



THE REHABILITATION OF PAROLEES

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THE REHABILITATION OF PAROLEES

THE APPLICATION OF COMPREHENSIVE PSYCHO-SOCIAL VOCATIONAL
SERVICES IN THE REHABILITATION OF PAROLEES.

SUPPORTED IN PART BY A RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION
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Prepared by

RICHARD C. ERICSON

Project Coordinator/Principal Investigator

and

DAVID O. MOBERG, Ph.D.

Project Research Analyst

Participating Agencies

Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center - Grantee

1900 Chicago Avenue - Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404

Minnesota Division of Vocational Rehabilitation

Minnesota Department of Corrections

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1427 Washington Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota, 55404
339-7227

SUMMARY

This research and demonstration project has tested the contributions of comprehensive social, psychological and vocational rehabilitation services to the reduction of recidivism rates, the enhancement of vocational stability and occupational levels, and the personal adjustment of parolees from the Minnesota State Reformatory for Men. Covering a period of more than three years (October 1964 through December 1967), it involved the cooperation of private and public agencies and the coordination of correctional and vocational rehabilitation services for ex-convicts.

The project centered around an experimental design in which offenders released to the Minneapolis-St. Paul Metropolitan Area with parole sentences of eighteen months or more were randomly assigned to either a control group that received only normal parole services or an experimental group that also received the comprehensive services of this project during the first year following release. There were 82 persons in each group, all of whom were studied for before-after research comparisons.

Experimentals were given the services of a Social Worker, Vocational Counselor, Vocational Evaluator, and Clinical Psychologist besides referral opportunities to consult with a physician, a psychiatrist, and other professional personnel as needed. Part-time research personnel were also employed. Both the treatment and research aspects of the project were directed by the Project Coordinator/Principal Investigator, who in turn was responsible to the administration of the Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center where most services for experimentals were provided.

Services to experimental subjects were adapted to fit the unique configuration of each individual's needs. It was found that certain "reality problems" emerged repeatedly among them. These included the lack of respectable clothing and housekeeping necessities (towels, sheets, blankets, radio, clock, cooking utensils, etc.), a pervasive desire to celebrate release from prison, the struggle of understanding the Parole Agent and relating to him, family adjustment difficulties, financial debts and other obligations acquired prior to institutionalization, a lack of opportunities for establishing relationships with non-criminal people, internalized hostilities, adjusting to community living after months or years of institutional regimentation, feelings of shame and guilt with reference to family and friends, and a lack of self-worth related to down-grading societal definitions of their status.

Treatment strategy evolved together with a philosophy of services that recognized both the common problems of all parolees and their unique individual configurations. The primary goal of project services was to enhance pro-social opportunities and provide a career plan as an alternative to antisocial behavior. This necessitated comprehensive efforts by persons from several helping professions.

The chief innovations of the project, from the perspective of traditional correctional practices, were its comprehensive inter-disciplinary-team nature, the emphasis on vocational adjustment as a primary means to total life adjustment, the sophistication of the vocational evaluation process, the commitment to seeking education and training for high-risk clients, the provision of immediate comprehensive post-release services to all experimental parolees rather than only to selected clients, the availability of direct financial assistance during the immediate post-release period, and the use of an experimental design to compare outcomes of treated parolees with those of offenders receiving only normal parole supervision.

Treatment efforts related chiefly to the practical demands of living (housing, budgeting, money grants, decision-making, etc.), vocational preparation, placement, and adjustment, personal problems, secondary clients (spouse, parents, siblings, other relatives, friends, roommates), and relationships with community resources. Intake services began prior to release from the Reformatory through a visit by the project Social Worker and continued at the Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center the day after release. After approximately a week of interviews, vocational evaluation, and other services, the treatment team held a diagnostic conference to discuss each experimental subject's assets and liabilities, to plan his program of project services, and to begin long-range planning. Vocational evaluation and counseling, social services (both casework and group work), and clinical psychological testing were then used to clarify details of each client's actual and potential functioning to help him enter educational institutions, training programs, or employment, and to develop and sustain his commitment to successful adjustment as a citizen in the community.

An average of 32.27 therapeutic sessions, besides other less intensive meetings with staff members, were held with each parolee during the treatment year. While treatment officially lasted twelve months, clients had an average of 3.4 staff contacts beyond the one year anniversary of their release on parole. Average direct expenditures per experimental client were \$152.10 for living expenses plus small personal loans for emergencies from the Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center. The State Division of Vocational Rehabilitation expenditures per client were \$76.34 for educational and training programs, \$140 for maintenance, and \$17.45 for transportation. This did not include MRC expenditures for treatment personnel and other associated costs. (See "Project Expenditures" pp. 12-13.)

Three outcome indexes were used in the evaluative research to test the effectiveness of treatment. The first of these is the Ericson-Moberg Recidivism Outcome Index which was constructed along the lines of Mandel's recidivism rating method when other indexes for measuring the repetition of criminal offenses proved inapplicable or impossible to apply. The Index is based upon official disposition of the person and produces a

score on an eleven-point scale from 0 for reimprisonment because of a legal conviction for a new felony to 10 for no illegal activities whatsoever during the time period covered, with intermediate scores representing various degrees of serious to minor dispositions for convictions and alleged offenses. The results are amenable either to statistical manipulation or to categorizing the subjects into such classes of parole outcome as complete failure, marginal failure, marginal success, qualified success, and complete success. The first two categories (scale scores 0-7) constitute recidivism or "failure", and the latter three (scores 8-10 representing at worst conviction to minor sentences in jails or workhouses or fines of \$100 or less for misdemeanors) constitute non-recidivism or "success" in this discussion. The subjects were classified on the basis of their most serious offense (as indicated by administrative and legal disposition of the case) during the period of investigation. Comparative analysis of selected offenders by use of a modified California Index of Severity of Offenses and the Sellin-Wolfgang Index of Delinquency helped validate the Ericson-Moberg Index.

During the twelve months immediately following release, 54.9% of the 82 control subjects and 63.4% of the 82 experimentals were successes on the Recidivism Outcome Index. Among the 82 experimentals were 18 subjects who received little project treatment because they had been excused to accept jobs awaiting them upon release from the Reformatory or were involved in other extenuating circumstances; only 55.6% of these were successful, compared to 65.6% of the 64 experimentals with moderate to intensive treatment.

Official data on recidivism also were collected for all but one subject, whose criminal record had been expunged, as of the end of July 1967. At that time the earliest releasees had completed 31 months of parole and the latest about 13. Using the most serious offense - disposition for the entire period to calculate the Ericson-Moberg Recidivism Outcome Index made it impossible for any person's subsequent score to be higher than the twelve-month rating, but it could not be reduced; that is, he could move toward but not away from the more serious categories of the Index. Only 6 of the 45 controls who were non-recidivists during the first twelve months shifted into the recidivist category for the longer period, but 14 of the 52 experimentals did. This removed the superior performance of the experimentals and suggests the possibility that discontinuing treatment at the end of a year had a detrimental effect upon many parolees who might have continued to succeed had project services been extended to them longer.

The second basic indicator of outcome used dealt with employment. Direct measures of employment success were not obtained from employers because of a promise not to do so which had been made to the subjects early in the data collection process, because of a desire to protect them from the risk of possible reprisals which could result from being singled out, and because of economic costs involved in subtle means of collecting such information. The basic data used for the evaluation of employment success therefore came from the terminal interview schedule administered at or after completion of the first year of parole. Such data were available for 137 of the 164 subjects (75 experimentals and 62 controls).

Job titles, duties, wages, hours worked per week, how jobs were obtained, why they were lost or changed, and other information were collected. Questions about what was liked and disliked, job-seeking methods, and other details also were asked about the first and current job. These data were summarized on a worksheet for each subject together with another sheet on prior work experience, occupational training, labor union status, education, intelligence and achievement test scores, and similar data. Each man's achievement during the year in relationship to his personal potentialities was rated by each of three expert judges on an eleven-point Employment Outcome Index that ranged from 0 for complete failure to 10 for complete success.

The Employment Outcome index scores were summarized into three categories: failure (0-3), marginal adjustment (4-6), and success (7-10). Experimental subjects had only slightly better outcomes than controls, and the differences were not statistically significant, although those experimentals who had moderate or intensive treatment had the best success record. Incarceration experiences of recidivists were not included in the worksheet data used by the judges, but they undoubtedly had an indirect impact upon the ratings. Because of the possibility that the academic men who were the judges might have an "idealistic" orientation toward employees handicapped by social stigma and other limitations, five vocational counselors were asked to rate employment outcomes by the same procedure. Their ratings averaged about one point higher, but differences in employment outcomes between experimentals and controls remained insignificant.

Another measure of employment outcome was pay rates. The experimentals generally began at lower wage levels than the controls, but they tended to catch up and even to excel slightly by the end of the first year following release. Their lower initial wages were partly due to the fact that one-fourth of them entered educational or training programs and began working on only a part-time basis.

The third basic outcome measure was personality and social adjustment as indicated by psychological test. From entry to the project to the terminal research after twelve months of release, no significant changes were observed on the Porteus Maze, a test to measure brain damage, nor on before-after results on twenty Semantic Differential concepts, each of which had ten scales.

One of the most thoroughly studied topics in the entire project was personality adjustment in relationship to treatment and outcomes as indicated by the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). Clinically significant elevations were interpreted by an analysis of variance design. Findings supported the null hypothesis that there was no difference in personality change subsequent to treatment between experimental and control parolees in the project. (Personality change was measured by the difference between pre- and post-treatment MMPI scales and between overall MMPI change scores.) The only significant difference was an increased elevation among experimentals on the Masculinity-Femininity Scale, a pattern common among males who are college graduates.

Clinical ratings of MMPI profiles before and after the year of parole were also used. Judges rated each subject's progress during the year by

indicating whether the most recent profile represented much better, slightly better, the same, slightly worse, or much worse adjustment than the pre-parole profile; their ratings were translated into a combined personality adjustment score. No significant differences were found between the experimentals and controls, perhaps because of limited applicability of the MMPI for such before-after use or because of problems in the rating procedure. For example, a person who is severely maladjusted can be "much better" and still remain maladjusted, or one who is "the same" at the end of a year may be either mentally ill or mentally healthy.

Several attitudinal questions were included in the terminal interview. Greater differences were observed between recidivists and non-recidivists from both the control and experimental groups than between the two groups of parolees, but most of the differences were not statistically significant.

Married men were much more likely to succeed on parole, from the perspective of non-recidivism, than those who were single, but the differences were less pronounced among experimentals than among the controls. Having the same "best friend" during parole as one had before imprisonment was related to recidivism, especially among the controls. The project evidently helped many experimentals overcome the detrimental influence of being unmarried and of retaining old friends and enabled many of them to make new friends.

Certain pre-release characteristics and experiences were related to outcome on parole. Higher rates of success were found among those who had held full-time jobs before incarceration, and especially so if the job had been held a year or more. The worse the disciplinary record in the Reformatroy, the more likely was failure on parole. ✓

Religious background data made available by the Reformatory chaplains for 132 subjects revealed that Catholics who claimed to attend church frequently were more likely to succeed on their subsequent parole than those who said they attended less than monthly, but Protestants who professed to attend frequently were more likely to recidivate. Those who claimed church membership had higher recidivism rates than non-church members. Other puzzling findings may be a result of complex dynamics of interrelated experiences or of socio-psychological reactions and self-interpretations related to inconsistencies between behavior and idealized understandings of how church participants ought to act.

One of the greatest single achievements of the project was its success in helping experimentals enter and sustain programs of education and vocational training. Only two controls entered such programs. Both of them dropped out after only a month of study, and both became recidivists. In contrast, 22 experimentals (27% of the 82) began such programs. By the time of the follow-up research, 14 had completed their courses or were still enrolled. Six of them were enrolled in colleges or universities. The eight who dropped out had completed an average of one and one-half months of training. Those who entered training had been imprisoned for somewhat more serious offenses and incarcerated longer than the average of all 164 subjects of the study.

Project parolees compared with other parolees from the same institution possess more characteristics normally associated with high recidivism rates. They are not a random cross-section of all offenders, mainly because of their urban destination, lengthier time remaining on parole, and larger proportion of non-whites.

The high employment rate in the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area during the course of the project militated against the most effective testing of comprehensive vocationally-related services for parolees. It was easy for almost anyone to get work. During periods of high unemployment, parolees might be more inclined to take advantage of such services and to reap their special benefits.

A questionnaire evaluating the project was returned by 33 Parole Agents who had supervised one or more experimental or control subjects and by 32 other professional and administrative persons who were believed to have significant knowledge pertinent to the project. Reactions to the project were generally favorable, and many suggestions were given for the extension, continuation, and modification of its services.

The project already has stimulated inter-agency cooperation by the state agencies involved in it. It has helped to draw attention to the needs of parolees for multi-disciplinary vocational rehabilitation services. It has indicated the need for long-term sustained services to parolees on more than an eight hour day and forty hour week basis. It has demonstrated that many felons have the capacity to engage successfully in college study and vocational training if they are given financial support and social services to sustain them in moments of weakness. The necessary services, when offered on a regular basis may cost far less to society than the expenses of criminal recidivism and institutional incarceration. All project staff members therefore hope that the suggestions and recommendations emerging from this study will result in wide-scale application in correctional and rehabilitation programs in Minnesota and elsewhere.

Conclusion

In terms of the very crucial measure of recidivism at the one year anniversary, the experimentals in this project had a better record than controls, both in terms of recidivism per se (63.4% success for experimentals vs 54.9% for controls), and in terms of the seriousness of offenses when they did occur. Although this difference of 8.5 percentage points has a significance probability of .26, as indicated by a test of proportion difference, it is noteworthy when one realizes that controlled experiments with offenders rarely, if ever, reveal any success at all. The experiences and results of this research therefore provide the basis for a great deal of hope. With appropriate modifications along the lines suggested in this report, comprehensive psycho-social-vocational rehabilitation services both within and outside of correctional institutions should result in improved adjustment for their recipients.

RECOMMENDATIONS*

The high cost of the criminal justice system (law enforcement, courts and corrections), together with its relative inability to deal effectively with many offenders, makes it imperative that programs to rehabilitate offenders build on the experiences of programs like the one reported here. The recommendations below are not listed in any particular order of priority nor is any relative weight attached to those beyond the first. (The numbers are for convenience of discussion only.) All can be supported by clinical observations or statistical analyses of research data.** Although some of these recommendations are held more firmly than others, the authors of this report believe that even the most tenuous are worthy of further experimentation and evaluation.

1. The most important implication of this project is that certain parolees do benefit from comprehensive psycho-social-vocational services following their release from incarceration. The problem associated with this implication is how to develop a formula and operating procedures to identify those men who can be expected to profit from such services in the future. Project experience and research throw some light on this question of amenability, but for a variety of reasons, it is not possible unequivocally to specify an exact formula to be applied in future selection. Additional analyses should be undertaken, giving special emphasis upon those which can be tested in future programs. (AB)

2. The following background factors were positively related to success on parole. They are not listed in any order of actual or assumed importance; the differences among them were so slight as to make any ranking unreliable. They were discussed in detail in Chapter Three. (A)

*This section appeared as chapter four in the full 134 page report.

**The following numbered recommendations are based primarily upon statistical analyses of research data: 2, 17, 20, 24. These are coded "(A)" after the item.

The following are based primarily upon clinical observations during the course of this research project: 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 18, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27. These are coded "(B)" after the item.

The following are based upon both statistical analyses of research data and clinical observations by project research staff: 1, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 23, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33. These are coded "(AB)"

- (a) Job History. Men who held a full-time job before incarceration were more successful than those who had never held one.
- (b) Education. A high level of education prior to release was especially predictive of sustained interest in training programs and also of general parole adjustment. The more education, the more likely was success.
- (c) Institutional Adjustment. High work habits ratings at MSRM were positively related to parole adjustment, and men with better disciplinary records were also more likely to succeed. Both were characteristic of the experimentals who entered training and did not drop out of it. Likewise, the non-dropouts among experimentals in training were in the lowest good-time-lost category. (It is interesting, however, that the good-time-lost was higher for the men who succeeded in parole among those who received significant MRC treatment than among those who failed. This lends weight to the conclusion discussed below that the extent of treatment makes a greater difference between success and failure than background "predictive" characteristics.)
- (d) Relationships With Wives While Incarcerated. Married men whose wives visited and corresponded with their husbands in prison fared better on parole than those whose wives did not visit and correspond.

3. As a result of this project and numerous other experiences in Minnesota and elsewhere, criminal offenders have become firmly established as legitimate clients of vocational rehabilitation services. Even greater efforts should be made to expand vocationally oriented services to correctional clients. (B)

4. Although very complex problems often are associated with inter-agency cooperation, this project adds to the list of successful ventures. Because the agencies involved established working agreements prior to their work with clients, there were few problems. (See Appendix B.) Similar working agreements should clearly be understood by all parties in inter-agency programs in order to avoid unnecessary conflicts and delays of services. (B)

5. Private rehabilitation facilities can play a significant role in the rehabilitation of offenders, especially during the re-entry phase of corrections. This experiment suggests that services of private rehabilitation facilities could be extended beneficially to selected parolees on work and training releases as well as on parole. (B)

6. State rehabilitation agencies have, if the experience in this project is reliable, the potential capacity to provide services to offenders both within and outside correctional institutions. Such agencies should upgrade their efforts in this regard. (B)

7. Correctional institutions generally do not provide adequate vocational counseling nor sufficient numbers of alternative training opportunities, and all too often the training which does exist is inadequate.

Departments of corrections should seek out the resources of state rehabilitation agencies or provide within their own budgets the wherewithal for comprehensive vocational counseling and training. Unless correctional agencies upgrade such services, they will continue to turn out ex-inmates, the majority of whom are unable to compete in the increasingly sophisticated employment market. Their programs and equipment should compare favorably with those of the best vocational schools outside the correctional system. They should upgrade career planning activities in advance of release, expand work and training release programs, use sophisticated work evaluation procedures, and experiment with additional means of preparing inmates for competitive employment. (B)

8. The offender population is exceedingly difficult and the prognosis for success is minimal compared to many traditional rehabilitation clients. This fact alone makes it absolutely necessary for the rehabilitation community to pursue new techniques aggressively, hopefully leading thus to increasing success. Agencies attempting to utilize vocational rehabilitation techniques for offenders must be cognizant of the realities involved in such efforts. (B)

9. It is necessary that the treatment staff have control over the content of rehabilitation services as well as over their timing and length. Such an approach insures a greater possibility of imaginative programming based on the needs, vulnerability, and resistance to services of each client. (B)

10. Project experience does not conclusively support the validity of team services for offenders simply because the effect of such services per se could not be measured. It is the impression of staff members who worked as a part of the team in this project that team treatment has many virtues, especially if there is no insistence upon closely adhering to narrow professional boundaries. Such insistence degrades clients by carving them into parts to be served, so to speak, instead of dealing with them with the respect that should be given to whole persons. (B)

11. When receiving services like those of this project, the parolee is exposed to numerous persons assigned to help him. This makes it necessary for him to relate to many people, each of whom has his unique pattern of likes and dislikes, techniques of working with clients, methods of assessing the client and of extending help. It therefore appears advisable in team services to assign each parolee to one specific staff member with whom he can establish rapport and to have other staff recognize and support that relationship. (B)

12. Problems of staff turnover must be faced realistically. Parole agents, counselors, and others who work with parolees change positions frequently. This makes it necessary both to orient the client to new personnel and to orient new personnel to their clients. (AB)

13. The attitudes of rehabilitation personnel toward the client may be a major factor in the success or failure of the client. If a staff member feels frustrated and thinks even his best efforts will be in vain, his pessimistic attitudes may spill over to the client and become, in effect, part of a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure. Training programs for vocational counselors and others (whether academic or in-service) should be modified to include units which relate specifically to the unique characteristics of offenders and their subculture. Without such orientation, vocational counselors, social workers, psychologists, and vocational evaluators who have had little exposure to offenders are likely to be overwhelmed by their characteristic resistance and frequent failing. (B)

14. Most parolees in this project were deprived of normal jobs and social experiences during their incarceration. Corrections should consider modifying institutional experience in the direction of making it more closely approximate life in free society. This includes adding competition for assignments, reasonable adequate salaries, personal responsibility for room and board, and similar features like the world to which nearly all offenders ultimately will return. (AB)

15. Previous positive vocational experiences were related to success. This suggests that the community should provide a high quality of vocational services to those who first come into contact with the criminal justice system at an early age. Such services should be a major part of probation and institutional programs for juvenile delinquents. Controlled experimentation is possible because very few programs for juveniles have such services on a sophisticated level at the present time. (AB)

16. The requirement that an inmate have a specific job lined up prior to release should be dropped in favor of more adequate vocational counseling and guidance immediately before and upon release. Social services and vocational counseling resources also should be made available to parolees for as many years as necessary following their release from correctional institutions. (AB)

17. Vocational evaluation ratings utilizing actual work samples in the MRC shop were predictive of both recidivism and employment outcomes. It would seem, on the basis of this finding, that vocational evaluation techniques should be employed on a large scale throughout the correctional system. With experience, such techniques could be made even more effective than was the case in this first venture. (A)

18. It is well known that parolees find it extremely difficult to integrate successfully the myriad of new roles and responsibilities with which they are confronted upon first leaving the institution. Understanding this and setting realistic, attainable goals is crucial during the egress period. Withholding such services as training because the parolee is not doing well in some other area of his total functioning may be the crowning blow in cases that otherwise might have been successful.

19. Social relationships, especially marriage, were an important factor related to the success and failure of project subjects. Correctional institution programs should give considerably more attention to maintaining and improving familial relationships. Programs following release, regardless of their particular focus, should provide ample services for improving the social

relationships of parolees. Since the experimentals in this project were relatively more successful on recidivism rates than on employment outcomes, something more than simply finding the right job for the right man must have occurred. This "something more" would seem to be the treatment effort which related itself to the man's total social and psychological functioning, not only to employment. (AB)

20. The season of release may be related to success or failure on parole. It would be well for releasing authorities to consider paroling most offenders during those months when work is most plentiful even though this presents obvious difficulties. (In Minnesota this would not include the winter months.) In other words, such variables as season and labor market trends may be much more important to success than arbitrary sentencing and parole review dates determined simply by lapse of time since imprisonment. (A)

21. Few parolees are prepared to meet even their most basic material needs in the days and weeks immediately following their release. Their lack of clothing, spending money, basic household provisions, an automobile and so forth may almost totally counteract their treatment in the institution or during the period immediately following their release. Work release programs and furloughs of one kind or another should be increasingly utilized to provide a more gradual transition to freedom and to prepare the releasee more adequately for the rigors of life "on the street". (B)

22. Compulsory assignment to treatment, while no doubt detrimental and unnecessary to some men in this project, seems necessary and appropriate for the majority of offenders because most of them do not request available services. (B)

23. Some parolees who appeared unamenable to services succeeded. Since offenders' initial responses to rehabilitation are not dependable indicators of success or failure, and since we do not at this writing have a reliable prediction formula, vocational rehabilitation agencies must be willing to commit resources to persons who may fail. A parolee's past pattern of behavior should not be the deciding factor in determining whether or not to extend services to him. (All of the clients of this project had past histories which predicted non-amenability to rehabilitation services.) The persons predicted to be the most likely to recidivate stand in greatest need of comprehensive psycho-social-vocational services. (AB)

24. The amount of treatment was related to outcome: the more the treatment, the less the recidivism. Agencies planning to provide services to offenders should be willing to commit substantial amounts of money to such programs. Minimal expenditures are likely to result in only minimal results. (A)

25. Numerous explicit and implicit conclusions about treatment of the offender are evident in the foregoing report. The "treatment point of view" summarized on pages 33 to 38 appears to have been validated by the experiences of the project and deserves further testing in other programs to rehabilitate parolees. (B)

26. Many offenders verbalize a willingness to use available help. Even though their desire competes with anti-social feelings, treatment personnel should act as if each offender means what he says when he speaks positively. The very slightest evidence that the offender may succeed, even if it consists only of verbalizations, should be taken as a basis for serious efforts in the hope of rehabilitating him. (B)

27. Long-term goals for parolees are poorly understood and seldom made explicit. It is necessary to clarify goals and to provide a series of short-term easily defined goals for each client during the rehabilitation process in order to provide both a general direction and immediate gratifications for the parolee who is striving toward pro-social ends. (B)

28. Environmental supports are very important and should be a concern of all treatment personnel serving parolees regardless of the particular nature or focus of their services. Social services are therefore imperative in any attempt to provide vocational rehabilitation for offenders. The idea that occupational adjustment is crucial to the adjustment of the parolee is not diminished by this conclusion. If it is assumed that "the whole man" is the focus of treatment, other aspects of each parolee's functioning must be accepted as equally important to his vocational success. (AB)

29. Vocational assistance may not seem important during the early phases of such help. Average wages may be no more than might be expected without such help. (In fact, they at first averaged lower for the experimentals in this project, mainly because many of them were in training programs and holding only part-time jobs.) Services of the kind provided in this project are expected to have long-term effects if follow-up is adequate. No one initiating similar services should expect immediate and dramatic results. (AB)

30. Project findings and staff impressions strongly suggest that treatment should not have been discontinued at the end of twelve months. Future programs of this type should provide services over a long period of time, and it should be possible for these services to be initiated or reinstated easily and without hesitation or embarrassment at any point in time. (AB)

31. This project could have put more men into training programs had the staff fully realized the potential of such efforts. Future experiments should risk expending money for training even for offenders who look relatively unamenable to training programs. (AB)

32. Some undetected illegal behavior will occur even on the part of parolees who look "successful" over a period of time. Illicit behavior is not necessarily an indication of the client's unwillingness to pursue pro-social ends; it is simply a result of his anti-social nature "winning a round" or sometimes of his being apprehended for offenses common among "law-abiding citizens". Such experience should be viewed as a relapse but not as an indication that rehabilitation is hopeless. People who plan to work in this way with offenders should not expect perfection in relation to illegal behavior. (AB)

33. Insufficient time was available in this project to analyze all of the important data and experiences adequately. This project measured its basic results after only one year of treatment and included only a relatively minimum evaluation of recidivism after the end of the basic first-year research. The below listed questions are suggested by project data and experience as having potential for future research. They are not listed in any order of priority. (AB)

- (a) What are the long-range effects of the services in the project reported here?
- (b) What is the impact of staff turnover on treatment effectiveness?
- (c) How does season of release affect parole adjustment?
- (d) What more can be learned about the role of significant others in the rehabilitation process?
- (e) Would the application of comprehensive psycho-social-vocational rehabilitation services to older juvenile delinquents prevent criminal careers?
- (f) What is the nature of innovations which would make the egress process from correctional institutions less sudden?
- (g) Would modifications of institutional programs in the direction of making them more closely approximate life in free society be more effective than present approaches?
- (h) What would be the effect of viewing the return to custody as a function of treatment rather than a failure of treatment?
- (i) What would be the effect of sophisticated vocational evaluation and assignment of inmates in correctional institutions?
- (j) What part does "pride" have as a function in the offender's inability to accept assistance? How can the negative aspects of "help" be de-emphasized?
- (k) What are the relative negative and positive effects of special conditions requiring cooperation with treatment?
- (l) What is the "social profit" of programs which build on the conclusions of the experiment reported here?
- (m) Is there a differential opportunity to commit crime inherent in various employment situations?
- (n) What are the factors involved in the tendency of parolees not to sustain their early commitment to pro-social behavior?

- (o) In what specific ways does employment adjustment for parolees affect overall adjustment?
- (p) What is the exact nature of the sociological problems which affect the offenders' ability to benefit from rehabilitation services?
- (q) Are particular assignments in correctional institutions predictive of parole adjustment?
- (r) In what ways and for whom do rehabilitation services as we now know them increase vulnerability to recidivate?
- (s) How would long-term rehabilitation programs (more than twelve months) affect the adjustment of parolees?
- (t) In what ways can the bureaucratic impediments to more flexible services be modified?
- (u) Can direct money loans to parolees be effectively utilized on a larger scale than is currently practical?
- (v) In what ways do project data contribute to the development of a typology of offenders?