persons, for implementing

rules and permissions, and for removing the client from the community in response to complaints; and that the activities of its agents will show much concern that their clients adopt conservatively conventional life styles. It is equally probable that the clients of such an agency will be highly selective about the kinds of help they request from the agency—even when there is no other agency officially responsible for giving assistance to them; and will tend to conceive of the "system" as hypocritical in its service claims, even when they appreciate the specific kinds of help given by an individual agent.

The question of the parole agency's ability both to serve parolees and to protect the community through regulation of the parolee's life is not easy to resolve. To some extent all public service agencies are charged with maintaining client conformity and preventing annoyance to the community while dealing with client needs. The issue is posed more starkly and explicitly when the agency is charged as is parole, with "correcting" officially labelled law-breakers. It is not clear at this time how far a parole agency would be permitted by those influential segments of the community that emphasize community protection to move in the direction of effective support for the reintegration of parolees as normals. In the final chapter we shall consider certain directions in which the parole agency might move if it seeks to increase the relevance and the effectiveness of its services to parolees.

CHAPTER X

NEW DIRECTIONS IN SERVICE

Many factors contribute to the inability of parole agencies to provide parolees with services that are fully relevant and effective for their reintegration into the community. Among these factors are the lack of adequate resources, the relatively low level of public support for services to parolees, and the apathy of the community in providing opportunities to parolees. Of particular importance is the parole agency's double assignment, to serve parolee needs while protecting the community from their behavior.

ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS

However, the findings of the Parole Action Study suggest that two additional organizational factors tend to inhibit the development of an improved service technology for parole. These concern the lack of administrative information about the critical problems that affect all, or large subgroupings, within the parolee population; and the inherent limitations of the principal service mechanism—the agent with his caseload—for achieving technological development.

1. Administrative information about parolee tasks and problems. When planning for services at any level of the agency—from agent caseload to the total population of the state—the responsible official needs to know the problems experienced by the clients in his caseload, as well as the relative volume of the different kinds of problems. Only with such knowledge can he assign priorities and provide the range of means required for the different kinds of indicated services. A careful examination of all the accounting procedures used by the agents in California revealed that few procedural means are

available for channelling information about the actual needs of the parolees to upper decision makers.

The primary source of information about parolee problems in most parole organizations—as well as in other service agencies—is the process of referring "problem cases" from the agents upward to superior officials, who then classify these cases as representing typical parolee problems. Because these cases are problems for the agent, they tend to be a better index of those situations which the agents find difficult to manage within normal organizational patterns than of the problems that harrass sizable groups among the parolees, including those parolees who do not appear as "problem cases."

The parole agency is not alone among service agencies in assuming that the employed officials are the most competent persons to identify the client problems that should be addressed by service programs. But this pattern for defining client needs directs administrative attention to solving the problems the employees experience in performing their own tasks. Such information is useful for certain aspects of program analysis and planning. It does not, however, include information from those best able to report it, the clients, either about their priority needs or about the agency processes that interfere with effective service. Lacking that important corrective in service planning, an assessment of the services by those who are expected to benefit, the parole agency is inevitably handicapped in allocating its available resources to service programs with the greatest payoff for parolee welfare.

2. The inadequacy of the agent's position for technological development.

All the Study's observations of agents at work suggest that they are already doing much that could be expected of them in the way of service, given the organization of their jobs and their lack of tools for giving practical assistance. It is true that few are master caseworkers; but most agents are kindly persons who evidence common sense and ingenuity in coping. What they can do,

given their position and resources, is give advice and occasional referrals, and manage their cases with relative efficiency through the correctional procedures. They are not equipped by the structure with the means to deal with many of the conditions affecting parolee success or failure; as a consequence, agents often do not hear from the parolees about the problems they are facing. Parolees quickly learn which requests are worth bringing to the agents' attention. When parolees told the Study's interviewers about problematic situations, they were almost always asked, "Have you discussed this with your agent?"; and the common response was "What's the use? He couldn't do anything about it anyway."

The previous chapters have documented the structural factors that limit the agent's ability to respond effectively to the parolee's real service needs. He operates alone as the agency in action with his caseload and has limited means to draw on the resources of other personnel when team operation is needed. He cannot possibly develop the entire range of specialized technological competence that may be needed. He often lacks the resources required when the parolee's problems concern practical matters, such as economic need, lack of transportation, or access to normal opportunity systems in the community. His caseload frequently evidences in concentrated form all the social problems common to most persons in a disadvantaged neighborhood. And his contacts with each parolee are structured by the requirements of surveillance rather than by patterns designed to facilitate the discovery and servicing of client needs.

Basic to both these organizational factors is the continuing agency perception of parolees as "nonpersons," wards who are to be done to and for while their behavior is controlled, who are not even qualified to report accurately about what their needs actually are. As a result parole service operations continue to be, except in occasional instances, those of the wise guardian who "knows what is best" for the ward and acts on that formulation, while he lacks

an important part of the information he needs in order to decide "what is best." This is a critical disadvantage for the development of a parole service technology of real power, since adequate definition of the problem is an essential first step in effective problem solving.

The Parole Action Study explicitly undertook a "census" of parolee tasks, and of the problems faced in performing those tasks, as these were defined by the parolees out of their own experiences. Here we summarize what the parolees said about their critical problems as one contribution to the planning for services in parole.

THE PAROLEES REPORT

From the many kinds of information the Study's researchers gathered in interviews with more than 350 parolees, the following list of critical issues, of top priority for the parolees, has been summarized. It is not exhaustive and many important practical problems are not mentioned. The list does, however, suggest the directions in which parole service technology should move if it is to provide more supportive conditions for the work of the parolees on their survival tasks.

1. Economic support during reentry. Two kinds of financial provisions are needed by most parolees during the reentry period: a basic income, something like unemployment compensation, paid on a weekly basis until the first paycheck is received, to cover maintenance costs during the period of job-hunting; and a lump sum, determined on a case-need basis, to cover "foundation" needs, such as union fees, a car and car insurance, an adequate wardrobe, a timepiece, initial costs in renting an apartment, and so forth. The parolee's family, when it is available, usually carries the burden of these costs, along with the additional burden of providing emotional support during a difficult

period. Many families are drained beyond the limits of their financial capacity by the costs of supporting a noncontributing member; and few have enough funds to provide in full for the minimal reestablishment costs.

2. Status clearance services. Few parolees have adequate bonafides at the time of release to permit them to perform such normal economic operations as cashing checks. In addition, many are burdened with serious economic and legal liabilities, incurred before their commitment to prison, which interfere with their ability to perform the tasks of reentry. Many of these legal and economic entanglements require the help of technical experts, such as lawyers and accountants, for resolution; yet most parolees lack the "know how" or finances to secure the appropriate assistance. A relevant program of service to parolees might well include systematic provisions for regularizing the civil status of the parolee.

3. Emergency service. Because the parole office is open for only 40 hours a week, and agents are often absent from the office in the field, many parolee emergencies are not dealt with at the time when help could be effective. The parole conditions cover the parolee's life on a 24-hour, seven-day-a-week, basis; and for parolees personal emergencies are no respecters of office hours. At the same time, nothing is more disrupting than an emergency—whether it is an arrest, the death of an out-of-state family member, a car accident, or an eviction from home—either for his success on parole or for his stable adjustment in the community. It seems only reasonable, when the parole agency expects parolees to act under guidance and with permission, that its representatives should be available to assist the parolee when he has to make critical decisions, or is under special duress, in situations with implications for parole success.

4. Support for parolee employment. In seeking employment, many parolees have handicaps that have nothing to do with the fact that they are on parole: ethnicity, age, lack of skills, or inadequate education. It is therefore of

the greatest importance that, insofar as possible, they not be denied employment on the basis of their record alone. Certain important steps are being taken to open additional employment opportunities to persons with criminal records, but additional changes in state and local policies are needed if the employment market is to be freely open to parolees with appropriate skills. A service program for parolees could usefully take leadership in influencing policy changes in the following areas: civil service employment; trades governed by state licensing boards; companies that subject employees to security checks in order to qualify for government work; and the personnel policies of large-scale enterprises.

5. Protective arrangements with law enforcement. Since the agency acts in a position of guardian toward the parolee, it would seem particularly important that it be prepared to act with law enforcement to ensure that its wards are not discriminated against in situations, such as an arrest, that are critical for parole success. Provision of this sort of assistance requires working policies, established district by district with local police officials, providing that the parole agency will be involved whenever a parolee is arrested and desires the assistance of an agent. The timing of agency involvement in parolee encounters with law enforcement is critical, since what happens before a parolee is actually booked often determines in large measure the seriousness of the charge and the possibility of release on bail or on own recognizance, as well as the parolee's ability to keep his job or to communicate with his family members and legal adviser. Positive services to parolees, when they are involved with the police or in jail, should be an essential part of a parole service program.

6. Parolee rights in decision making. Nothing contributes more directly to the parolee's sense that he is a "nonperson" in the eyes of the agency than his inability to participate in his own behalf during the decision processes connected with preparing a violation report to the Board. Fundamental to the

giving of any service are the rules guaranteeing fairness and respect of persons that govern relationships between the agency and its clients; and such rules are abrogated when any person whose personal liberty is in jeopardy is denied full information and an opportunity to act with others in his own defense. Although the parole agency does not control all aspects of revocation decision making, it can design administrative provisions that support fair and rational procedures during its own part in the decision making process. Guarantees of the parolee's rights to complain, and to contest agency decisions, are fundamental to effective parole service.

7. Reduction of surveillance activities. All the Study's data suggest that surveillance activities, while consuming much of the agents' time, produce little in the way of protection of the community from criminal behavior. At the same time, parolees report that many surveillance activities actively introduce insecurities into their performance of social survival tasks. A positive program of service in parole would therefore do well to examine the agent's work assignments with the goal of eliminating all surveillance activities that cannot be specifically justified by the facts of the individual case, while freeing agent time for the provision of expert services as they are requested by parolees.

8. Restoration of civil rights. The community's unwillingness to accept the parolee as a reintegrated and normally contributing member is most explicitly implemented by his loss of most civil rights during the period of his sentence and the permanent loss of certain civil rights once he has been convicted. The "civil death" provisions in our criminal laws stem from the early days of the common law when they were used to permit the confiscation of offenders' property by the crown; there is no parallel modern rationale for adding the loss of civil rights to the punishment of imprisonment. Nevertheless, modern parolees still suffer the degradation of legal nonpersonhood at the same time that they

are asked to perform the responsibilities of normal citizens. A service program for parolees that seeks to restore parolees to self-respect and social adequacy should consider seriously the legal handicaps under which they now operate, and should take measures to reduce the degree to which punishment by imprisonment automatically results in the loss of the rights guaranteed to all other persons by the Constitution.

We noted in the introduction to this report from the parolees that the list is not exhaustive. However, if the parole agency took the first steps necessary to deal with those issues that do appear on the list, it would find itself grappling with many of the system conditions which now most seriously interfere with the parolees' own efforts to reestablish themselves as contributing community members. In the resulting program, those parolees who need additional, individualized help, over and above the support of favorable conditions, could easily be identified; and help could be provided on an individual or group basis as appropriate to the type and volume of the needs so discovered.

IMPLICATIONS FOR AGENCY CHANGE

It is clearly not appropriate for researchers to attempt to describe the service program that might evolve as the parole agency undertook to secure more generally supportive conditions for parolee reintegration into the community. An adequate resolution of any one of the issues outlined above could conceivably lead to important changes in the parole program as it now stands, as well as in the structure of interagency relationships within which the agency must operate. No person outside that structure can prescribe just how such changes should, or could, be made. However, the findings of the Parole Action Study do warrant certain suggestions as to first steps leading to the technological development of parole services. These suggestions are offered with considerable

understanding—gained from experience in attempting to institute organizational change—of the difficulties attending any such enterprise.

1. An ongoing needs-census. Finding means for identifying on a regular basis both the top priority problems of the general parolee population, as well as the special problems of subgroups, would seem an essential first step in developing a parole problem-solving technology with an array of different kinds of strategies. The parolees themselves should be formally involved in the process of need-identification, in order to correct for the inevitable tendency of service workers to define as client needs what are actually the problems of the workers; and to make sure that problems that are normally not brought to the attention of agents, and that require more highly organized strategies than the agent is able to implement by himself, are properly reported.

2. Organization by caseloads. Serious consideration should be given to the implications of the present organization of agent work by caseloads for effective problem solving in parole. The caseload pattern was designed specifically for surveillance as it has been traditionally conceived. As the primary service mechanism it is extremely limited. It relies primarily on a counseling strategy, which is useful for individualizing parolees and for dealing with personal factors, but has minimal capacity to influence the conditions which may exacerbate the personal difficulties beyond the possibility of resolution. A revision of the organizational patterns for service would not necessarily eliminate the value of ongoing relationships between individual parolees and agents, when such are necessary for specific tasks, since it is possible to combine a modified form of caseload assignment for certain purposes with specialized assignments and team operations in different problem-solving strategies. A change in this direction would greatly increase the flexibility with which agency resources are made available in response to need, as well as the ease with which strategies other than individual counseling could be

implemented.

3. The involvement of administration in service. Many of the system problems experienced by parolees can be addressed only through strategies involving persons in positions of higher authority in the agency. Such problems usually concern the policies of agencies and governmental units outside the control of the parole authority, and often affect classes of parolees that cut across agent, district, or regional caseloads. The strategies for tackling such problems imply the use of a variety of community organization, public relations, interagency planning, and legal techniques, all of which necessarily involve upper policy makers in the action. Both parolees and agents can become valuable members of teams responsible for information-gathering and for certain kinds of action in strategies that are led by administrative officials. The use of teams that cut across hierarchical levels, in which each participant performs according to his competence, is a primary, and often the most effective, means to achieve participant management. It also permits the development of much more sophisticated and powerful strategies, since it relates upper administrative personnel more closely and accurately to service needs, and adds their skills to the pool of human resources available for service action.

4. New roles for parolees. Each of the organizational changes suggested above depends in large measure on the explicit recognition of parolees as active partners in the work of parole, capable of contributing to agency problem solving wherever its actions impinge directly on their experiences. The suggestions, therefore, imply the development of various new formal roles for parolees in the agency, not simply as "aides" to individual agents, but as consumers who use the voluntary request for service as a vote on service relevance and effectiveness, as members of advisory boards to administrators at various levels, as co-workers in various community organization endeavors, and

as organizers of their own resources in behalf of general services to parolees. Raising the status of the parolee vis-à-vis the agency would do much both to raise the status of the parolee in the community and to diminish the intensity of the role conflict now experienced by the parolee as he attempts to be both the adequate "man in the community" and the dependent "parolee in the agency."

How far any parole agency will be permitted to go in elevating the parolee's status within the agency and the community remains problematical. The caseload mechanism is valued by many criminal justice officials as a primary tool of surveillance, and therefore as necessary for the protection of the public from parolees. Community members expect the agent to spread stigma by alerting those who deal with parolees of possible danger to themselves. When a parolee is arrested the police expect the agent to act as a supportive law enforcement officer, rather than as an advocate in behalf of the parolee. And many of the system conditions, which from the parolee's point of view are handicaps to reintegration, are seen by the public as properly a continuation of the punishment the parolee earned when he committed his offense. It may be that one agency cannot organize itself for effective action both as a protector of the public against parolees and as a service agency in their behalf. But that formulation of the issue cannot be fully supported until parole agencies with strong service orientations push the development of a service technology capable of tackling system barriers to reintegration as far as the community will permit.

All the findings of the Parole Action Study indicate that it is both foolish and wasteful for the community to open prison doors with one hand and maintain barriers to normal integration with the other. The consequence of such a policy is to establish the parole agency as a "holding" enterprise, responsible for overseeing an enclave of disenfranchised and handicapped persons within the community. It seems clear that, if parole agencies are to fulfill their claims

to rehabilitating parolees through service, they must confront the community with the question "rehabilitation for what?", spelling out explicitly the community's share in the task of restoring parolees to normal contributing membership in the community.

An essential first step is to restore parolees to the status of "men in the agency" and, with their help, to formulate in specific terms the necessary conditions for their operation as "men in the community." Once it is clear what community and agency provisions are essential to support the transition of parolees from inmates in prison to established normals in the community, a service program can be designed that has some chance of becoming both relevant and effective for reintegration.

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD

The data reported in the foregoing chapters were collected in a series of small studies, over a seven-year period from 1964 to 1971. In all, some 350 parolees and approximately 70 agents, located in five different districts throughout the state, were interviewed and observed in these studies.¹ The most important of these studies are listed below in chronological order.

1. A study of 16 newly released parolees, beginning while the parolees were still in prison and continuing through the first four months of the reentry period.²
2. A study of revocation decision making, using all cases under consideration for revocation in one district for a three-month period.
3. A one-year panel study of 116 parolees who were released during a six-week period into two parole districts.³
4. A one-year panel study of 11 families of newly released parolees.
5. A six-week study of the 21 agents in one district office, including at least one day's observational tour with each.

1. These figures are low for both parolees and agents. Many parolees and agents who were not selected to be respondents in formal studies were engaged in informal discussion during field tours; and additional numbers of both were observed in staff meetings and counseling groups. Furthermore, a number of parolees were interviewed in exploratory activities preliminary to the design of formal studies.

2. Reported in Elliot Studt, The Reentry of the Offender into the Community. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. JD Publication, 9002, 1967.

3. Reported in John Irwin, The Felon (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970).

6. A three-month study of another district office, with intensive observation of the six agents in one supervisory unit.
7. A study of all group counseling classes conducted by agents in one district during a three-month period.
8. A study of 59 parolees receiving services from the Parole Outpatient Psychiatric Clinic together with their agents. The cases in this study were located throughout the state.⁴
9. The Agent-Parolee Interaction Study, using a sample of 11 selected agents from two different districts and 150 parolees chosen from their caseloads.
10. A second study of revocation processes, using all cases under consideration for revocation in one district during a four-month period.
11. A second three-month study of the reentry period, using 16 cases of parolees released to one district during a three-week period. Special attention in this study was paid to: parolee-family relationships; economic costs and resources; job finding experiences; and the effect on reentry performance of civil and economic disabilities incurred before commitment.

Each of these studies attended to some aspect of the relationship between agents and parolees. Concurrent studies of parole administration and policy making, and of the interaction between the parole process and community interests, were conducted throughout the same period. Accordingly, the findings about agent-parolee interaction could be understood in the context of the organizational pressures affecting the behavior of each.

4. Reported in Bernard Davitto, Psychiatric Services in Parole: An Organizational Study. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley, 1970.

METHODS OF STUDY

Participant observation together with focused interviewing were the primary methods used in all the studies. In addition, a number of small surveys were conducted in order to supplement and test the findings emerging from observations and interviews. These included the survey conducted with the 11 agents and 125 of the 150 parolees in the Interaction Study; a study of agent reentry activity in a sequence of 167 cases of newly released parolees in one district; and a study of the sources of evidence used as a basis for initiating revocation actions in a sequence of 90 revocation reports in one district. A review of the literature and other relevant documents preceded field work in each study.

Participant observation was used as the primary method whenever its use was feasible, because the study's goal was to describe and conceptualize parole processes as they are actually experienced by the relevant actors.⁵ Much of the parole literature has been written from the perspective of official ideas about what parole action ought to be; in contrast, the Parole Action Study sought to understand the experiences of those actually engaged in parole action in

5. The special usefulness of the participant observation method when the research goal is to explicate and conceptualize social processes is well presented in Severyn Bruyn, The Human Perspective in Sociology: The Methodology of Participant Observation (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966). Additional guides to the use of the method are found in: Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967); Richard N. Adams and J. J. Preiss, eds., Human Organization Research (Homewood: Dorsey Press, 1960); and William J. Filstead, ed., Qualitative Methodology: Firsthand Involvement in the Social World (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1970).

terms of their perceptions of what was going on and the human meanings it had for them. To achieve this kind of understanding it was necessary to immerse the researchers in parole action wherever it occurred and to supplement observations with reports from the relevant actors about the meanings of parole events as they perceived them.

Certain technical difficulties were encountered in the attempt to meet these research requirements in a systematic fashion, because the relevant actions in the parole system are widely dispersed geographically and are frequently unscheduled. It was relatively easy to interview a sample of parolees about their experiences as parolees or a sample of agents about their experiences; and all the first studies were of this sort. It was much more difficult either to observe a critical event throughout an entire series of episodes or to interview all those participating in the event. In consequence, the study accumulated much general information about parolee experiences and agent experiences in the early studies, but gained relatively little information about how their different perceptions compared when they participated in the same events. The Agent-Parolee Interaction Study was designed to "catch" such interaction in process. An examination of the design of this study will illustrate the kind of methodological adaptations used in various ways throughout the Parole Action Study.

THE AGENT-PAROLEE INTERACTION STUDY

The goal of the Agent-Parolee Interaction Study was to observe paired agents and parolees in interaction and to obtain reports from both about their experiences with each other. Eleven agents from two different districts were selected as the base sample, chosen to represent the widest possible range of styles of management; and 12 to 19 parolees were selected from each of their

caseloads, chosen to represent the widest possible range of parolee problems and adjustments to parole. One observer accompanied each of the agents throughout a full work-week during which many of the parolees in the sample from his caseload were observed in interaction with the agent. Concurrently, other interviewers were talking with the parolees in the sample. At the end of the study each agent completed a schedule about his experience with each of the parolee respondents on his caseload; and each of the parolees was asked to complete a complementary schedule about his experiences with his agent.

The Samples

The agents

The agents were selected from two different districts which had already been studied from organizational and administrative perspectives. In order to select the sample, each of the agents in the two districts was rated on three variables, all identified by previous studies as significant for agent work with parolees: 1) the agent's general approach to parolees, from punitive through helpful; 2) the agent's technological preference, e.g., for giving service, for managing procedures, or for surveillance; and 3) the agent's organization of work, from expeditious and efficient through lax or haphazard. Three types of evidence were used in rating the agents: 1) information gained in previous studies of the same agents; 2) statistical information on the frequency with which each agent revoked parolees; and 3) ratings on each agent on all three variables by all administrative personnel with knowledge of his work.

Seven agents were selected from the first district because it was located close to the study's home base and the study had already accumulated considerable information about each agent. Together these seven agents provided examples of most of the styles of agent management that were identifiable

through the use of the three variables. Since a range of generally recognized agent styles had already been observed during the field work in the first district, the four agents in the second district were selected because they were known to use specially developed skills, such as therapeutic counseling or the development of community resources, in their work with parolees. By design, the final agent sample was weighted in the direction of making accessible to observation many examples of what was considered to be the "best" agent performances.

The parolees

Approximately one-third to one-half of the parolees in each caseload were selected as respondents in the parolee sample. The first five sample parolees from each caseload were nominated by the agent at the beginning of the study; they included a recently released parolee, a parolee about ready for discharge, a parolee who was being considered for revocation, a very cooperative parolee, and one who was hostile. These parolees were selected before field tours could be completed with the agents so the interviewers of the parolees could begin their interviewing in the field. All other parolees were selected on the basis of observation during tours with the agents. The intent was to secure the widest possible range of parolee characteristics, problems, and attitudes toward parole within each agent's sample and to observe as many sample parolees in interaction with the agent as was possible. This selection process resulted in securing 12 to 19 parolees from each agent's caseload, 150 in all.

Most of the 150 parolees were interviewed at least once, many were interviewed twice, and a few, three to seven times. Only 3 parolees refused to participate in the study; an additional 10 were never located by the interviewers. Accordingly, the study has some information from the parolee himself in 83 percent of the 150 cases. Because some parolees could not be located for

a second interview, an additional 13 parolees did not complete the survey schedule. As a result only 125 paired schedules are available for the statistical comparisons reported in Chapter VIII.

Although the parolee sample for the Interaction Study was chosen for theoretical purposes, it was the study's good fortune that the 150 parolees proved, on analysis, to be as representative of the total parolee population in the two districts from which they were drawn as any randomly selected sample would have been. Representativeness was established by a comparison of the background characteristics, such as age, race, education, criminality of family of origin, and base expectancies of the study sample with the same characteristics of the total parolee populations in the two districts. In only one background characteristic was the parolee sample skewed, that of nature of the offense; the study's sample contains a slightly higher proportion of robbers than does the total parolee population in the two districts.⁶ Representativeness was unchanged for those 125 parolees in the sample who completed schedules.

Interviewing Method

Participation in the study by all respondents, both agents and parolees, was completely voluntary; and all were assured that the confidentiality of their communications would be respected.

The observer with the agents accompanied each one through an entire work week, in order to reduce to the minimum the possibility that the agent would,

6. This deviation in sample characteristics was to be expected because all but one of the agents in the study sample were assigned to what was known in the agency as the "work unit program." Agents in this program had smaller caseloads and were expected to provide more intensive services to parolees. Since robbers were classified as aggressively dangerous, they were uniformly assigned to work unit agents rather than to agents with higher caseloads.

either deliberately or inadvertently, screen out certain activities from observation. Thus, periods of desk work, staff meetings, the transportation of revoked parolees to the institution, and bull sessions among the agents at lunch or coffee breaks were observed, as well as the agent's out-of-office activities with parolees and other agency personnel. Interviewing was largely focused on the action that was occurring, with particular attention to what the agent expected to happen, how he perceived what actually happened, how he evaluated what happened, and what actions he planned to take in consequence. In addition, the observer had a series of more general questions about the agent's parole experience, which were introduced into the conversation with each agent during long periods of driving. Each agent was asked to discuss in some detail the case of each sample parolee from his caseload, whether or not that parolee was actually observed during the observation tour.

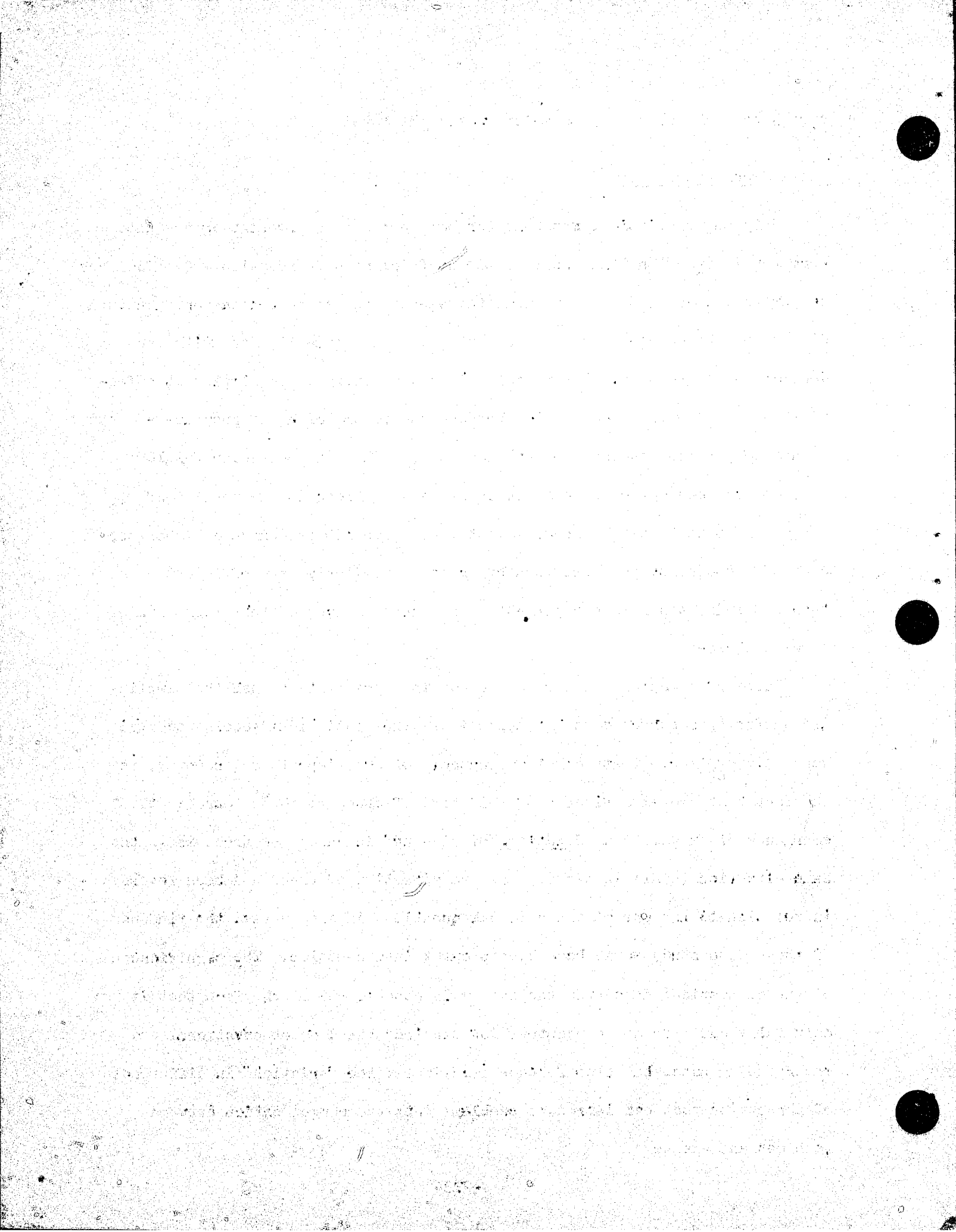
The interviewers with the parolees met their respondents wherever it was most convenient for them, often at home, in a corner coffee house or bar, or in jail (if such a parole interruption occurred). The interviewers were encouraged to participate with the parolees in various activities whenever it was feasible, and often found themselves participating in family discussions with the parolee, transporting parolees to one or another destination, or accompanying them on visits to various service agencies. The interviewer usually allowed the parolee to tell his story in his own way; but each was equipped with a list of important topics to be used as probes or to be introduced at some point in the interview if the parolee did not voluntarily speak of those matters himself. Since the study was interested primarily in what was important about the parole experience to the parolees themselves, most of the information from them was volunteered spontaneously. Those topics that appeared to be significant to most parolees in the initial interviews with the first 100 in the sample were utilized in preparing the questions in the

survey schedule which was administered to the total sample.

Statistical Procedures

Only one statistical manipulation has been used in presenting the data from the Interaction Study survey, the coefficient of perception. Coefficients of perception are nothing more than the agent response percentage on each item divided by the parolee response percentage for the same item and with the decimal points removed. These coefficients, or ratios, are simple but effective ways of showing the relation between the volume of agent response and the volume of parolee response to the same items. Thus, a coefficient of 100 denotes complete agreement between agents and parolees in the percent of responses to that item. A coefficient lower than 100 evidences a higher percent of response by parolees than by agents. Similarly, a coefficient higher than 100 indicates a larger percentage of agent choices of that item than of parolee choices.

Tests of significance were not used, in large part because the sampling design for this survey does not approximate the statistical models underlying currently available tests of significance. Of more importance, however, is the fact that the significance of this kind of study is to be found in the emergence of an anticipated pattern of findings in which the trend is in the same direction in all instances. If the direction of trend had been reversed in relation to any one of the critical questions in the survey, the findings of the entire study would have been brought into question. The significance of the statistical data from the survey is established by the fact that it not only fully supports the conceptual formulations based on observational and interviewing data, but also further illuminates the variations in differences of perception that can introduce problems into the communication between parolees and agents.

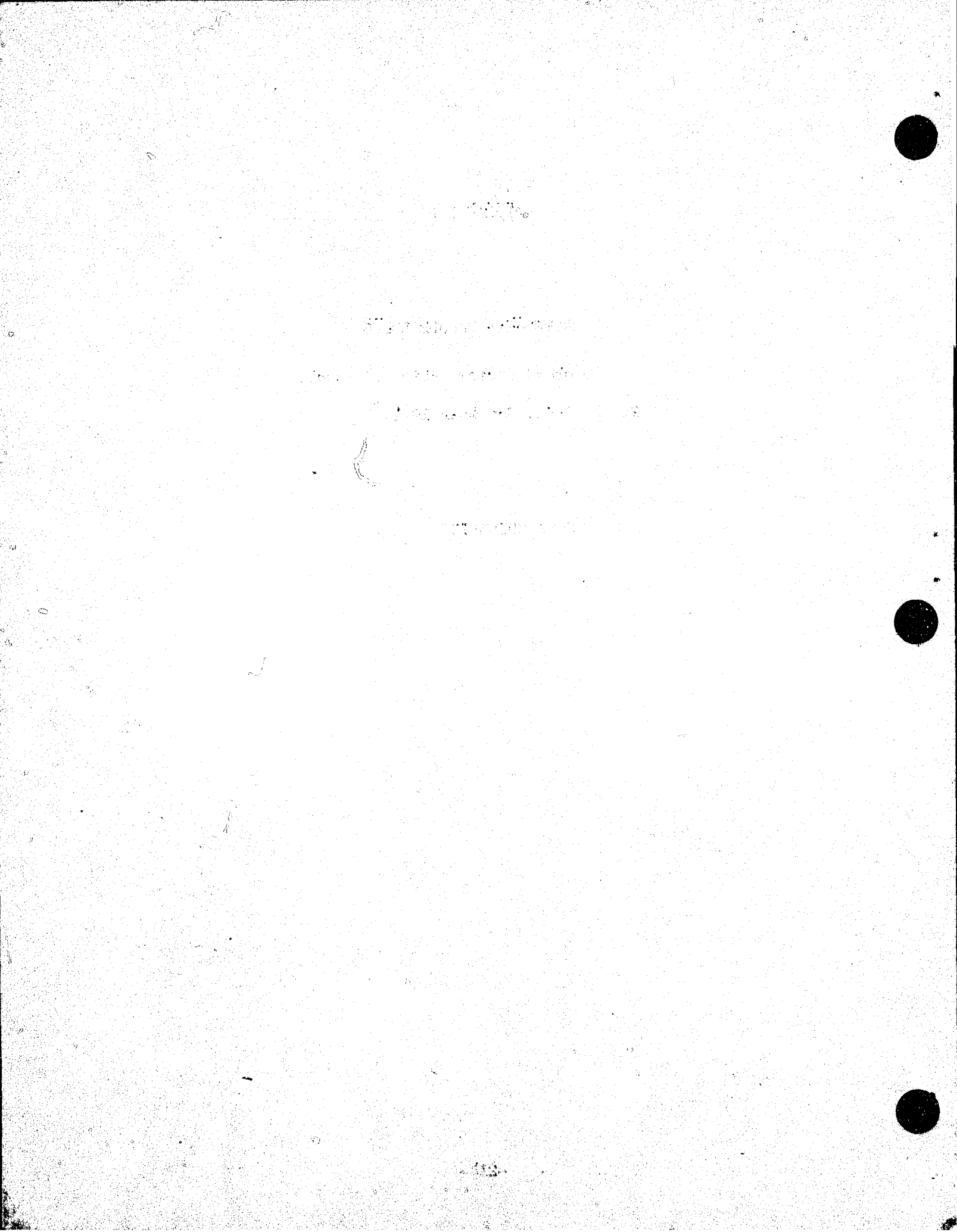


APPENDIX B

CALIFORNIA PAROLE RULES

1. Enforced during period of study.
2. Revised, November 1971.

SOME GUIDELINES . . .



STATE OF CALIFORNIA—ADULT AUTHORITY

To: _____ No. _____

THE ADULT AUTHORITY, STATE OF CALIFORNIA, AT A MEETING HELD AT _____

_____ on _____, 19 _____

having reviewed and considered your case, believes that you can and will successfully complete your term outside of an institution and hereby grants a parole to you effective on _____, 19 _____. This parole is granted to, and is accepted by you, subject to the following conditions and with the agreement that the Adult Authority has the power, at any time, in case of violation of the Conditions of Parole, to cause your detention and/or return to a State Prison. Whenever any problems arise or you do not understand what is expected of you, talk to your Parole Agent. It is his responsibility to help you understand the conditions of your parole. These conditions of your parole can only be changed by the Adult Authority.

AGREEMENT OF PAROLE

I do hereby waive extradition to the State of California from any State or Territory of the United States, or from the District of Columbia, and also agree that I will not contest any effort to return me to the State of California.

Whenever it is determined by the Adult Authority, based upon competent medical or psychiatric advice, that I am incapable of functioning in an acceptable manner, I agree to return to any facility of the Department of Corrections for necessary treatment.

Should I violate any condition of this parole and the Adult Authority suspends, cancels and/or revokes my parole and orders my return to prison, I understand that my term, or terms, shall at that time be refixed at the maximum term pursuant to Section 3020 Penal Code and Adult Authority Resolution No. 171.

I have read, or have had read to me, the following conditions of my parole, and I fully understand them and I agree to abide by and strictly follow them, and I fully understand the penalties involved should I, in any manner, violate these Conditions of Parole.

ATTEST and WITNESS:

Signature of Parolee

Correctional Counselor—Representative of Adult Authority

Date

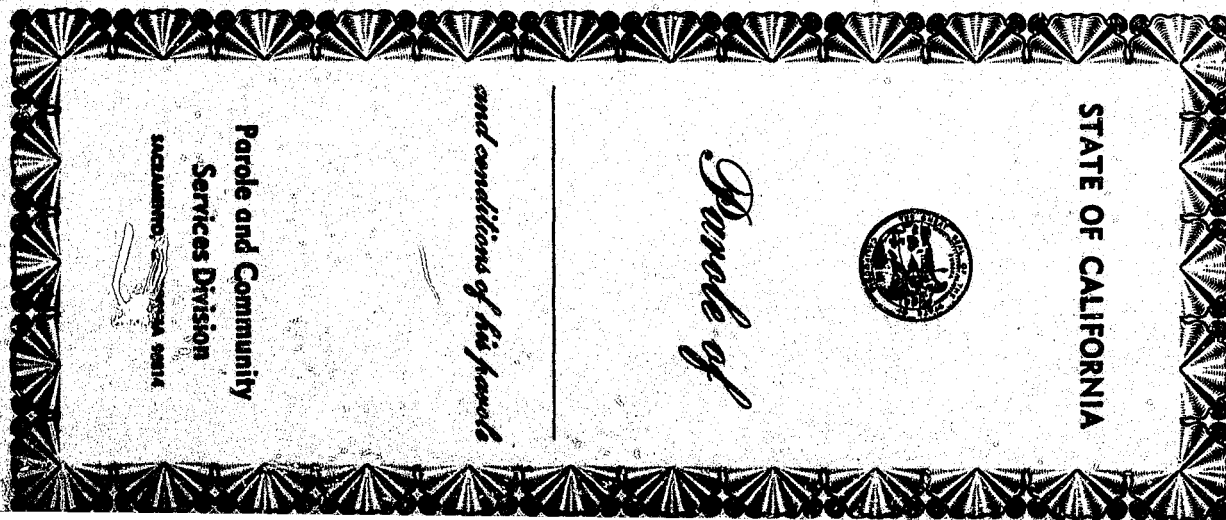
CONDITIONS OF PAROLE

1. **RELEASE:** Upon release from the institution you are to go directly to the program approved by the Parole and Community Services Division and shall report to the Parole Agent or other person designated by the Parole and Community Services Division.
2. **RESIDENCE:** Only with approval of your Parole Agent may you change your residence or leave the county of your residence.
3. **WORK:** It is necessary for you to maintain gainful employment. Any change of employment must be reported to, and approved by, your Parole Agent.
4. **REPORTS:** You are to submit a written monthly report of your activities, including any arrests, on forms supplied by the Parole and Community Services Division unless directed otherwise by your Parole Agent. This report is due at the Parole Office not later than the fifth day of the following month, and shall be true, correct, and complete in all respects.
5. **ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES:** The unwise consumption of alcoholic beverages and liquors is a major factor in parole failures.
 - *A. You shall not consume alcoholic beverages or liquors to excess.
 - B. You shall not consume ANY alcoholic beverages or liquors.
6. **NARCOTICS AND DANGEROUS AND HYPNOTIC DRUGS:** You may not possess, use, or traffic in any narcotic drugs, as defined by Division 10 of the Health and Safety Code, or dangerous or hypnotic drugs, as defined by Section 4211 of the Business and Professions Code, in violation of the law. If you have ever been convicted of possession, sale, or use of narcotic drugs, or have ever used narcotic drugs, or become suspect of possessing, selling, or using narcotic drugs, you hereby agree to participate in anti-narcotic programs in accordance with instructions from your Parole Agent.
7. **WEAPONS:** You shall not own, possess, use, sell, nor have under your control any deadly weapons or firearms.
8. **ASSOCIATES:** You must avoid association with former inmates of penal institutions unless specifically approved by your Parole Agent; and you must avoid association with individuals of bad reputation.
9. **MOTOR VEHICLES:** Before operating any motor vehicle you must secure the WRITTEN permission of your Parole Agent, and you must possess a valid operator's license.
10. **COOPERATION:** You are to cooperate with the Parole and Community Services Division and your Parole Agent at all times.
11. **LAWS:** You are to obey all municipal, county, state, and federal laws, and ordinances.

*Strike out either A or B, leaving whichever clause is applicable.

(Continued on reverse side)

12. **PERSONAL CONDUCT:** You are to conduct yourself as a good citizen at all times, and your behavior and attitude must justify the opportunity granted you by this parole.
13. **CIVIL RIGHTS:** A number of your Civil Rights have been suspended by law. You may not engage in business, sign certain contracts, or exercise certain other Civil Rights unless your Parole Agent recommends, and the Adult Authority grants the restoration of such Civil Rights to you. There are some Civil Rights affecting your everyday life which the Adult Authority has restored to you, BUT you may not exercise these without the approval of your Parole Agent. You should talk to your Parole Agent about your Civil Rights to be sure you do not violate this condition of your parole. The following are some of the Civil Rights which have been restored to you at this time:
- A. You may make such purchases of clothing, food, transportation, household furnishings, tools, and rent such habitation as are necessary to maintain yourself and keep your employment. You shall not make any purchases relative to the above on credit except with the written approval of your Parole Agent.
 - B. You are hereby restored all rights under any law, relating to employees, such as rights under Workmen's Compensation Laws, Unemployment Insurance Laws, Social Security Laws, etc. (Reference is here made to Adult Authority Resolution No. 199.)
14. **CASH ASSISTANCE:** In time of actual need, as determined by your Parole Agent, you may be loaned cash assistance for living expenses or employment; or you may be loaned such assistance in the form of meal and hotel tickets. You hereby agree to repay this assistance; and this agreement and obligation remain even though you should be returned to prison as a parole violator. Your refusal to repay, when able, may be considered an indication of unsatisfactory adjustment.
15. **SPECIAL CONDITIONS:** _____



**STATE OF CALIFORNIA
ADULT AUTHORITY**

To: _____ No. _____

THE ADULT AUTHORITY, having reviewed and considered your case, believes that you can and will successfully complete your term outside of an institution and hereby grants a parole to you effective on _____, 19____. This parole is granted to, and is accepted by you, subject to the following conditions and with the agreement that the Adult Authority has the power, at any time, in case of violation of the Conditions of Parole, to cause your detention and/or return to a State Prison. Whenever any problems arise or you do not understand what is expected of you, talk to your Parole Agent. It is his responsibility to help you understand the conditions of your parole. These conditions of your parole can only be changed by the Adult Authority.

AGREEMENT OF PAROLE

I do hereby waive extradition to the State of California from any State or Territory of the United States, or from the District of Columbia, and also agree that I will not contest any effort to return me to the State of California.

Whenever it is determined by the Adult Authority, based upon competent medical or psychiatric advice, that I am incapable of functioning in an acceptable manner, I agree to return to any facility of the Department of Corrections for necessary treatment.

Should I violate any condition of this parole and the Adult Authority suspends or revokes my parole and orders my return to prison, I understand that my term, or terms shall at that time be refixed at the maximum term pursuant to law and Adult Authority regulations.

I have read, or have had read to me, the following conditions of parole and the attached guidelines by which I have agreed to abide. I fully understand them and the penalties involved should I violate these conditions of parole.

CONDITIONS OF PAROLE

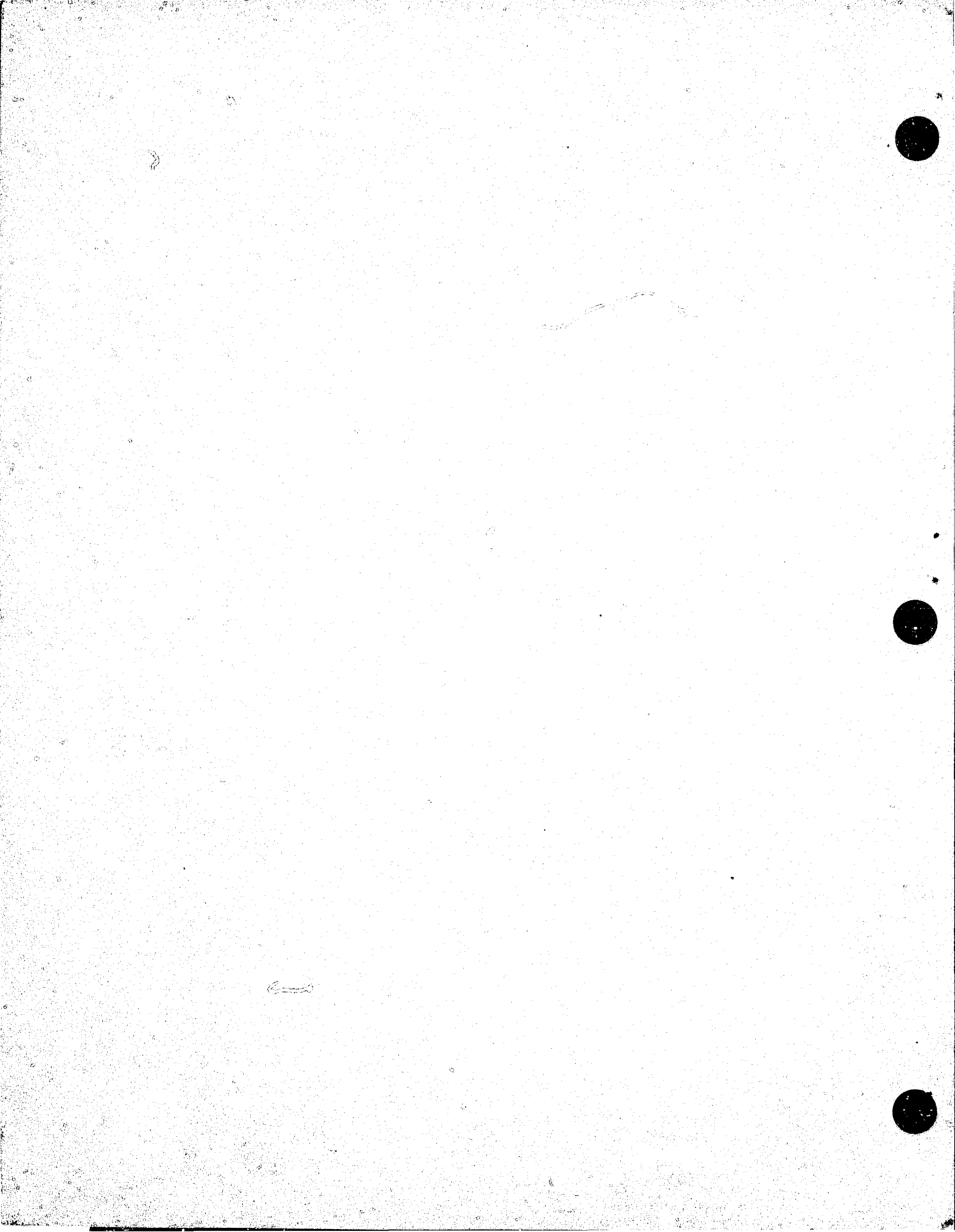
1. **RELEASE, REPORTING AND TRAVEL:** I agree to report to my Parole Agent upon parole and to keep him continuously informed of my residence and employment locations. I will not leave the State of California without first having the written permission of my Parole Agent.
2. **LAWS:** I shall obey all Federal and State laws, and municipal and county ordinances.
3. **WEAPONS:** I will not own, possess, use, sell, or have under my control any firearms or other deadly weapons as defined in Section 3024 of the Penal Code.
4. **PERSONAL CONDUCT:** I will not engage in assaultive activities, violence, or threats of violence of any sort. I shall behave in a manner justifying the opportunity granted by parole.
5. **NARCOTICS OR DRUGS:** I will not illegally possess, use or traffic in any narcotic drugs, as defined by Division 10 of the Health and Safety Code, or dangerous or hypnotic drugs as defined by Section 4211 of the Business and Professions Code. I further agree to participate in anti-narcotic programs in accordance with instructions from my Parole Agent.
6. **PAROLE AGENT INSTRUCTIONS:** I agree to comply with or respond to verbal and written instructions which may be imposed by my Parole Agent from time to time as may be governed by the special requirements of my individual situation.
7. **SPECIAL CONDITIONS:** I agree to abide by the following special conditions of parole as stipulated below:

Signature of Parolee

ATTEST & WITNESS:

Classification & Parole Representative
or His Designated Alternate

Date



(STATE OF CALIFORNIA—ADULT AUTHORITY)

SOME GUIDELINES WHICH MAY AID YOU
IN COMPLETING A PAROLE PERIOD LEADING TO DISCHARGE

The following guidelines are not rules of parole status nor a condition of your release. They are meant to improve your chances for successfully completing the program. The best way to get your discharge is to work at building a good relationship with your supervising Agent and turn to him for help when you need it.

EMPLOYMENT:

It is important for you to maintain employment and to provide for yourself and your family. Experience has shown that most of the men and women on parole who are succeeding are regularly employed or involved in school or training programs preparing for employment.

CIVIL RIGHTS:

A number of your Civil Rights have been suspended by law under Penal Code Section 2600. Specifically, the right to (1) act as a trustee; (2) hold public office or exercise the privilege of an elector; and (3) give a general power of attorney. Upon discharge from your term of sentence, you may give a general power of attorney. Eligibility to exercise the right to vote upon discharge must be determined by the registrar of voters (not all felony convictions will disqualify you from voting).

Some civil rights affecting your everyday life have been restored to you by the Adult Authority, BUT you may not exercise some of these without the approval of your Parole Agent. The following are some of the civil rights which have been restored to you at this time:

- A. You may make such purchases of clothing, food, transportation, household furnishings, tools and rent such habitation as are necessary to maintain yourself and keep your employment. You shall not make any purchases relative to the above on credit except with written approval of your Parole Agent.
- B. You are hereby restored all rights under any law relating to employees, such as rights under Workmen's Compensation Laws, Unemployment Insurance Laws, Social Security Laws, etc. (Reference is made here to Adult Authority Resolution No. 199.)

Lack of good judgment in exercising these rights could result in your Parole Agent reporting the matter to the Adult Authority to impose a special condition to your parole.

DONATION OF BLOOD:

Persons with a history of drug addiction are possibly carriers of hepatitis and this infection cannot be detected by examination. Donation of your blood could dangerously impair the health of the person receiving the transfusion. Because

of this danger do not give or sell your blood for transfusion purposes.

REGISTRATION:

You may be required to register because of a previous narcotic conviction or a registerable offense after your release to parole. If you have any questions, you are encouraged to discuss this matter with your Parole Agent or the District Attorney of the county in which you are a resident.

METHADONE:

Methadone is being used more and more as a means of managing the addiction problem. If you are considering this method for yourself, discuss it with your Parole Agent. He will help you secure competent medical advice. If, after doing this, you and your Agent agree that this program is best suited for you, he will aid you in getting into an approved program.

ASSOCIATES:

Association with criminally oriented persons could possibly lead you back into legal difficulties. Association with those individuals who remain addicts to drugs/alcohol or those who are criminally involved may endanger your future.

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE CONSUMPTION:

When over-indulgence takes place, your relationships with others are disrupted or damaged or your ability to meet your responsibilities is impaired. Many parolee failures can be traced to excessive use of alcohol.

CASH ASSISTANCE:

The Parole and Community Services Division maintains a limited cash assistance fund. You may borrow from this fund in times of emergency through your Agent. This is a loan and is to be repaid as soon as you are able. The money you repay becomes available to others in need.

MEDICATION:

For your protection, report all prescribed medication you are receiving to your Agent.

REINSTATEMENT AND SHORT TERM RETURN:

Violations of Conditions of Parole can result in a variety of actions, including a return to the institution. The Adult Authority may allow you to remain on parole status in the community. They are most likely to do so if:

1. You have sought your Agent's assistance when difficulties arise.
2. You have not been involved in a serious criminal behavior.

If the Adult Authority determines that return to the institution is necessary you may be returned on a Short-Term Return Status if the above factors are present.

POSSIBLE EARLY DISCHARGE:

You are encouraged to discuss further with your agent the possibility of reducing the period of time to be served on parole. Penal Code Section 2943 as well as policies and procedures developed by the Adult Authority call for the periodic review of your case under certain conditions for considering the possibility of an early discharge. So many of these conditions will depend upon your positive response to the free community.

PROCEDURES FOR RESTORATION OF RIGHTS AND APPLICATION FOR PARDON:

You should discuss immediately upon release with your Parole Agent procedures for filing for a Certification of Rehabilitation. Successful completion of the requirements will place you in a position of consideration for a pardon.

The requirements are set forth in Penal Code Section 4852.01 through 4852.2. There is no expense involved.

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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by proper documentation and that the books should be kept up to date at all times.

The second part of the document describes the various methods used to collect and analyze data. It mentions the use of questionnaires, interviews, and focus groups to gather information from a diverse range of respondents. The data is then analyzed using statistical techniques to identify trends and patterns.

The third part of the document outlines the results of the study. It shows that there is a strong correlation between the variables being studied, and that the findings are consistent across different groups and settings. The study also identifies some key areas for further research and suggests ways in which the findings can be applied in practice.

In conclusion, the document highlights the value of a systematic and rigorous approach to research. It stresses the need for transparency and honesty in reporting results, and encourages researchers to share their findings with the wider community.

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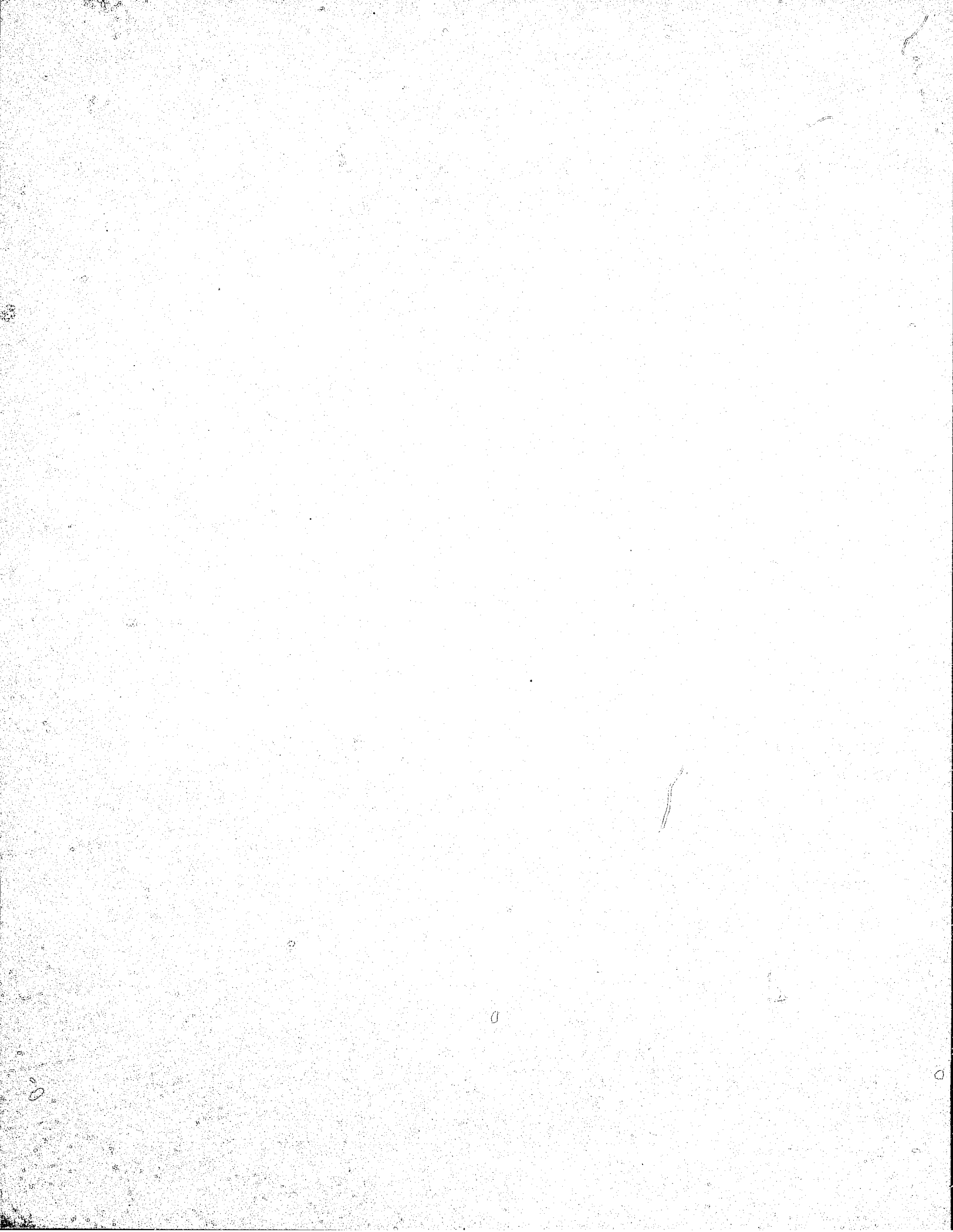
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