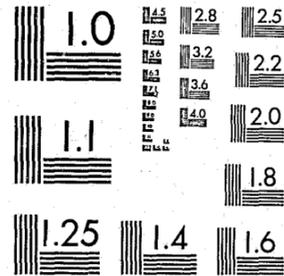


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MSSAAC - FUNDED SPECIAL PROGRAMS IN THE
SUFFOLK COUNTY DETENTION AND CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM

September, 1974

Aliquid Associates, Inc.

Prepared under contract to the Mayor's Safe Streets Act Advisory
Committee, City of Boston

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The special thanks go to all those who responded to our plea and spent late nights trying to decipher Probation files. They know who they are.

The list to whom thanks are due: (with apologies to those omitted through oversight)

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SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I. GENERAL

Relations between the subject programs and the Mayor's Safe Streets Act Advisory Committee suffer because of delays in contract execution and funding. These delays cause animosity and inefficiency and should be eliminated. Pp. 10-11, 83, 201, 229.

II. THE RECIDIVISM STUDY AND DATA ANALYSIS

1. There is no reason to believe that any of the four Deer Island-linked programs have had any impact on recidivism. This conclusion holds whether charge, disposition, time before charge, or severity of charge is used to measure recidivism. Pp. 25-37.
2. Few trends of change appear between 1971-2 and 1972-3 Deer Island discharges. The more recent group is much smaller and slightly more likely to be paroled. Pp. 37-39, 39.
3. There is no reason to believe that the work release program at Deer Island has had any effect on recidivism. P. 39.

III. CASE MANAGEMENT

1. There is no reason to believe that Case Management, as operating in 1972-3, had any effect on recidivism. Pp. 25-37, 47.
2. The parole support services of Case Management are valuable. To increase credibility and to fill a coverage gap, (a) the parole liaison should become more knowledgeable of Parole Board activities, and (b) release program inmates should be made accessible to the parole liaison. Pp. 53-59.
3. The classification team process as it now exists lacks credibility and power. It should (a) involve custody staff, (b) make realistic recommendations, and (c) follow up its recommendations to confirm compliance. Pp. 59-63.
4. The counseling and advocacy roles of Case Management are in conflict. Both are necessary, but the conflict results in (a) poorer counseling (p. 66); (b) friction with custody staff (Pp. 76-79); (c) poor relations with the Release Review Board (Pp. 72-74, 76); (d) a lack of credibility with Parole (Pp. 55-57); and (e) low staff morale (Pp. 82-83). Therefore, the counseling and advocacy roles should be clearly divided (Pp. 66-67) and institutional procedures should be modified to reduce the need for advocacy (Pp. 63-64).

5. Counseling is also hampered by inconsistencies in policies, poor facilities, and inadequate training and supervision. These conditions should be remedied. Pp. 64-66.
6. The initial Case Management interview focuses on information-gathering, not orientation. To improve rapport and assist new inmates, an organized orientation element should be added. Pp. 67-69.
7. Programs and agencies relying on Case Management for information or assistance complain of poor performance. Project management should meet with these agencies to resolve their complaints. Pp. 69, 79, 141, 162-163.
8. Institutional rules (e.g., for furlough and release programs) are either not clearly stated or not always followed, thus creating inconsistency and tension. Clear, written rules should be promulgated to all staff and inmates. Pp. 81-82.

IV. THE ACADEMY

1. There is no reason to believe that the Academy has had any impact on recidivism. Pp. 25-37, 106.
2. Preparation of students for GED examinations is hampered by (a) low skill levels; (b) short sentences; (c) apathy; and (d) institutional procedures which discourage attendance. The first two factors are not susceptible to short-term change. Pp. 102-105.
3. Inmate apathy and absenteeism might be reduced by (a) increasing the percentage of new inmates interviewed by Academy staff (p. 108-109); (b) initiating a "contract" system to create an obligation of performance by the inmates (p. 111); and (c) designating Academy attendance as a detail (p.111).
4. The Academy-assigned correction officer is important in creating the environment of the program and encouraging attendance. Therefore, the occupant of that position should be permanently assigned and selected with the participation of the Academy director. Pp. 107-108.
5. The Academy's small staff has difficulty in developing new curricula for the classes. It should enlist the aid of specialists to assist in this task. Pp. 111-112.
6. The file system of the Academy does not preserve student records in a readily accessible manner, and should be revised. Pp. 112-113.

V. THE COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS PROGRAM

1. There is no reason to believe that CCP has had any effect on recidivism. Pp. 25-37, 126.

2. A survey of six months' reported job education and training placements showed that none were still in the placed positions by the ninth month. One-third of the placed clients never reported to their jobs or schools. Pp. 132-137.
3. There is apparently little staff contact with clients and employers before and after placement. If placement is to succeed, this involvement must increase. Pp. 137.
4. CCP advocates' roles as advocates and as counselors conflict. To do meaningful counseling, CCP's hiring, training, scheduling, and supervisory practices must be modified to emphasize counseling and permit follow-up counseling. Pp. 138-140.
5. All the present duties of the head advocate are either minimal or better performed by another staff member. Therefore, this position should be abolished. Pp. 141-143.
6. CCP's recordkeeping system is hampered by poor reporting by the staff. Administrators must promulgate and enforce higher standards for recordkeeping. Pp.143-145.
7. To provide successful support services for its clients, CCP must also (a) reduce staff turnover; (b) improve staff training; (c) increase supervision; (d) investigate more fully the resource agencies used; and (e) restructure client caseloads. Pp.146-151.

VI. BOSP

1. There is no reason to believe that BOSP has had any effect on recidivism. Pp. 25-37, 170-172.
2. Two months after a six-month period, 39% of "completes" placed during the half-year were still employed, 33% had quit, and 28% were fired or never showed up. No detailed information is available on "incompletes" (program dropouts), although their parole/wrap-up proportions and their conduct show that they are less tractable clients than "completes." For evaluation only, BOSP should follow up job and training placements of all former clients. Pp. 180-182.
3. BOSP's direct financial aid program is not justifiable as a crime reduction measure, although it may be viewed as justified by an analogy to welfare payments. Pp. 173-175.
4. BOSP's quantifiable benefits cannot exceed cost at the present caseload unless (a) as high a proportion of "incompletes" obtain jobs (and avoid welfare) as "completes," and (b) direct financial assistance is a "self-justifying" expenditure. Pp.182-192.
5. BOSP has substantial excess client capacity, use of which might favorably influence its cost-benefit ratio. Therefore, efforts should be made to expand the BOSP service population. Similarly, the proportion of clients who terminate as completes might be increased by having BOSP stipulated as a

parole condition. Pp. 192-196.

VII. CLASSIFICATION

1. There are indications that the level of tension at the jail has been reduced during the tenure of the Project. Pp. 211-212.
2. The time available for inmate contact by Project staff is 4-1/2 hours a day. If possible, this time should be expanded. Pp. 213-214.
3. The orientation sessions conducted by Classification appear to be useful to new inmates. Procedural changes should be made to attempt to reach as many new inmates as possible. Pp. 214-216.
4. Generally, the front-line counseling function of CP is valuable to inmates. However, better organized supervision should be sought to increase the counselors' effectiveness. Pp. 228-229.
5. Generally, CP's legal information and advocacy services are valuable to inmates. For efficiency, this function should be combined with the Bail Appeal Project (preferably not with the public defender). Pp. 220-222.
6. Generally, the mental health services of Classification are valuable to inmates. However, staff performance could be improved by more regular case conferences and training. Pp. 222-224.
7. Other projected objectives, such as Jail planning analyses, custody staff screening and training, presentence reports, and psychological testing have been met poorly. Some of these objectives are desirable and should be planned and executed. Pp. 225-227.

VIII. BAIL APPEAL PROJECT

1. BAP generally provides effective representation in bail appeals to Jail inmates who have a right to those appeals, as the following findings indicate:
 - (a) BAP is providing bail appeal representation at the rate of approximately 800 appeals per year, arising from approximately 1200 initial petitions. The Project is apparently providing its services in every case in which it is practical to do so, although as much as 10 per cent of the Jail population may be unaware of their rights to a bail appeal. Pp. 240, 244.
 - (b) BAP has taken action against perceived sources of bureaucratic resistance to inmates' bail appeal rights. Pp. 243-244.
 - (c) BAP is providing 75 per cent of its appellants with hearings within a week of commitment, with the average being 4.4 days. P. 254.

- (d) On appeal, 56.1 per cent of BAP's clients obtain changes in their bail status. P. 254.
 - (e) 51 per cent of BAP's clients who appeal are released pending trial. P. 254.
 - (f) The default rate for BAP clients who are released is apparently approximately the same as that of other District Court defendants. P. 255.
 - (g) Only a very small proportion of BAP's clients indicate dissatisfaction with the services received. Pp. 259-260.
2. More efficient use of attorney time should be achieved by combining the legal services components of Classification and Bail Appeal. Pp. 251, 252, 221-222.

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INTRODUCTION

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This report on specially-funded correctional programs in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, was prepared by Aliquid Associates, Inc., under contract to the Mayor's Safe Streets Act Advisory Committee of the City of Boston (MSSAAC). The programs studied are:

- . The Case Management Project at the Suffolk County (Deer Island) House of Correction operated by the Massachusetts Correctional Association as a counseling, inside advocacy, and general institutional support service.
- . The Education Program or "the Academy" at Deer Island, an inmate education program run by Technical Development Corporation.
- . The Community Corrections Program of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center, a counseling and job placement agency for offenders from Roxbury which deals with them both before and after release from Deer Island.
- . The Boston Offender Service Project, operated by Massachusetts Half-Way Houses, Inc., to provide short-term financial support and job (or welfare) placement advice to men immediately after release from Deer Island.
- . The Classification Project, a counseling, mental health screening, and inside advocacy service for inmates at the Suffolk County (Charles Street) Jail, operated by the Suffolk County Sheriff.
- . The Bail Appeal Project at Charles Street, also run as part of the Sheriff's Office, which provides bail appeal services to detainees.

The purpose of this study is to provide MSSAAC and the State criminal justice planning agency, the Massachusetts Committee on Criminal Justice (MCCJ), with an independent review and evaluation of these programs, which are funded through those agencies with federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funds. In addition, Aliquid provided other technical assistance during the course of the evaluation period, June through August, 1974, and attempted to gather and organize information about the jail and prison populations which may be useful in the future.

The major elements of this study included on-location investigation and analysis of the operations of each of the programs; a comprehensive data collection and analysis effort aimed primarily at obtaining reliable information on the subsequent criminal activities of clients of the Deer

Island programs; a variety of data collection and analysis programs designed to create useful performance evaluation information on each program; a program of surveys of all the inmates and staff at both institutions, plus contacts with employers of job placement clients; and an effort to institutionalize better performance monitoring information by aiding each program in the preparation of improved quarterly reports to their sponsors, MSSAC and MCCJ.

This report is not organized around those major evaluation elements, but rather attempts to tie the learning of each element into comprehensive reviews of each program. The only exception to this rule is the discussion of the recidivism analysis, a separate chapter which presents details on that major study, applicable to all the Deer Island-dependent programs. Further details on specific elements of the study, such as the survey research or the data analysis, are presented as appendices.

DEER ISLAND PRISON

Since the seventeenth century, Deer Island has been a place of containment for the socially undesirable. Those confined have included immigrants, criminal women, delinquent children, and paupers. Behind the main prison building now stands a cross marking the former site of a potter's field. Since the early part of the present century, the Island's inhabitants have been convicted men. But even within this century, Deer Island has gone through marked changes. Only a decade ago the prison still included a farm with stockyard and piggery, as well as a shoe shop and an institutional tailor.

Today all of these are gone, but the Suffolk County House of Correction at Deer Island remains as one of thirteen county correctional institutions for sentenced men in the state. Its population of about 150 (during the evaluation period) males are committed for a maximum of two and a half years per charge. Deer Island differs from other county houses in that it is administered, not by the Suffolk County Sheriff, but by a Penal Commissioner appointed by the Mayor of the City of Boston. City councillors are also commissioners, but exercise little direct control.

During the study period, the Penal Institutions Department was without a permanent commissioner and had been for several months; the Deputy Commissioner was serving as Acting Commissioner. Administratively under the Deputy Commissioner is the prison Master, the chief on-site administrator, who controls all the basic custody and support operations at the institution. There are (as of the study period) three civilian administrators at Deer Island to assist in the planning and supervision of treatment-oriented programs. The Director of Treatment functions officially under the supervision of the Master, but in practice works

closely with him on an approximately equal basis. The Director of Activities and the Director of Community Activities work as coordinators of "treatment" programs for the Director of Treatment. A handful of civilian clerks are also employed to maintain files and records.

The largest group of institutional staff, of course, are the correction officers, who number about seventy-five. Approximately fourteen have special designations, gained through civil service qualifying exams and selection, such as Correction Officer-Transportation or Correction Officer-Carpenter. Others do a variety of tasks, including manning guardhouses, working in the receiving office or work-release office, or supervising work details. Some officers have temporary "thirty-day" appointments, but most are permanent civil service employees who have passed written and physical qualifying exams and tests of strength. Here, again, Deer Island differs from other county houses, none of which has civil service correctional officers. The discernible ethnic composition of the Deer Island officers' corps is roughly one-third Irish-surnamed, one-sixth English, one-sixth Italian, and twelve percent black and Hispanic. Interviews with forty-odd officers suggest that most are high school graduates and a sizeable minority have taken at least some college courses. The officers are represented by a local union chapter.

Administrators and officers on the Island seem to be united in a belief that more officers are required. There were, during the observation period, some 37 officers available on the day shift (7:00 to 3:00), 11 on the 3:00 to 11:00 shift, another 11 on the graveyard 11:00 to 3:00 shift, and 3 on a fourth 1:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. shift. The exigencies of vacations, sick days, prisoner transfers, and so forth reportedly lead to frequent overtime stints and high overtime expenditure.

Physically, the prison shares the peninsula with a sewage treatment plant and an essentially abandoned harbor fort owned by the Federal Government. It includes numerous buildings of varying ages, sizes, appearances, and uses, among them:

- . The administration building, a two-story brick structure containing the Academy, prison administrative and case management offices, the visiting room, the chaplain's office, and the Receiving Office or "RO," where new inmates are fingerprinted, photographed, and interviewed, and where records of population size, room assignment, and release status are kept and constantly revised. In another wing of the building is "the plant," the disciplinary and protective segregation section.
- . The "Hill Prison," which houses most of the inmates, was built in 1901. Within the building are a guard room, a small infirmary, a chapel or assembly room, the inmates' kitchen and dining room, and two wings of cell tiers--a majority of which reportedly do not have locking doors.
- . The Commissioner's house, a brick home which is currently used primarily for meetings--the Commissioner does not live there. A chaplain and the commissary steward do have homes on the Island.

Release dormitories. There are two concrete dormitories, one formerly a stockbarn, which house participants in work release programs, required by law to be separated from the rest of the inmate population.

These and the other miscellaneous buildings share a spacious, almost rural setting of rolling land, waterfront, and wild grass. The buildings and grounds cannot generally be described as well-kept.

Related to both the physical characteristics of Deer Island and the officer staffing issue is the problem of escape. During the year 1973, there were over 100 successful escapes, roughly half from the Island itself and half from furlough and release status. While this total may not be reached in 1974, a significant escape rate is apparently continuing.

The Deer Island Population

On October 1, 1955, Deer Island prison housed 656 inmates. Now there are less than one-quarter of that number. Paralleling this decline in the population, significant changes in inmate demographics have also been reported. The prisoners have gotten younger, from an average age of 30 in February, 1966, to a mean of 27.3 in January, 1974 (according to Case Management). The black and other minority group percentage of the prison population has increased; in 1972, 45.2% of the population was black and 1.6% "other," while in January, 1974, 50% of the population was black and 3% "other." Correction officers also describe a change in the type of man incarcerated at Deer Island. A deputy characterized the inmates of a decade or so ago as safe-crackers, con-artists, and stick-up men--in a sense, professional criminals. By contrast, a number of correction officers see present inmates as less professional, more involved with drugs, and, despite the drop in prison population, more troublesome.

The crimes for which inmates are committed are varied. The two-year sample of dischargees (not static population) collected by this study show that 32% were sentenced for burglary, larceny, and stolen goods, 14% for assault, 9% for motor vehicle offenses, 8% for drunkenness, 8% for non-support and paternity, and 6% for drug offenses. It is not clear to what extent this distribution represents a departure from the past. However, it is clear that sentences are growing longer, in the aggregate. In 1972, the median sentence was 7.6 months; in 1974, 11.9 months. Along with this trend, it appears that the likelihood of parole is also increasing (as noted in the data analysis chapter *infra*). Appendix B, Table 14, shows some additional characteristics of the August 1972 - July 1973 dischargee group.

Life for the Deer Island inmate usually includes waking at 8:00 a.m., eating, and reporting to work details. Veteran officers recall the "busy" years of the past when a greater number of details occupied

more of the inmates' time and energy; reportedly only a few work details demand significant time or energy now. The inmates have lunch at noon and report to their details again. At 5:00 p.m. they eat supper. After the meal, the men remain out of their cells but in their tier wings until 9:00 p.m. (except in the summer when inmates can play softball on the prison ballfield). At this time, the inmates are "locked up." There are two major counts during the day--one at 7:00 a.m. and the second after supper. During the lock-up, the wing officer also makes a count each hour.

Not reflected in this bare outline of the inmates' day is the significant part of the daytime which frequently is free from organized work. During mid-morning and mid-afternoon, inmates (other than those in the more demanding details, academy classes, or release programs) have the time for relaxation, talk, seeking out their case managers at the Case Management Offices, making telephone calls, playing ball, fishing, or speaking with visitors in the afternoon. Many complain of boredom.

Various governmental and community-based programs (in addition to those studied herein) provide assistance of various sorts to inmates. They include a "drug action council," individual and group therapy-oriented programs, Alcoholics Anonymous, an ex-offenders' "self-development group," and religious organizations in addition to the three prison chaplains. Legal assistance is available through a city-funded attorney. Medical and dental care is available five and two days a week, respectively, although complaints about access to the doctors are frequent.

Release and Furlough Programs

Added to the in-prison programs are the release programs. Since the passage of implementing legislation and the first group of participants at Deer Island in December, 1969, selected men have been able to leave the prison, work in a job found either by the work-release staff or by the inmates themselves, earn money, and return to the House of Correction after work. As this report was being prepared, 24 men were in the work-release program. Inmates apply for release status through their case manager. The Release Review Board reads these applications and makes recommendations to the Master and Commissioner on their disposition. Release Review Board members are: the senior work release officer, who serves as Chairman; a Receiving Office representative; the Catholic chaplain; a representative from the Academy; and a staff member from the Roxbury Multi-Service Center. The Case Management systems manager is a non-voting member. The Board should also include two other officers, but the reported custody staff shortage prevents their participation.

Selected inmates are also permitted to participate in outside therapy programs run by the East Boston Drug Action Council and the Center for Attitude Change. At present, one inmate is released for vocational training at the South End Skill Center, and another is attending Roxbury Community College. Applications for education and therapy release are also processed by the Release Review Board. The Academy administers the education release program.

Inmates, after application to the Release Review Board and approval by the Master, may receive one- or two-day furloughs from the prison once each month. Inmates convicted of any of a specific list of violent and/or sexual crimes must receive special permission from the Commissioner to qualify for furlough. After the passage of implementing legislation, the furlough program began at Deer Island in November, 1972. In 1973 there were 794 furloughs. Written furlough rules were established in 1973 and were being revised during the observation period. Failure to adhere to furlough rules, for example, being more than fifteen minutes late or possessing drugs, may mean ineligibility to apply for furlough in the following month. Escape or attempted escape from furlough makes an inmate ineligible for furlough until the last thirty days of his sentence.

CHARLES STREET JAIL

The Suffolk County Jail on Charles Street in Boston is the place of detention for men and women denied or unable to post bail in the county courts. The 123-year-old jail operates under the jurisdiction of the sheriff of Suffolk County, an elected official.

The jail has a single-cell capacity of approximately 200. During 1970 and 1971 the average daily population in the jail was about 300, but 1974 has seen a reduction in that population to approximately 140. Of those 140, some 10-15% are sentenced inmates assigned to the jail as sentenced help or by request, a handful are "safekeep" prisoners whose cases are in federal court, and the remainder are being held pending resolution of their cases in Suffolk County courts. A 1971 sample survey showed the median length of stay in the jail to be slightly longer than one week; however, some 14% of the sample were incarcerated longer than 30 days awaiting trial, and 4.5% were in jail over 100 days.*

*This sample represented two months' worth of commitments to the jail, but since an inmate is assigned a commitment each time he returns from a court appearance, the sample is neither a sample of inflow or outflow for a given period nor a static picture of the population at any one point in time. This practice of counting each inmate as a new commitment every time he returns to the jail confounds any attempt to measure accurately inflow or outflow from the jail or to determine with any precision the distribution of length of stay at the institution.

This 1971 survey, which approximated a sample of institutional inflow, showed that some 22% of the inflow were charged with general crimes of violence and an additional 2.5% with homicide. The survey performed in August, 1974, by the staff of this study showed that of the inmates in the jail at the time of the survey, 19% were charged with homicide and 40-41% other crimes of violence. The difference between these samples probably reflects the fact that persons charged with more serious offenses remain in detention for a longer period of time on the average, and thus a one day "snapshot" of the population would contain a higher proportion of long-term detainees than would a sample of institutional flow over a period of time.

The racial composition of the population at any given time varies from 50% to 60% black, with, as of August, 1974, 33% white and 16% Hispanic inmates. The racial composition of the institutional flow is somewhat different, however, since blacks tend to be charged with more serious--and therefore longer detention--offenses. The 1971 sample of institutional inflow showed a 38.5% black figure (although the categorization of Hispanics in this sample is unclear).

The survey conducted for this study showed that 71% of the population as of August, 1974, reported that they had been in Charles Street Jail previously; 67% had been in another prison before; 86% were awaiting trial rather than serving time; and 74% were represented in court by a court appointed attorney. The inmates reported a median age of approximately 26 years. Two-thirds were unmarried, 38% reported having been jobless before arrest, and 41% volunteered that they had a particular medical problem with drugs or alcohol.

The jail was the subject of a class action suit in Federal District Court in 1972. Judge W. Arthur Garrity found the jail in operation to violate the Constitutional rights of detention inmates, and ordered single cell occupancy by November, 30, 1973, and a complete closing of the jail by June 30, 1976, among other changes. Planning for the replacement of the Charles Street Jail in accord with this order is not well advanced, and it is now clear that a new facility cannot be constructed by June, 1976. Other specifications of the court order have been obeyed. There is now only one inmate per cell. Significant physical improvements, including modification of the visiting facilities, have been completed. And, through the Classification and Bail Appeal Projects, inmate services have been improved.

Inmates at the jail still spend about 19 hours each day locked in their cells. Breakfast is served at 8:00 a.m., lunch at 11:30 a.m., and supper at 4:30 p.m. This compressed meal schedule permits the administration of the jail to handle all the activity surrounding meals on the officers' day shift, so that the amount of activity and the number of officers required on the other two shifts each day is minimal. From approximately 9:00 to 10:45 in the morning and 1:30 to 3:45 in the afternoon inmates are permitted to leave their cells and do such things as:

- . receive visitors--three non-attorney visits of approximately one hour each are ordinarily permitted per week.
- . confer with their attorneys--although attorney visits may also be permitted outside the normal "exercise period."
- . confer with members of the staffs of the Classification and Bail Appeal Projects.
- . seek medical attention from the institution's doctor, dentist, or psychiatrist.
- . visit the jail library.
- . shop at the inmate's canteen.
- . shower, shave, or have a haircut.
- . play games, including basketball and football, weather permitting.

Generally, the Charles Street Jail is run as a maximum-security institution. Even though most of the prisoners have not been convicted, they have been charged with serious offenses--much more serious in the aggregate than the inmates at Deer Island Prison. Most of them will be convicted.

PROJECT RELATIONSHIPS WITH MSSAAC

One problem which this study discovered in the course of its investigations is sufficiently pervasive that it must be mentioned out of the context of individual program chapters. That problem is the recurrent complaint of the programs' staff about their relationship with the Mayor's Safe Streets Act Advisory Committee, the city agency which distributes the LEAA funds supporting these projects (and which sponsored this study). Several of the projects have operated for periods of several months without formal contracts between the contracting agency and MSSAAC, and others have endured protracted periods before receiving funds. In practical terms, this has meant:

- . While the city may be able to meet personnel expenses without a formal contract, non-personnel expenses are delayed until a contract has been executed. Thus, a project which is operating without a contract must fund non-personnel expenditures internally and await reimbursement, which has taken months, or else forego these items entirely.
- . In some cases, money which was needed to meet payroll expenses was not available or was delayed so that the contracting agency was forced to borrow to meet the ongoing expenses of the project.
- . In any event, the generally acknowledged difficulty of ensuring the existence of a contract and getting payment from the city has meant a substantial drain of time and energy from project directors and officers of the contracting agencies.

It is not generally within the charge of this study to review the financial mechanisms which support the projects being evaluated. It is generally

acknowledged, furthermore, that improvements have recently been made in the process of contracting and extracting payment under the executed contracts. But no "evaluation" can ignore such a phenomenon when it is clear that the time and the money and the constraints which these difficulties have cost the programs have had a real operational impact on the programs, as well as a significant effect on the attitudes of project personnel toward the sponsoring agency.

Alternative means of dealing with this problem may include:

- . For both the projects and MSSAAC, an intensified effort to complete contract negotiations on schedule, so that periods of unfunded operation need not occur.
- . For the Penal Institutions Department, the exertion of greater control centrally over the financial dealings of the contracting agencies with MSSAAC, in order that a degree of expertise in these matters be generated within the Department.
- . For the contracting agencies, perhaps the negotiation of contracts budgeted to include interest charges and/or intended from the start to be assigned for payment to a lending agent.

Whatever is done, it is best done quickly. Experience suggests quite strongly that unreliable funding arrangements will surely result in animosity, distracted effort, and a diminution in the funded party's willingness to devote himself to what should be the task at hand.

THE RECIDIVISM STUDY

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At some level a goal of each of the Deer Island-linked programs evaluated in this study is the reduction of recidivism--the rate at which ex-offenders commit new offenses. An essential part of the complete study of these programs therefore is the analysis of their effects on recidivism. The analysis presented here, a major part of this study, is possibly the first of its sort ever performed on a sample of offenders at the county level. It is certainly the first study of Deer Island--Suffolk County--offenders. As such, the analysis offers novel information in a number of areas besides those directly relevant to evaluation of the effectiveness of the subject programs. A few of the other uses and implications of the data are mentioned in this report; others must await further investigation of the data base developed in connection with this study.

This chapter explains the approach of the basic recidivism study, its results, and its limitations. Exhaustive material on the more technical and specialized aspects of the study, including details of the data collection process, are included in the appendix and referenced in the following discussion for the interested reader.

The reader with little time and no familiarity with statistics and research techniques may wish to look to the "Common Sense Explanation of the Recidivism Study," reproduced in the appendix, for a short and hopefully understandable summary.

The Data Base

The data which are the raw material of this study were gathered primarily from three sources: records at Deer Island Prison, the files of the Office of Probation, and the records of the four subject programs (Case Management, the Academy, the Community Corrections Program, and BOSP). This material is best thought of as containing three kinds of information about two groups of people. The information:

- (1) background characteristics (facts about the offender before his contact with one of the programs);
- (2) program participation data (describing the nature and extent of his involvement with the programs); and
- (3) follow-up information (the offender's "criminal history" after contacting the program).

The two groups:

- (1) all inmates released to freedom from Deer Island during the period August, 1971 - July, 1972, the last twelve months before the programs began operation ("Cohort I," the "control" group or the "construction sample"); and
- (2) all inmates released during the succeeding twelve months, the first year of the programs' operation ("Cohort II" or the "program" or "experimental" group).

Program participation information only was also collected for a third group--"Cohort III"--consisting of program clients during the August, 1973 - July, 1974, period. This data was used in the program-by-program evaluations but not in the recidivism analysis.

The precise data items involved, the way they were collected, the difficulties encountered in finding them, and the limitations on and exclusions from the data collection are all discussed in the appendix.

TWO BASIC ASPECTS OF THE STUDY

Before discussing methodology in somewhat more detail, it should be useful to outline the answers this study provides to two fundamental questions (common to any recidivism analysis): first, what recidivism means for the purposes of the study; and second, to what "baselines" rates of recidivism are compared in order to decide whether they are "high" or "low."

The Definition of Recidivism

Recidivism as a measure of the effectiveness of correctional programs is a reflection of society's interest in the overall reduction of crime. The two components of this are a reduction in the frequency of crime and a reduction in the severity of the crimes committed. Many corrections programs have as an additional goal the personal rehabilitation of offenders--helping the individual develop useful and acceptable means of coping with the society. Recidivism is also an indirect measure of the success or failure of these efforts, on the presumption that the offender who continues in a life of crime has failed to find an acceptable means of coping with society.

Useful measures of recidivism, therefore, should include elements of both frequency and severity. Frequency may be measured either by the number of crimes committed or by the time between release and the first subsequent charge, that is, by "lag time." Likewise, severity may be measured either by the severity of the charge* or by the severity of the disposition of the charge (i.e., the punishment). Clearly, there are many possible definitions of recidivism using various combinations of the above-mentioned factors.

*This study created a charge severity scale for this purpose. Its development is discussed in Appendix B.

In fact, no researcher can actually measure all the incidents of the criminal or anti-social behavior which correctional programs attempt to correct. Only those instances of such behavior which come to the attention of the authorities--the police (arrest), parole and probation officers (violation of conditions), the courts (conviction), or correctional institutions (incarceration)--are generally available for research. Thus a change in the recidivism level of any group may be due to either changes in the behavior of the relevant authorities, changes in the ability of the group to escape detection, or actual changes in the level of criminality. With regard to this study, there is no reason to believe that the first two of these three sources of change were in fact meaningful. The only apparent way in which official treatment might have differed during the cohort period was in the handling of public drunkenness, which was stricken from the law as a criminal offense late in the Cohort II time period. As discussed *infra*, this change did not have a great effect on arrest patterns during the study period; besides, the analysis was developed in such a way that drunkenness cases were generally analyzed as a separate "cell."

On the assumption, then, that available records could provide a practically useful estimation of the volume and severity of actual criminality, and in the desire to set time limits on follow-up to provide the speediest possible feedback on program effectiveness consistent with sound research, this study defined recidivism as being charged with a crime alleged to have occurred within six months of release from prison.

While this definition, which includes the lowest levels of frequency and severity in recidivism, was chosen largely on practical rather than theoretical considerations, it is consistent with sound methodological practices. The six-month follow-up period was necessitated by the desire to receive reports on the first year of operation of the various programs by the beginning of the third year. A more exclusive definition of recidivism, such as conviction of a serious offense, would have shown a much lower baseline recidivism rate, given the six-month follow-up. A lower baseline rate would complicate the statistical analysis and possibly obscure a program's otherwise significant impact. For example, if the baseline recidivism rate were only ten percent and a program showed a five percent rate, it would be difficult to determine whether this amounted to an actual halving of recidivism or was merely chance variation amounting to a difference of only five persons in a program of one hundred. This more inclusive definition of recidivism therefore allows a fairer evaluation of the programs' impact on recidivism.

Few previous studies have used such a short follow-up, but many have found a recurrent pattern of renewed criminal activity during the first three to four months after release which is well correlated with later criminal activity. Thus the six-month follow-up period is in all likelihood a reliable index of recidivism.

The definition of recidivism used is relatively broad. Since comparisons of rates in the study are only made between comparable measures of recidivism, this inclusiveness is not a drawback as long as the measure used is a reliable index. Separate additional analyses,

recounted infra, subdivide program populations by other possible criteria of repeated criminality--time lag until new charge, severity of offense charged, and severity of ultimate disposition*--and show that all these definitions of recidivism are apparently well correlated. In no case would the use of another measure of recidivism have altered any conclusions regarding program effectiveness. In sum, the definition used in the major predictor analysis is by all indications a reliable one.

The Construction of Comparisons

The most serious methodological problem faced in this study, which in effect dictated the methodology used in the analysis, is common to many studies of crime and delinquency prevention programs: the absence of a clearly definable "control" or comparison benchmark against which to measure the experimental populations' experience. Since all the programs evaluated began operation at more or less the same time, and since none excluded clients on a random basis in order to facilitate later evaluation, there was no contemporaneous control group to which to compare the clients' recidivism experience. Neither was any pre-test/post-test longitudinal analysis possible, essentially because recidivism is, by definition, not tractable by this mode of analysis.

The lack of a clear comparison group was in fact confounded further by the existence of criteria of selection for admission to the treatment programs. Each program has its own selection criteria, only some of which are capable of approximation by the background variables which were available to the study. In the case of one program, a near-total lack of financial resources is a baseline criterion for admission, but nowhere is background information available which might serve as a measure of this characteristic. In every program, participation by the clients is voluntary.**

Clearly, then, a careful "factoring-in" of all the available variables about each subject is necessary to discriminate as finely as possible among all the conceivable subgroups of the population--to avoid "apples and oranges" comparisons--since random discrimination is impossible.

*For the program group, 182 individuals had been rearrested within six months. Fifteen percent defaulted and 3% had cases still pending at the time data collection was closed. In the remaining 82% of the cases, the evaluators were able to assess the final disposition of the charge.

**It is reasonable to hypothesize that those who self-select for program participation are somewhat less likely to recidivate than those who do not; the effect of this selection criterion might then be to exaggerate the treatment effect of the programs. Since the results of this analysis indicate that the programs' treatment effects are not statistically significant, acceptance of this hypothesis about self-selection only serves to reduce further the essentially negligible impact on recidivism that each of the programs effected. In the case of the poverty criterion, a sub-analysis (discussed below) which attempted to set the maximum parameter for the treatment impact effect on recidivism of the program in question (BOSP) still did not generate a significant reduction in recidivism.

The initial variable which must be used to divide is, of course, program participation. To provide a pool of non-participants with characteristics as much as possible like the program "Cohort II" group, then, the immediately preceding "Cohort I" group of releases was used as the starting point for an adjusted comparative analysis.

The problem with simply comparing the experience of the non-participants to that of the participants in this situation is, of course, that the groups compared are likely to be different in some way other than their having participated in a program or not, and that the other difference will be related (positively or negatively) to recidivism--so that the observer looking for a "treatment effect" cannot separate the recidivism effect due to the program from the overall difference. For example, data collected by this study suggest that habitual drunks were arrested and charged more often than other offenders during the cohort periods. A "treatment" program whose clients happen to include a large number of drunks cannot be fairly evaluated by comparing its clients' later arrest records to those of the overall Deer Island discharge group. Conversely, a program which does not accept habitual drunks at all will appear to be more successful by such a comparison than it actually may be.

This study attempts to control for this problem of interactive effects by examining the comparison and program groups from as many different angles as possible to isolate those background factors which do seem to bear on recidivism, and then adjusting the comparison mathematically to reflect any differences between groups on those key factors. Of course other factors, not measured by the data available, may also be interacting with recidivism; this possibility cannot be excluded. But in the one situation in which study staff had reason to believe that such a shadow variable might be operating to the detriment of a program's evaluation (BOSP and the poverty criterion), a sub-analysis indicated that this effect could not be substantial enough to make a difference in the evaluation.

METHODOLOGY

A number of statistical techniques are available to make the adjustments referred to above, including forced matching, multiple regression, and "successively dichotomized table building." This last method is the one adopted in this study. While this technique requires that the variables used be reduced to only two or three values each (e.g., recidivism must be dichotomous--yes or no), this is not a crippling problem here in view of the relative crudity of the available data. And successive dichotomization has the significant advantages of clarity and of its ability to distinguish and characterize groups and subgroups in terms of their differences in recidivism, revealing the interactions between independent variables in a way other techniques do not.

Successive dichotomization results in the creation of predictor tables from information on the "construction sample," or Cohort I. Table 1 is an example. These tables permit the calculation, for any subject group, of an aggregate predicted recidivism rate. Then the actual and predicted rates can be compared. In effect, the recidivism experience of the group which is subjected to the treatment program is compared to that of an imaginary group with precisely the same configuration of significant background variables chosen from the construction sample--that is, the cases that were never exposed to the program. The statistical significance of the differences between the recidivism rates of those in programs and not in programs can be easily evaluated using standard statistical techniques.

Development of the Predictors

How the predictive tables were created is explained in more technical detail in the appendix. A simpler sketch of the process will suffice here.

The first step in building a predictor table is to divide the construction sample into two groups, recidivists and non-recidivists, and then to compare all the background characteristics of the two groups. By applying standard statistical tests to this array of information, the background variable which is most powerfully related to recidivism is identified. Then the entire construction group (recidivists and non-recidivists) is divided in two according to their scores on that most powerful variable, with the dividing line placed at the variable value which maximizes its power to distinguish recidivists from non-recidivists. Table 1 shows that the most powerful single variable in the entire construction sample was length of sentence (for the "cohort" offense), and the most significant breaking point between six and seven months. The 313 individuals (N) with sentences of six or fewer months had an overall recidivism rate (R) of 51.1%, while the 263 with longer sentences had a lower rate, 36.5%.

After this initial division of the construction sample into two groups, the same process of searching out powerful independent variables is repeated separately for each of the two newly created groups--in this case, longer-sentence subjects and shorter-sentence ones. Once another division, on another variable, has been accomplished, the subgroups then created are again subjected to the same process. This is repeated ("successively") until each subgroup can no longer be divided into two categories (according to any remaining variable) with statistically significant differences in recidivism.

The resulting table has accomplished the division of the construction cohort into (in Table 1) eight different cells, represented by the bottom line of the table (with the characteristics of those in each cell being the one noted in the cell plus those in the boxes above it). Any group of subjects (for example, those involved in a given program) from Cohort II can be divided up among these cells by matching their background characteristics to those of the cells. Then the recidivism scores of each cell,

TABLE 1. PREDICTOR 1 -- BASED ON COHORT I (ALL)

N = 576
R = 44.4%

VAR 210 Length of Sentence Six or Less N = 313 R = 51.1%				VAR 210 Length of Sentence Seven or More N = 263 R = 36.5%			
VAR 259 Habitual Drunk N = 88 R = 67.0%		VAR 259 Not Habitual Drunk N = 225 R = 44.9%		VAR 238 Most Serious Offense by Length Property N = 139 R = 46.0%		VAR 238 Most Serious Offense by Length Not Property N = 124 R = 25.8%	
VAR 221 Age - 1st Arrest 14 or less N = 12 R = 33.3%	VAR 221 Age - 1st Arrest 15 or more N = 76 R = 72.4%	VAR 262 Age - Release 21 or less N = 79 R = 57.0%	VAR 262 Age - Release 22 or more N = 146 R = 38.4%	VAR 262 Age - Release 21 or less N = 45 R = 60.0%	VAR 262 Age - Release 22 or more N = 94 R = 39.4%	VAR 255 Mos. of In- carceration 7 or less N = 55 R = 12.7%	VAR 255 Mos. of In- carceration 8 or more N = 69 R = 36.2%

Construction:

$x^2 = 61.474$ df=7
 $\phi = .327$ p < .001
P.E. = 21.1%

Validation on Cohort 2:

$x^2 = 33.784$ df=7
 $\phi = .294$ p < .001
P.E. = 18.6%

TABLE 2. PREDICTOR 2 -- BASED ON COHORT I (ALL)

N = 576
R = 44.4%

VAR 259 Habitual Drunk N = 122 R = 56.6%		VAR 259 Not Habitual Drunk N = 454 R = 41.2%			
VAR 210 Length of Sentence Six or Less N = 88 R = 67.0%	VAR 210 Length of Sentence Seven or More N = 34 R = 29.4%	VAR 262 Age - Release 21 or Less N = 147 R = 55.1%	VAR 262 Age - Release 22 or More N = 307 R = 34.5%		
		VAR 229 First Conviction Drugs or Worse N = 94 R = 62.8%	VAR 229 First Conviction Less than Drugs N = 53 R = 41.5%	VAR 255 Mos. of In- carceration 7 or less N = 138 R = 25.4%	VAR 255 Mos. of In- carceration 8 or more N = 169 R = 42.0%

Construction:

$x^2 = 55.027$ df=5
 $\phi = .309$ $p < .001$
P.E. = 21.1%

Validation:

$x^2 = 34.469$
 $\phi = .297$
P.E. = 13.6%

weighted by the number of subjects assigned to it, are averaged together with all the others to produce a predicted rate of recidivism for the total group. This predicted rate can then be compared to the actual rate of recidivism among the group to detect any differences. This comparison is made in Table 3, discussed below.

Before using the predictor tables in that fashion, however, they are "validated" to determine whether they have distinguished a pattern of cells which is significantly related to recidivism among a group other than the construction sample--i.e., the program sample (Cohort II). This is accomplished by matching up all the members of the program group to the cells and then examining their recidivism rates alongside the cells' rates to see if the patterns of differences between cells are similar. Table 1 performed well on this validation procedure, with the probability that the pattern similarity could have occurred by chance being less than one-tenth of one percent (i.e., a "confidence level" of over 99.9%).

In the course of developing the predictors, several other tables were constructed besides Table 1. One of them, reproduced here as Table 2, began with the second most powerful variable (habitual drunk or not) as its first dichotomization (since its significance was nearly as high as that of the length-of-sentence variable) and resulted in a table with a slightly higher validation score than Table 1. Therefore, both Tables 1 and 2 were used throughout the course of the analysis; henceforth, they are referred to respectively as "Predictor 1" and "Predictor 2."

Examination of the Predictors

While the predictors were not developed to explicate any causal model of recidivism, it is worthwhile to examine briefly the tables for an understanding of the factors which may contribute to the differences in observed recidivism rates. The first split in Table 1 is by length of sentence, which may be a reflection of several factors. First, it may result from an increased specific deterrent effect due to harsher sentences. Also, length of sentence is a reflection of the seriousness of the crime. The implication is that the one group is frequently involved in more minor trouble while the other group commits more serious offenses but more infrequently. Finally, if the sentence length is related to the seriousness of the offense, it is possible that both groups return to crime with about the same frequency but the more serious offenses are less likely to result in detection and apprehension.

The split of habitual drunks and non-drunks is an important one. It must be noted that the definition of "drunk" here is an operational one, based on the most frequent offense recorded for an individual. From the distribution of charge types it is clear that not all of these persons are imprisoned just for being drunk; instead, a more serious connection between alcohol and crime is reflected. Furthermore, every time "habitual drunk" appeared as a significant variable, the broader category "alcohol problem" appeared as only slightly less significant. In view of the legislative change, effective as to arrests at the end of Cohort II's discharge period, making drunkenness *per se* noncriminal, it is useful that this variable separates these offenders from all others.

The other second level split in Predictor 1, "most serious offense by sentence length (property vs. non-property)," also appeared at numerous times while developing the predictors. Presumably, this variable is a reflection of both the seriousness of the offender's criminal record and also a separation of those whose most common offense is a theft offense (on the theory that repeated offenses draw longer sentences than isolated ones, other things being equal).

The other variables composing Predictor 1 are more straightforward. Age has been found to be a significant factor in many studies and not surprisingly it appeared many times in the course of developing the predictors. Months of incarceration is probably a reflection of the length and seriousness of the offender's record.

It is interesting that the second predictor is merely a different configuration of basically the same variables. In this case the variable "habitual drunk" (having the second highest Chi-square) was chosen as a starting point. Sentence length as applied to the class defined as habitual drunks may have the effect of supplying a correction to the operational definition of habitual drunk; that is, those imprisoned for short sentences may be the true chronic alcoholics, while those with longer sentences may just happen to have a number of drunk arrests but also commit other offenses. It is interesting that this split fared so well on validation suggesting that there is a truly significant effect here. One might be tempted to conclude that longer sentences help to "dry out" the alcoholics. The variable relating to first convictions separates those who early on indicated more serious criminal tendencies. The other variables also appear in Predictor 1.

Statistical Inferences

Whenever a comparison is made between the predicted and observed recidivism rates of a group, standard statistical tests are used to determine whether the difference in rates should be attributed to the difference between the group and the construction sample (e.g., the effect of program involvement), or whether the role of chance (the inevitable fluctuation of particular observations around the true figure) was potentially too strong to be ruled out. These tests ("Chi-square" and the "z test of normal distribution") result in statements of the probability (p) that the observed differences would result from chance alone even if the two groups being compared were in fact identical. The inverse of this probability is an index of how confident one should be that the difference is not a product of chance. Typically, social science academic standards require that the possibility that chance is entirely responsible be no more than one in twenty ($p \leq .05$, or "95% confidence"). Policy analysts are sometimes ready to settle for a one in ten chance that they are mistaken ($p \leq .10$; "90% confidence"). This report presents specific probability scores on its results, which make it clear that the choice between a 90% and a 95% confidence level would not change any of the basic conclusions.

RESULTS

This section presents the findings of this analysis. The subject programs' recidivism impact is discussed first, with the implications of the findings on program operations left to the chapters on the individual programs. Then other findings not directly related to these programs are summarized.

Impact of the Evaluated Programs on Recidivism

The comparisons between the actual recidivism rates and the two predicted rates are summarized in Table 3. Tables 4 and 5 show the way in which each program's clients fit the predictor cells. A more complex picture, showing all possible combinations of programs, is presented as Figure 6, which was developed from the information in Table 7.

None of the obtained differences was statistically significant. Therefore, one cannot reject the "null-hypothesis" that there was no treatment effect attributable to any program. While the fact that all the observed differences in recidivism were positive does suggest that one ought not to discount totally the possibility of a treatment effect, there is also the equally plausible hypothesis of a self-selection effect (i.e., those who voluntarily spend the time and effort to participate in a program are less likely to recidivate than others of similar backgrounds). The only fair conclusion to be drawn from these figures is that none of the programs have any effect on recidivism among their client groups.*

Several other hypotheses were also examined. These involve the effect of various combinations of programs, the effect of the intensity of program contact, and the effect of program participation on the severity of recidivism as measured by charge type, charge disposition, and time between release and arrest. These comparisons appear in Tables 8 through 13. No statistically significant differences were found,** though there was a consistent positive difference in recidivism when broken down by program intensity. This again may be explained by a self-selection effect.

* It is possible that a program might have a meaningful recidivism reduction impact on a specific, narrow subgroup of its clientele. Tables 4 and 5 show what happens, though, when one begins to search for specialized-group effects: the number of subjects in each cell becomes so small that meaningful conclusions are impossible. And aggregating only those subgroups whose recidivism experience is most encouraging is the clearest kind of statistical dishonesty, since no hypothesis has been put forward to justify any special group effects that correspond to the apparently "improved" cells of any of the programs. Compounding these problems of small numbers and a lack of justification for aggregation is the probable self-selection effect discussed above. So, in sum, although a much enlarged study might provide the data base to search for special-group effects, this analysis cannot and should not pursue such effects.

** Because the differences were not significant, and in order to avoid further complicating already large and complex tables, these statistics do not appear.

TABLE 3. BASIC RECIDIVISM RESULTS

	N	Predictor 1	Predictor 2	Observed Recidivism	Z-score of Difference Between P ₂ and Observed R	Probability
Academy	98	45.2%	46.9%	39.8%	1.003	0.32
BOSP	153	44.5%	45.6%	42.5%	0.546	0.58
CCP	64	41.2%	43.6%	39.1%	0.517	0.60
Case Management	236	41.8%	42.9%	37.7%	1.159	0.25
Program	231	44.0%	45.0%	41.1%	0.846	0.40
Non-Program	160	42.1%	42.5%	41.3%	0.218	0.83
Cohort II	391	43.2%	44.0%	41.2%	0.791	0.43

TABLE 4. PROGRAM PARTICIPATION BY PREDICTOR 1 CATEGORIES

Predictor 1	SENTENCED 6 OR LESS Drunk 1st Arrest 14 or less	Sentenced 6 Or Less Drunk 1st Arrest 15 or more	Sentenced 6 or less Not Drunk Age Release 21 or less	Sentenced 6 or less Not Drunk Age Release 22 or more	Sentenced 7 or more Most Serious Property Age Release 21 or less	Sentenced 7 or more Most Serious Property Age Release 22 or more	Sentenced 7 or more Most Serious Not Prop. Mos. Incarc. 7 or less	Sentenced 7 or more Most Serious Not Prop. Mos. Incarc. 8 or more	Total	Predicted R.
Predicted R =	33.3%	72.4%	57.0%	38.4%	60.0%	39.4%	12.7%	36.2%	44.4%	
% of N =	2.1	13.2	13.7	25.3	7.8	16.3	9.5	12.0	100.0	
CCP										
n =	0	2	7	12	14	14	13	2	64	
Observed R =	--	50%	14%	42%	64%	29%	31%	50%	39.1%	41.2%
% of N =	0	3.1	10.9	18.7	21.9	21.9%	20.3	3.1	100.0	
BOSP										
n =	3	13	30	45	14	25	14	9	153	
Observed R =	67%	62%	43%	38%	50%	40%	21%	56%	42.5%	44.5%
% of N =	2.0	8.5	19.6	29.4	9.2	16.3	9.2	5.9	100.0	
ACADEMY										
n =	4	5	24	16	19	10	13	7	98	
Observed R =	75%	40%	38%	43%	58%	20%	15%	43%	39.8%	45.2
% of N =	4.1	5.1	24.5	16.3	19.4	10.2	13.3	7.1	100.0	
CM										
n =	4	12	48	61	22	34	37	18	236	
Observed R =	75.0%	50.0%	41.7%	31.1%	59.1%	26.5%	32.4%	38.9%	37.7%	41.8%
% of N =	1.7	5.1	20.3	25.8	9.3	14.4	15.7	7.6	100	
ALL PROGRAMS										
n =	6	16	46	58	27	37	26	15	231	
Observed R =	66.7%	62.5%	39.1%	37.9%	63.0%	29.7%	23.1%	46.7%	41.1	44.0%
% of N =	2.6	6.9	19.9	25.1	11.7	16.0	11.3	6.5	100.0	
NOT PROGRAMS										
n =	3	24	18	36	10	25	29	15	160	
Observed R =	66.7%	75.0%	38.9%	33.3%	70.0%	24.0%	37.9%	20.0%	41.3%	42.1%
% of N =	1.9	15.0	11.3	22.5	6.3	15.6	18.1	9.4	100.0	

TABLE 5. PROGRAM PARTICIPATION BY PREDICTOR 2 CATEGORIES

Predictor 2	Drunk Sentenced Length 6 or less	Drunk Sentenced Length 7 or more	Not Drunk Age Release 21 or less 1st conviction drugs or worse	Not Drunk Age Release 21 or less 1st conviction less than drugs	Not Drunk Age Release 22 or more Mos. Incarc. 7 Or less	Not Drunk Age Release 22 or more Mos. Incarc. 8 or more	Total	Predicted R
Predictor R =	67%	29.4%	62.8%	41.5%	25.4%	42.0%	44.4%	
% of N =	15.3%	5.9	16.3	9.2	23.9	29.3	100.0	
CCP	n = 2	2	19	7	19	15	64	
Observed R =	50%	0%	47%	43%	46%	40%	39.1%	
% of N =	3.1	3.1	29.7	10.9	29.7	23.4	100.0	43.6%
BOSP	n = 16	3	35	15	32	52	153	
Observed R =	63%	33%	51%	27%	25%	46%	42.5%	
% of N =	10.5	2.0	22.9	9.8	20.9	34.0	100.0	45.6%
ACADEMY	n = 9	3	28	21	17	20	98	
Observed R =	56%	0%	54%	33%	23%	40%	39.8%	
% of N =	9.2	3.1	28.6	21.4	17.3	20.4	100.0	46.9%
CASE MANAGEMENT	n = 16	9	51	32	67	61	236	
Observed R =	56.3%	22.2%	51.0%	43.8%	22.4%	37.7%	37.7%	
% of N =	6.8	3.8	21.6	13.6	28.4	25.8	100.0	42.9%
ALL PROGRAMS	n = 22	8	52	29	50	70	231	
Observed R =	63.6%	12.5%	51.9%	37.9%	24.0%	42.9%	41.1%	
% of N =	9.5	3.5	22.5	12.6	21.6	30.3	100.0	45.0%
NOT PROGRAMS	n = 27	9	15	19	47	43	160	
Observed R =	74.1%	44.4%	53.3%	52.6%	21.3%	32.6%	41.3%	
% of N =	16.9	5.6	9.4	11.9	29.4	26.9	100.0	42.5%

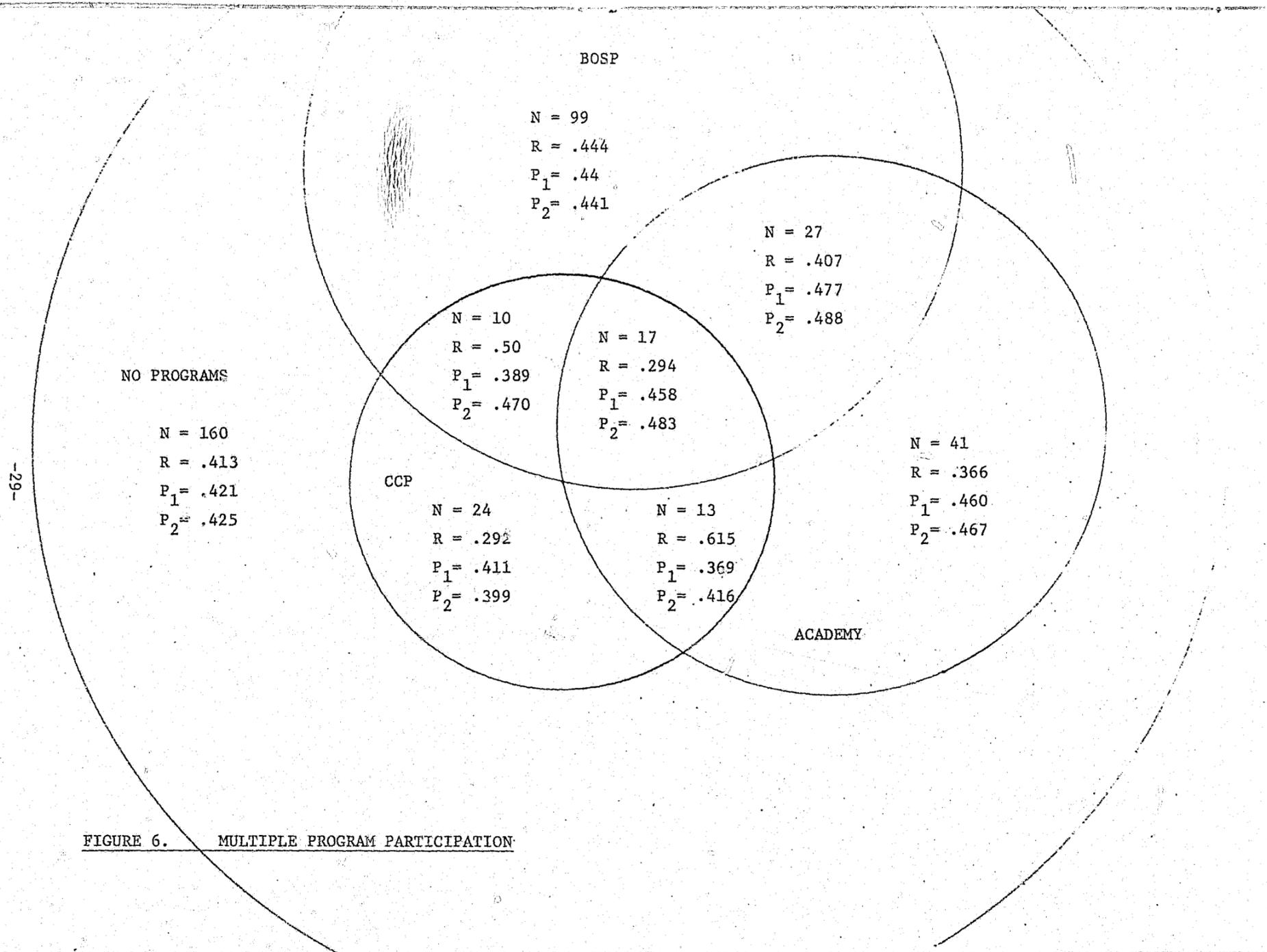


FIGURE 6. MULTIPLE PROGRAM PARTICIPATION

TABLE 7. MULTIPLE PROGRAM PARTICIPATION DETAIL

	N =	R =	P ₁ =	P ₂ =
ACADEMY & CCP & BOSP & CM	15	.333	.453	.503
ACADEMY & CCP & BOSP & not CM	2	.000	.492	.334
ACADEMY & CCP & not BOSP & CM	12	.583	.367	.415
ACADEMY & CCP & not BOSP & not CM	1	1.00	.384	.420
ACADEMY & not CCP & BOSP & CM	25	.400	.484	.494
ACADEMY & not CCP & BOSP & not CM	2	.500	.389	.420
ACADEMY & not CCP & not BOSP & CM	33	.333	.437	.458
ACADEMY & not CCP & not BOSP & not CM	8	.500	.551	.501
Not ACADEMY & CCP & BOSP & CM	6	.667	.432	.531
Not ACADEMY & CCP & BOSP & not CM	4	.250	.325	.378
Not ACADEMY & CCP & not BOSP & CM	16	.187	.411	.391
Not ACADEMY & CCP & not BOSP & not CM	8	.500	.411	.415
Not ACADEMY & not CCP & BOSP & CM	52	.404	.432	.420
Not ACADEMY & not CCP & BOSP & not CM	47	.489	.448	.465
Not ACADEMY & not CCP & not BOSP & CM	77	.364	.380	.390
Not ACADEMY & not CCP & not BOSP & not CM	83	.458	.460	.458
TOTALS	391	.412	.432	.439

TABLE 8. RECIDIVISM SEVERITY -- LAG TIME BY PROGRAM PARTICIPATION

	CCP	BOSP	ACADEMY	CASE MANAGE- MENT	ALL PROGRAMS (CCP, BOSP ACADEMY)	ALL NOT PROGRAM	COHORT I	COHORT II
Not Recidival	39 60.9%	88 57.5%	59 60.2%	147 62.3%	136 58.9%	94 58.7%	320 55.6%	230 58.8%
4 - 6 Months	7 10.9%	21 13.7%	11 11.2%	23 9.7%	29 12.6%	15 9.4%	69 12.0%	44 11.3%
2 -3 Months	7 10.9%	19 12.4%	9 9.2%	32 13.6%	25 10.8%	24 15.0%	64 11.1%	49 12.5%
Within 1 Month	11 17.2%	25 16.3%	19 19.4%	34 14.4%	41 17.7%	27 16.9%	123 21.4%	68 17.4%
Predictor 1	41.2%	44.5%	45.2%	41.8%	44.0%	42.1%	44.4%	43.2%
Predictor 2	43.6%	45.6%	46.9%	42.9%	45.0%	42.5%	44.4%	44.0%
Recidivism	39.1%	42.5%	39.8%	37.7%	41.1%	41.3%	44.4%	41.2%

TABLE 9. RECIDIVISM SEVERITY -- CHARGE TYPE BY PROGRAM PARTICIPATION

	CCP	BOSP	ACADEMY	CASE MANAGE- MENT	ALL PROGRAMS (CCP, BOSP ACADEMY)	ALL NOT PROGRAM	COHORT I	COHORT II
Not Recidivist	39 60.9%	88 57.5%	59 60.2%	147 62.3%	136 58.9%	94 58.7%	320 55.6%	230 58.8%
Minor Charge	2 3.1%	7 4.6%	1 1.1%	7 3.0%	8 3.5%	20 12.5%	58 10.1%	28 7.2%
Major Charge	23 35.9%	58 37.9%	38 38.8%	82 34.7%	87 37.7%	46 28.8%	198 34.4%	133 34.0%
Predictor 1	41.2%	41.5%	45.2%	41.8%	44.0%	42.1%	44.4%	43.2%
Predictor 2	43.6%	45.6%	46.9%	42.9%	45.0%	42.5%	44.4%	44.0%
Recidivism	39.1%	42.5%	39.8%	37.7%	41.1%	41.3%	44.4%	41.2%

TABLE 10. RECIDIVISM SEVERITY -- DISPOSITION BY PROGRAM PARTICIPATION

	CCP	BOSP	ACADEMY	CASE MANAGE- MENT	ALL PROGRAMS (CCP, BOSP ACADEMY)	ALL NOT PROGRAM	COHORT I	COHORT II
Not Recidivist	39 60.9%	88 57.5%	59 60.2%	147 62.3%	136 58.9%	94 58.7%	320 55.6%	230 58.8%
Charged Not Convicted	11 17.2%	28 18.3%	19 19.4%	36 15.3%	42 18.2%	17 10.6%	88 15.3%	59 15.1%
Convicted Not Incarcerated	7 10.9%	25 16.3%	16 16.3%	35 14.8%	36 15.6%	28 17.5%	83 14.4%	64 16.4%
Incarcerated	7 10.9%	12 7.8%	6 6.1%	18 7.6%	17 7.4%	21 13.1%	85 14.8%	38 9.7%
Predictor 1	41.2%	44.5%	45.2%	41.8%	44.0%	42.1%	44.4%	43.2%
Predictor 2	43.6%	45.6%	46.9%	42.9%	45.0%	42.5%	44.4%	44.0%
Observed Recidivism	39.1%	42.5%	39.8%	37.7%	41.1%	41.3%	44.4%	41.2%

TABLE 11. RECIDIVISM SEVERITY -- LAG TIME BY INTENSITY OF PROGRAM PARTICIPATION

	CCP Intense Contact	CCP Light Contact	BOSP Intense Contact	BOSP Light Contact	Academy Intense Contact	Academy Light Contact	All Intense Contact	All Light Contact
Not Recidivist	22 64.7%	17 56.7%	58 59.8%	30 53.6%	21 61.8%	38 59.4%	80 62.0%	56 54.9%
4 - 6 Months	1 2.9%	6 20.0%	14 14.4%	7 12.5%	3 8.8%	8 12.5%	15 11.6%	14 13.7%
2 - 3 Months	6 17.6%	1 3.3%	12 12.4%	7 12.5%	5 14.7%	4 6.3%	17 13.2%	8 7.8%
Within 1 Month	5 14.7%	6 20.0%	13 13.4%	12 21.4%	5 14.7%	14 21.9%	17 13.2%	24 23.5%
Predictor 1	.428	.393	.436	.461	.453	.452	.439	.441
Predictor 2	.462	.406	.451	.465	.488	.459	.452	.446
Observed	.353	.433	.402	.464	.382	.406	.380	.451

TABLE 12. RECIDIVISM SEVERITY --- CHARGE TYPE BY INTENSITY OF PROGRAM PARTICIPATION

	CCP Intense Contact	CCP Light Contact	BOSP Intense Contact	BOSP Light Contact	Academy Intense Contact	Academy Light Contact	All Intense Contact	All Light Contact
Not Recidivist	22 64.7%	17 56.7%	58 59.8%	30 53.6%	21 61.8%	38 59.4%	80 62.0%	56 54.9%
Minor Charge	1 2.9%	1 3.3%	3 3.1%	4 7.1%	1 2.9%	---	4 3.1%	4 3.9%
Major Charge	11 32.4%	12 40.0%	36 37.1%	22 39.3%	12 35.3%	26 40.6%	45 34.9%	42 41.2%
Predictor 1	.428	.393	.436	.461	.453	.452	.439	.441
Predictor 2	.462	.406	.451	.465	.488	.459	.452	.446
Observed	.353	.433	.402	.464	.382	.406	.380	.451

TABLE 13. RECIDIVISM SEVERITY: DISPOSITION BY INTENSITY OF PROGRAM PARTICIPATION

	CCP Intense Contact	CCP Light Contact	BOSP Intense Contact	BOSP Light Contact	Academy Intense Contact	Academy Light Contact	All Intense Contact	All Light Contact
Not Recidivist	22 64.7%	17 56.7%	58 59.8%	30 53.6%	21 61.8%	38 59.4%	80 62.0%	56 54.9%
Charged Not Convicted	5 14.7%	6 20.0%	18 18.6%	10 17.9%	5 14.7%	12 18.8%	21 16.3%	21 20.6%
Convicted Not Incarcerated	3 8.8%	4 13.3%	13 13.4%	12 21.4%	5 14.7%	11 17.2%	18 14.0%	18 17.6%
Incarcerated	4 11.8%	3 10.0%	8 8.2%	4 7.1%	3 8.8%	3 4.7%	10 7.8%	7 6.9%
Predictor 1	.428	.393	.436	.461	.453	.452	.439	.441
Predictor 2	.462	.406	.451	.465	.488	.459	.452	.446
Observed	.353	.433	.402	.464	.382	.406	.380	.451

The results of the charge and disposition severity comparisons were less consistent, as were the results of combinations of programs, with both positive and negative differences being obtained (although none was statistically significant).*

Where the samples were rather large, one can be relatively confident that if some program impact exists, it cannot be of any great magnitude. Where the samples are quite small, however, even a relatively large "real" impact might not appear as statistically significant. Thus, the fairest statement of the conclusion that may be drawn from the entire analysis is this: in no case is there convincing evidence that any of the programs studied had any impact on recidivism, however defined. This conclusion holds whether charge, disposition, time before charge, or severity of charge is used as a measure of recidivism. It may be that a study with a longer follow-up period would show more marked results for the programs. But most of the programs being studied here (the exception, perhaps, being the education program) emphasize their own interest in short-term recidivism.

Recidivism-Related Variables

In the course of developing the seven predictor tables, some 2500 2 X 2 contingency tables plotting the dichotomous recidivism variable against another dichotomous variable were constructed. Of these, approximately 120 were statistically significant at the $p \leq .05$ level. Some of these tested significance levels were undoubtedly attributable to random distributions among the variables, but the persistent recurrence of certain types of variables in the significant tables and the validated significance of the tables overall given validity to certain of the results. Among those types of variables which were consistently significant are three general categories:

- . indices of the general extent and severity of past criminal records, such as months of prior incarceration, number of prior paroles, and so forth;
- . age dichotomizations, which have consistently been found significant in other studies of recidivism as well; and
- . variables which tend to distinguish between habitual drunks and others.

Dichotomous variables which appeared significant at any point in the development of the predictors, and the sub-groups in which they were significant, can be discovered by examining the various predictor tables presented in the appendix.

Comparison of the Cohorts

On the basis of nearly every background variable examined, Cohorts I and II appear to be subsamples from the same general universe. The most

* It must be noted that when either program participation or the recidivism information is broken down into sub-categories, the number of cases in each of the categories becomes so small that it is unlikely that significant differences will be obtained.

significant difference between the cohorts is not in any attribute of the population but rather in the size of each of the cohorts; the first includes 576 inmates, while the second numbers only 391--a 32% decline. This decline is partly explained by the gradual but (as of the cohort date) small increase in average sentence length for Deer Island inmates. Another partial explanation for the decline is the reduction in the number of arrests for public drunkenness from the first to the second cohort period. Even though the repeal of the drunkenness law went into effect only at the end of the second cohort, police arrest policies apparently anticipated the effective date of the statutory change. The primary determinant of the decline in the number of discharges from Deer Island from Cohort I to Cohort II is apparently the decline in the population resulting from a reduced number of commitments; and neither police arrest records nor court disposition records are available to explain fully the reasons for this decline. By nearly every other variable which could be measured, however, the cohorts are very much the same, and so there is no reason to believe that the difference in size between Cohort I and Cohort II has any adverse effect upon the analysis.

A closer examination of the differences between the two cohorts, while it does not suggest any limitations on the recidivism analysis, may highlight or confirm trends of change in the inmate population.

- . The geographical distribution of the homes of the dischargee population remain virtually constant from one cohort to the next, with just over 52% of each group coming from Roxbury, Dorchester, or Boston. The racial distribution within the population changed slightly from one year to the next, with the percentage black increasing from 39% to 43%, while the white population dropped from 57% to 55% and the Hispanic from 4% to 2%.
- . The average education level of the Deer Island dischargee changed slightly from the first to the second cohort, with 41% having completed the tenth grade in the first cohort and 44% in the second. This difference is not significant.
- . With regard to the charge for which the inmate is incarcerated, the most pronounced differences are in drug charges, which increased from 5% to 9%, and drunk charges, which decreased from 10% to 6%. The other changes in charge type were of even smaller dimension.
- . Sentences given members of the second cohort were on the average two weeks longer than those given subjects in the first cohort. On the other hand, the slightly longer sentences were mitigated by a slightly greater incidence of parole release before sentence expiration--from 53% in the first to 60% in the second. In particular the Massachusetts Parole Board appeared more likely to grant parole, with the percentage of dischargees receiving state parole increasing from 41% to 47%.
- . With regard to prior incarcerations, the second cohort inmate is less likely to have been incarcerated at Deer Island before (16% as compared to 26% for the first cohort), but he is slightly more likely to have been incarcerated elsewhere (45% to 48%).

- . On the average, the second cohort dischargee seems to have come into his first contact with the criminal justice system at a slightly younger age, and to have advanced more rapidly through the various stages of a criminal career than did his first cohort counterpart. In the aggregate, he was four months younger at his first arrest, five months younger at his first conviction, ten months younger at his first incarceration, and fourteen months younger at his cohort release from Deer Island. His record previous to this incarceration shows twelve rather than ten convictions.

Additional Findings

Two other areas of interest were explored: the recidivism rates of the work release program and the recidivism rates associated with the various modes of discharge.

Regarding the work release program, of the 77 persons participating in work release during the second cohort period, 39% recidivated by the study's definition, while 41.7% of the 314 non-work release persons recidivated. This corresponds quite closely to the predicted recidivism rates derived from Predictors 1 and 2; rates of 37.6% and 39.7%, respectively, were predicted for work release participants while rates of 44.6% and 45.0% were predicted for non-participants. Thus there is no reason to believe that work release had any positive impact on subsequent recidivism.

Three modes of discharge exist: state paroles, county paroles, and completion of sentence ("wrap-up"). Inmates with sentences of twelve or more months are eligible for state paroles, while those with sentences of less than twelve months may be paroled at the discretion of the Penal Commissioner. Since those with very short sentences are unlikely to be paroled at all, mode of discharge is to a certain extent a function of the length of the sentence.

In the first cohort there were 237 inmates receiving state paroles (41.2%), 66 (11.5%) with county paroles, and 272 (47.3%) who completed their sentences. In the second cohort 185 (47.3%) were released on state paroles, while 51 (13%) received county paroles, and 155 (39.6%) completed their sentences. While differences in the separate parole categories are not significant, the increase in the overall proportion paroled is significant at the $p \leq .05$ level.

The recidivism rates associated with these modes of release are as follows. In the first cohort:

- . state parolees - 38.4%
- . county parolees - 50%
- . wrap-ups - 48.2%.

In the second cohort:

- . state parolees - 36.2%
- . county parolees - 41.2%
- . wrap-ups - 47.1%.

These differences fall short of significance unless the two cohorts are combined, in which case the differences are significant at the $p \leq .01$ level. That these differences should exist is not surprising, given that length of sentence separates recidivism risk groups quite significantly and that length of sentence is related to the mode of discharge. Thus, there is no reason to believe either that the state parole board does a better job of selecting low recidivism risk cases or that mode of discharge affects the probability of recidivism.

LIMITATIONS

While the recidivism analysis was conducted to give an objective picture of the recidivism experience of the program participants, there are several limitations to the analysis which must be borne in mind while interpreting the results.

First, there is a possibility of a self-selection effect; it is possible that those who voluntarily elect to participate in correctional programs are different in their propensity to recidivate than those who avoid such programs. Since recidivism is not capable of pre-test and post-test measurement, a quasi-experimental methodology cannot control for this factor. Only if one adopted a true experimental paradigm with enforced random selection of program participants could this self-selection effect be controlled.

A further limitation on the analysis is the possibility that there are certain variables which are related to recidivism which could not be measured; for example, economic status, previous job stability, psychiatric disorders, etc. Such variables would be controlled for only to the extent that they were either randomly distributed among program and non-program people or correlated with other measured variables. Both of these assumptions are plausible and probably hold true to a large extent. However, the possibility of a significantly related but unmeasured variable is particularly disturbing with regard to the BOSP program, which uses economic status as an admission criterion. Since this casts doubt on the assumption that unmeasured variables are distributed randomly, the following special hypothesis was formulated with regard to BOSP and tested. For the purposes of this test alone it was assumed first that BOSP received a disproportionate share of poor people and the rest of the cohort received accordingly less; that poverty increases the likelihood of recidivism; and that the decrease in recidivism for the entire second cohort is due solely to the fact that BOSP reduced the recidivism rate of its high risk group (the rest of the cohort being a correspondingly lower risk group). Even given these assumptions, there was no statistically significant difference between BOSP's actual observed recidivism rate and the high-risk rate calculated for BOSP under the foregoing assumptions. On this basis one must conclude that while there may be unmeasured factors which affect recidivism, in the one case there was reason to suspect such impact, the likelihood that making such a measurement would have revealed a significant difference in recidivism is quite low.

Several other points should be noted. First, this study does not disprove the possibility that the programs have had an impact on recidivism; it merely says that there is no convincing evidence that such is the case. Second, one must repeat the statistical truism that there is a possibility of some amount of error in the data collection process. However, every effort has been made to insure the greatest accuracy possible. Third, while the only statistically significant difference between the cohorts is in the proportion receiving paroles as their mode of discharge, and thus there is no reason to suspect any substantially significant character differences between the two groups, there is a drop in the overall number of persons released from the institution which is largely unexplained. Fourth, while the samples were large enough to allow reasonable evaluation of each program, sample sizes shrink rapidly when one tries more narrow analyses, e.g., of those in several programs or of those who showed high participation in particular programs. As a result it becomes increasingly difficult to attach any meaning to the failure of a program to create an effect which is sufficiently large to be statistically reliable. Program combinations can rarely be statistically analyzed to any great confidence until a substantial number of individuals have participated.

In sum, however, in spite of the above limitations and cautions, the recidivism analysis provides as comprehensive and objective a summary of the programs' impact on recidivism, and of recidivism patterns for the Deer Island population as a whole, as could be constructed within practical constraints.

CASE MANAGEMENT

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The Case Management Project at The Suffolk County House of Correction at Deer Island is operated by the Massachusetts Correctional Association (MCA) under contract to the Penal Institutions Department of the City of Boston. The total Project budget is \$88,713.00 for the nine-month period of April 1, 1974 - December 31, 1974. \$72,648.00 of this total is allotted for the nine personnel positions:

- . 1 Director
- . 1 Head Case Manager
- . 3 Case Managers
- . 2 Release Case Managers
- . 1 Administrative Assistant
- . 1 Secretary

Four other, non-grant-funded staff members are also attached to the Project. A more complete staffing summary is given below.

This report emphasizes overall Case Management Project activities and accomplishments, rather than individual staff member performance. Most staff members are intelligent, hardworking and sincerely concerned about their clients. It was obvious from observation as well as from poll results, however, that case managers vary greatly in the impact they have on their clients. They demonstrate a wide range of skill levels and effectiveness. Because this report deals with Project, rather than individual, performance, generalizations will be made which may provide undeserved credit to some and undue criticism to others. The level of functioning of specific staff members, however, is a management, rather than a program planning, issue.

GOALS

Background

Daniel Glaser, in his monograph Routinizing Evaluation, drew in some detail a distinction between the manifest and latent goals of criminal justice projects. He defined manifest goals as the officially stated goals of a project, while latent goals are "those interests and objectives which seem to account for policy and practice, but are different from the publicly

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proclaimed objectives. . . .^{*} This distinction is useful in considering the Case Management Project at the Suffolk County House of Correction. There appears to be a significant difference between the manifest goals of the Project, both written and verbal, and the latent goals of the Project staff.

It was difficult to learn even about the Project's manifest goals from its printed materials. A reading of grant applications, Project reports, and other Case Management literature indicates that throughout its history, the Project has more frequently been defined in terms of its functions than its goals. Its ultimate purposes are seldom specified. The 1974 grant application described the maximum utilization of community treatment assistance programs as the "overall goal" of the Project, with specific goals:

- A. To perform an intake and orientation interview with each client.
- B. To develop a written plan for rehabilitation as determined by the Case Review Team within one month of incarceration for all clients, with long and short term goals.
- C. To make at least one referral per client to a treatment program.
- D. To be an effective advocate to the Massachusetts Parole Board on behalf of clients.

These are limited, function-related goals, and their success will be discussed individually below.

The orientation of the Project has shifted somewhat since its inception. An early manifest Project goal was to "ease the trauma of reintegration" for ex-Deer Island inmates, especially during the first ninety days after release, primarily by establishing good referral resources for clients and by performing advocacy on the street. Soon the emphasis shifted from post-release to pre-release services. The 1974 grant application stressed assessment during incarceration, as well as referral. The underlying goal of all these activities, which often has only been implied, is to change the behavior of clients and, ultimately, to reduce recidivism.

From on-site observation, interviews, and study of written program description, two major manifest and two latent goals have been identified.

Manifest Goals

To Reduce Recidivism. More specifically, Case Management staff is supposed to act directly on clients to affect behavioral and attitudinal changes. The Project is also designed to help reduce recidivism indirectly, by acting as a central information processor, making resources known to clients and, in turn, providing information about clients to the resource agencies and the institution. These activities are designed to improve

^{*} Daniel Glaser, Routinizing Evaluation: Getting Feedback on Effectiveness of Crime and Delinquency Programs; DHEW, No. (HSM) 73-9123, 1973.

decision-making about inmates and by inmates. This aspect of Case Management was emphasized by the Executive Director of the Massachusetts Correctional Association.

The goal of reducing recidivism has created frustrating problems for the Project. It is notoriously difficult to achieve, and the reluctance of planners and Case Management staff to promise it in writing is understandable. It is, however, implicit in some of their activities, as described below, particularly those of counseling and client planning. It was also clearly articulated by the Project Director in a supervision session with one case manager: "Your job is to keep people out of prison." Because the goal is so difficult to achieve, Case Management staff members have become discouraged. They have been told that they must work to reduce recidivism, but they can see no evidence of success. They fear that the majority of their clients will return to Deer Island or will be sentenced to another institution. In most cases, they cannot even perceive behavioral or attitudinal changes in their clients which would mark progress toward the ultimate purpose of their work.

Utilizing as the definition of recidivism a new charge within six months after release, the data analysis conducted in conjunction with this study indicates that, during its first year of operation, Case Management clients, like those of the other programs studied, showed a small but not statistically significant decrease in recidivism from the aggregate level predicted by a base expectancy analysis. It is important to note that data from this August, 1972, through July, 1973, period have a very limited application to current Case Management status. The Project's goals, functions, and staff have grown and changed since July, 1973, and no measure can yet be taken of its more recent impact on clients and the recidivism rate.

To Improve Parole Services at Deer Island. This goal has been clearly stated, both in writing in the 1974 grant application and in interviews, and is linked to specific Project functions (below), although efforts to date have affected only inmates eligible for State parole. Project staff members use specific techniques to improve services and, in general, this Project goal does not conflict with their own latent goals.

Latent Goals

The latent goals of Case Management staff members do not seem to be related to recidivism. They may be determined from staff members' statements and daily activities.

To Change the Institution. This goal was defined by both the Project director and case managers. One case manager stated that his goal is "to get the system going right." Others suggested that Case Management should try to make the institution more client-oriented, and that the Project serves as a check on the activities of other institutional staff by acting in behalf of inmates. There has been a tendency in Case Management to take over those functions which have formerly been carried out by regular institutional personnel but which are not working well or to the benefit of inmates. This goal of institutional change could have both long and short term impact.

To Help Inmates Survive at Deer Island. The second latent goal was identified by one case manager and is evident in the Project staff's routine activities. It is founded on the belief that the institution is physically detrimental to inmates. This is a short-range goal, and to accomplish it Case Management staff work to assist inmates in obtaining various rights and privileges, such as medical assistance and furloughs, which will make their lives in the institution bearable.

Neither of these two latent goals is really aimed at client change. Both are based on Case Management staff's concern about its clients and its desire to help them deal on a day-to-day basis with the dehumanizing institutional process. The second latent goal, especially, is oriented toward short-term survival rather than long-term growth. For this reason, it conflicts with the Project's manifest goal of reducing recidivism. Certain Project functions, described below, are linked to the accomplishment of each manifest or latent goal. The practical effect of the philosophical conflict between goals is a conflict among various functions and roles assigned to Project staff or assumed by them.

CASE MANAGEMENT ORGANIZATION

Structure

As noted above, nine of the thirteen Case Management staff members are employees of the Massachusetts Correctional Association (MCA), working under contract with the Penal Institutions Department of the City of Boston, using LEAA funds. Although the four additional staff members' salaries are provided through other resources, they are supervised by the Director of Case Management and work as part of the Case Management staff. Because their functions are thoroughly integrated into the total Project, they will be identified separately here, but treated throughout the remainder of the report as Case Management staff members. They are:

- 1 Systems Manager (Penal Department employee)
- 1 Case Manager (Penal Department employee)
- 1 Tester (City of Boston employee, with Department of Labor funding)
- 1 Tester-Community Liaison (Also DOL-funded; will be assigned to work on the Singer-Graphlex vocational aptitude testing system, when it is installed.)

Case Management staff members at the beginning of the evaluation period (June, 1974) were: the director, the administrative assistant/parole liaison, four case managers, one tester, the systems manager, and a secretary. The signing of the 1974 contract allowed a head case manager and two release case managers to be hired. It was originally planned that

the latter, after a period of on-the-job training, would work afternoons and evenings (1-9 p.m.) and alternate weekends to provide counseling and support for inmates on release programs. They would also be available to perform intake interviews of new inmates who arrive during those hours. At the end of the evaluation period (September, 1974), the director was considering arranging all case managers' schedules to allow them to work fewer days, with longer hours each day, to enable them to continue working with their own clients who are approved for day release. The planned release case managers would then become regular case managers. The organizational chart (Table 1) reflects this proposed system.

There is, however, a major disadvantage to this plan. Case managers are under constant and emotionally tiring pressure from inmates. By 4 p.m. their effectiveness is usually reduced. For this reason, it does not seem that longer hours will enable them to function efficiently.

Another organizational modification was also under consideration at the same time. The director stated that one of the case managers might be assigned to do more community liaison work and less direct client contact work. The second tester would also assume community liaison duties. At the time of this report, neither of the above changes had been effected.

As of August 31, 1974, there were two vacant Case Management staff positions--a case manager and the Project secretary--leaving eleven staff positions filled. The director had been attempting unsuccessfully to fill the secretary position for three weeks. He reported that he had requested permission to reallocate \$600 of his budget to raise the secretary's salary from \$6,600 to \$7,200 annually, to enable him to hire a man or woman of higher caliber. This position is a sensitive one, requiring maturity and ability to handle constant and frequently unpleasant pressure from inmates. In view of the conditions under which the secretary must function, the special personality requirements of the job, and the importance of filling the position as quickly as possible, the budget change seems advisable.

The director of Case Management is responsible to, and works closely with, both the Massachusetts Correctional Association Executive Director and the Boston Penal Department Administration. MCA is his employer, and the parent agency for the Project, but services performed at the House of Correction come under the direct control of institutional administration in most matters except personnel. Even in this area, the Acting Penal Commissioner has stated that he has control over the Project, including the authority to dismiss staff members, but that he has chosen not to exercise it.

In general, the director of Case Management reports to the Executive Director of MCA in matters of:

- (a) personnel
- (b) major policy planning
- (c) budget and grant application
- (d) grant reporting

He is responsible to the institution (specifically to the Director of Treatment) for:

- (a) major policy and planning
- (b) grant reporting (reports are submitted to the Director of Activities)
- (c) Case Management staff relations with other institution staff
- (d) Case Management staff daily functions

The MCA Executive Director's contact with the Project varies in intensity from week to week. He retains approval power over all phases of Case Management operations, but relies on the judgment of the Project director for both day-to-day administration and day-to-day planning. The latter activity is coordinated with the Penal Department. The Project's quarterly reports are prepared by the Project director and approved by the MCA Executive Director, who suggests modifications before they are submitted to the Director of Activities.

Although there seem to be overlapping areas of authority between MCA and the Penal Department, there were no indications of conflict during the evaluation period. A somewhat cumbersome organization structure seems, in practice, to work smoothly. This success is due at least in part to the independence which the Executive Director of MCA has allowed the director of Case Management.

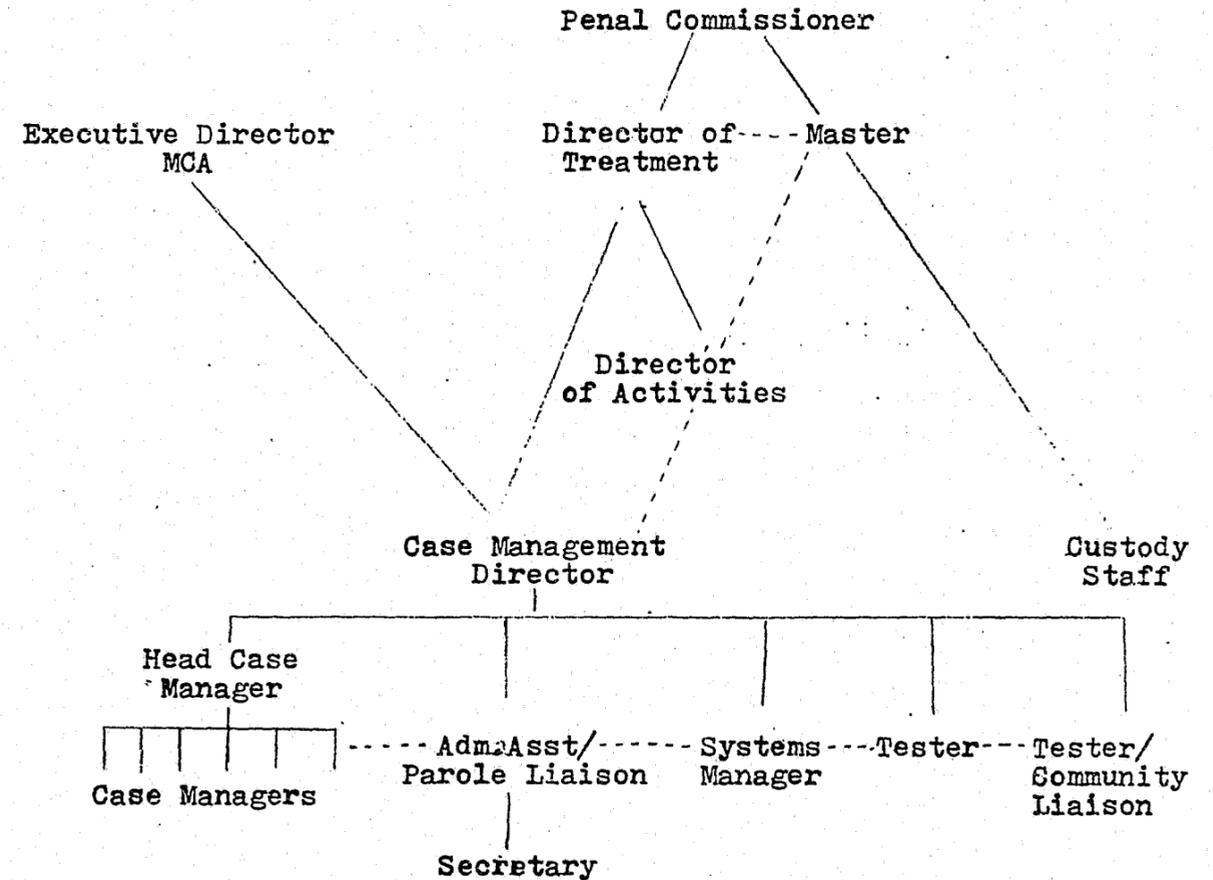
Functions

In a small pamphlet distributed for information and public relations purposes, the functions of the Case Management Project are described as: (1) assessment; (2) counseling; (3) classification; (4) post-release planning; (5) involvement with release programs, according to individual client needs; (6) referral to community agencies; and (7) parole coordination, including information preparation, liaison between the Massachusetts Parole Board and Deer Island, and coordination to ensure proper implementation of parole decisions.

Although these elements are all in evidence to some extent, one major area of Case Management functioning--general advocacy--has been excluded. Project activities could realistically be grouped in order of staff time devoted to them as: (1) general advocacy; (2) parole coordination; (3) individual client planning and referral; (4) institutional record keeping and other administrative activities; and (5) counseling. Each of these is discussed in detail.

General Advocacy. There are two aspects to this area of Case Management work. Case managers, and to some extent other Project staff as well, act as advocates for inmates both within the institution and in dealing with outside agencies. The institutional advocacy function is directly linked to the second of the two latent staff goals described above. Case managers work to improve the lives and living conditions of inmates. They do not believe that other institutional personnel care enough about inmates or are responsive enough to their needs.

TABLE I
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



———— direct lines of authority
 - - - - - contact and/or coordination

It is this institutional advocacy which causes the most friction between Project and custodial staffs. During the evaluation period, case managers spent a large portion of each day helping inmates to get things. In particular, they responded to requests for assistance in obtaining privileges within the institution such as furloughs and release status. Case managers are officially assigned to assist inmates in obtaining emergency, pre-release, and special furloughs, but in practice act as advocates for all types of furloughs, dealing daily with the director of Case Management and, on occasion, with the Master or Commissioner, to obtain furloughs for their clients.

Case managers also present clients' release applications to the Release Review Board and press for favorable decisions from the Master and Commissioner. In the past, case managers have followed up with the Work Release Office on the status of clients who have been approved but not yet placed. This advocacy was strongly resented by some members of the Work Release staff (see below), and has now been discontinued.

Case managers have described their repeated efforts to get medical and dental care, including eyeglasses, for their clients. Their efforts include dealing with the Receiving Office to assure that clients' names are put on the appropriate lists to see medical personnel who serve the Island and advocating furloughs for additional medical or dental treatment. Such cases are sufficiently infrequent that it is difficult to assess the amount of time usually spent in this way or the effectiveness of Case Management's attempts to provide this type of service. When asked by this study's survey if they had received help from their case managers in obtaining medical or dental treatment, 26 out of 88 inmates responding replied positively. Conceivably, most of the others had not needed medical assistance. Clearly, however, both inmates and Case Management staff agree overwhelmingly that the medical and dental treatment available at the prison are of poor quality and quantity, and that most inmates who are, or who feel they are, in need of treatment turn to their case managers for help in obtaining it. Case managers become frustrated because they have no real power to help. When asked what he could do to help an inmate get medical assistance, one case manager replied, "Nothing." Correctional officers in the Receiving Office, who are charged with compiling lists of inmates requiring attention from visiting medical personnel, seem to resent Project staff interference in this area.

Case managers also act as advocates for their clients in dealing with outside agencies. Until recently, case managers occasionally appeared in court on behalf of their clients. This practice was forbidden in July, 1974, by the then Acting Penal Commissioner, who said that he did not want case managers to appear to represent the institution. Case managers also intervene for inmates in crisis situations. During the evaluation period, for example, one case manager spent a large part of one morning working with an inmate whose wife had been taken to the hospital, helping him to obtain information on her condition.

The results of the inmate survey conducted in connection with this study indicate clearly that clients perceive their case managers as advocates. For example, even many of those who had not been on furlough cited

furlough assistance as a major Project function. Those who had been on furlough, and who had received this type of help, were generally more favorable toward Case Management than those who had not. This illustrates a point which was strongly made in the polling responses: Inmates expect specific, tangible help from their case managers. Those who have received definite advocacy service have higher opinions of the Project than others. Some 61.5% of those who told the interviewer that they had received help from their case managers in obtaining medical service thought the Project was doing a good job, compared to only 33.7% of all inmates polled.

Parole Coordination. Toward its goal of improving Deer Island parole services, the Case Management Project provides two major types of parole assistance. The first, which is most time-consuming and most significant, is the parole liaison function performed by the Project's administrative assistant. Second, case managers prepare letters to the Massachusetts Parole Board on behalf of each client shortly before they are to appear before the Board, giving information on each inmate's background, activities while incarcerated, and future plans.

Since January, 1973, the Case Management administrative assistant has also served as the institution's parole liaison. The present parole liaison took over the position in May, 1974. She spends an estimated three quarters of her time compiling and preparing inmate records for the Massachusetts Parole Board and helping inmates themselves to prepare for their hearings and eventual release. She carries on the following activities monthly, with the exception of the one summer month during which the Board does not sit at Deer Island:

- (a) Soon after each Parole hearing, she checks both Case Management and institutional files for inmates whose parole eligibility dates qualify them to see the Board at its next sitting.
- (b) She immediately sends a form memo to each man, requesting that he contact her regarding home and work plans.
- (c) As soon as possible, she interviews each man and obtains the information needed to complete a "Pre-Parole Hearing Investigation" form and an "H.C. Parole Summary" sheet. She is unable to meet with inmates on release programs, because she is not allowed to be present at the institution during the evening or on Saturday. A special form is sent to the release dorms to be completed for each man there who will see the Board, but the restriction on the parole liaison's access to inmates denies her specialized parole assistance to a significant portion of the population. (Copies of the forms referred to here are included in the appendix to this report.)
- (d) The parole liaison sends a copy of each of the above forms, as well as a large work sheet, listing each inmate who will see the Board and his offense and sentence data, to the parole coordinator at the Parole Board. His staff in turn prepares a folder on each inmate and Board members bring these folders to Deer Island hearings.

- (e) The parole liaison prepares another list of inmates who will see the Board; this is posted throughout the institution.
- (f) During each month she keeps a "Parole Check List," on which she records each form she prepares and submits in the pre-hearing period.
- (g) She collects the letters which case managers prepare on behalf of their clients and forwards them to the Board. Case managers are frequently late in preparing the letters, and the parole liaison has to request them repeatedly. These letters are included in the individual folders which Board members use during hearings.
- (h) If an inmate returns to Deer Island on a parole violation up to the day before a Board hearing, and has 90 days or more of his sentence left to serve, the parole liaison collects the necessary data and contacts the Board to add his name to their current list. She is also in almost daily contact with Board staff about other changes in the list, with contact increasing as the hearing day approaches.
- (i) The parole liaison has always been available to the Board during their meetings at Deer Island. Not until July, 1974, however, was she allowed by the Master to be present for the entire session. Her relationship to the Board is discussed in more detail below.
- (j) Each inmate is informed of the Board's decision immediately after it is made, and, at the end of the day, the parole liaison is given an unofficial list of decisions. She later receives an official list by mail.
- (k) Within a few days after a hearing, she contacts each inmate who has been granted straight parole or who has been assigned a reserve date to arrange for a parole orientation meeting. Parole orientation is designed to provide inmates with information on home and work requirements and to allow them to ask any question they might have. Through June, 1974, parole orientation was accomplished in a group meeting. In July, the parole liaison spoke briefly with individual inmates but was unable to do a thorough orientation because the Board sat only three days before her vacation, and inmates' furloughs precluded gathering during those days all inmates who had been granted parole. She hopes to be able to conduct regular individual orientation sessions starting in September. She feels that some inmates who may hesitate to ask questions in a group meeting would benefit from individual attention. Observation indicates that individual orientation would be appropriate. The only foreseeable problem is allocation of time, because during the observation period the administrative assistant-parole liaison had little or no slack time which could be used for work with individuals.

Unfortunately, the parole liaison is unable to provide orientation to inmates on release programs. After the June, 1974, hearings, she scheduled

two orientation sessions, one on a week day and one on Saturday, for inmates on release status. She was turned away at the institution gate when she arrived for the Saturday meeting. This is a clear gap in the institution's parole services which should be filled. Arrangements should be made by the Master, the director of Case Management and the parole liaison for her to meet with inmates on release after regular business hours for both parole hearing interviews and orientation.

The parole liaison also assists inmates in applying for early parole consideration. It is the responsibility of the inmate to initiate early parole application, but all paperwork must be done through Case Management. An inmate drafts his own letter to the Board. The parole liaison reads it and, in some cases, suggests changes, then forwards the final version, along with a summary form and material for the parole folder, to the Board's administrative assistants.

There are two bases on which the efficacy of Case Management's parole assistance may be assessed. The first is the subjective evaluation of Parole Department personnel who deal daily not only with Deer Island, but with other houses of correction. The second assessment method is a statistical analysis and comparison of parole rates at Deer Island and other county correctional facilities.

To obtain subjective impressions from parole professionals, staff of this study interviewed a member of the Massachusetts Parole Board, the Director of Parole Services, and the Parole Coordinator for both State and county institutions. The Board member sits at Deer Island 2-3 times per year and is also familiar with other county facilities. In his present position, the parole director has little direct contact with the facilities, but is knowledgeable about parole services throughout the State. The Parole Coordinator is the institution's direct link to the Parole Department and the Case Management parole liaison is in almost constant contact with him or his staff.

Although it is difficult to make an aggregate summary of three detailed interviews, some major points stand out clearly:

1. The liaison work performed by the Case Management administrative assistant is very valuable to the Board and Parole staff;
2. Current dissatisfaction with Deer Island parole proceedings on the part of some Board members is directed at the institution's administration, not at the parole liaison;
3. The parole liaison is viewed by Parole personnel as an institutional employee, dependent on and controlled by the Master; and
4. The letters which case managers write to the Board on behalf of their clients are read carefully but in many cases are not trusted by Board members.

Each of these four points is worthy of elaboration.

Before Case Management created the parole liaison position, a Correctional Officer was assigned to handle parole services at Deer Island.

According to the State Parole Coordinator, the officer's numerous other duties prevented him from spending the time required to provide adequate information to Parole. In this respect, this State official feels that Case Management's parole services not only represent a tremendous improvement over earlier procedures, but also are more thorough than most other county institutional services today. He noted, too, that the personnel transition in May, when the present parole liaison assumed the position, was accomplished smoothly. The Board member interviewed, although expressing the reservation that Deer Island's parole services are not the best among all the county houses of correction, also found them to be generally good. He stated that because the parole liaison is not parole-trained, her views are necessarily institution- rather than Parole-oriented. To provide her with experience and with insight into parole concerns, he suggested she continue to be present for all hearings at Deer Island for a period of eight or nine months and that she attend at least one hearing at a major state institution such as Walpole. The parole liaison agreed with this suggestion. She should contact the necessary parties as soon as possible to implement it.

These second and third points above are closely related. The relationship between Parole and Deer Island administration seems to be poor at this time. Parole staff expressed a strong mistrust of the administration's motives for urging parole for certain inmates. This problem does not seem to have affected the parole liaison's effectiveness to date, but it may have increasing significance. The Director of Parole Services stated that he would like to obtain funds to have a Parole staff member at Deer Island. The position to be created would be that of "special service representative," rather than Institutional Parole Officer, with the job rating of social worker. The Case Management Project director and parole liaison, however, have expressed the hope that the latter can assume both the title and duties of an IPO. She has recently met with the Director of Parole Services to discuss changing her role in this way. In the interview, he seemed to express a preference for placing someone new at Deer Island who would be strictly parole-oriented. Because the parole liaison is now viewed as an institutional employee, she may never be trusted by Parole to be, as he said, "geared to our needs." He suggested, however, that she might be freed from institutional control if she were placed on detached service and actually assigned to work directly for Parole under the supervision of the State Parole Coordinator. Closer ties to Parole would increase the liaison's credibility and effectiveness. It is recommended that the parole liaison and Project director meet with Parole staff to plan an orientation program for her, including attendance at a minimum of one Board session at a major state institution.

The letters which case managers submit to the Board on behalf of their clients were criticized by both of those interviewed who were familiar with them, although their specific criticisms varied somewhat. Both stated that the letters are uniformly positive, and therefore that case managers' comments cannot be trusted by Board members because they know that honest assessments of inmates' potential parole success would not be uniformly

optimistic. The most negative comment included in the letters which study staff read was that the subject should only be paroled to a half-way house. One case manager stated in an interview that he felt he could only be more or less enthusiastic. The letters, then, are useful to the Board only for the hard facts they contain about each inmate's activities while incarcerated. Case managers are unable to provide the Board with accurate and honest analyses of their clients in part because of the advocacy roles which they play. Undoubtedly, their reluctance is also influenced by the belief that no purpose will be served by their clients' continued incarceration at Deer Island. Because case managers can see little or no growth in their clients and believe that the institution is unable to help them, parole does not seem an unreasonable alternative, even if the chances of success are small.

The State Parole Coordinator criticized the case managers for involving themselves too much in the parole process. He said that they try to make parole decisions, rather than restricting themselves to providing information for the Board's use, and he indicated a professional resentment of letters stating that an inmate "should be paroled."

The second measure of parole assistance effectiveness is a statistical analysis of Deer Island parole results. Data indicate that Case Management's parole assistance did not have a significant impact on the proportion of applicants paroled during its first year. For purposes of analysis, "successful" parole results were defined as straight parole and reserve date decisions (reserve dates are tentative parole dates set pending the inmates' compliance with specific requirements, such as employment, acceptable to the Board). All other decision categories were considered negative. Four comparisons were performed for the years shown in Table 2. Figures indicate the number of favorable decisions and those numbers as percentages of each year's total applications.

The other major institutions used in the second 1974 comparison were: New Bedford, Billerica, Worcester, Springfield, Hampshire, and Essex. A Chi-square test was used each time to compare Deer Island results to those of other county institutions. The percentages indicate that in 1973, the first year of the parole liaison work, Deer Island's successful parole applications decreased 11% while all other county institutions' decreased only 1%. This difference is statistically significant at the $p \leq .05$, or "95% confidence," level. From January through July, 1974, however, Deer Island's favorable decisions have been 5% above other institutions'. The Chi-square tests indicate that none of the 1973 and 1974 differences are statistically significant at the .05 level.

Three factors decrease the usefulness of these comparisons. One is that all county institutions have personnel assigned to do parole liaison work. Many use officers on a part-time basis. Others, like Worcester and Hampshire, have treatment personnel analogous to Case Management staff. The changes in other institutions' parole procedures during these years were impossible to trace for this report, so the significance of the 1972-73

TABLE 2

Aggregate Parole Decisions at Deer Island and Other County Prisons

	<u>1972</u>		<u>1973</u>		<u>1974</u>		<u>1974</u>	
	<u>DI</u>	<u>All other county houses</u>	<u>DI</u>	<u>All other</u>	<u>DI</u>	<u>All other</u>	<u>DI</u>	<u>Other major county houses</u>
No. of favorable decisions	253	814	145	885	104	472	104	353
% of total	(81%)	(74%)	(70%)	(73%)	(72%)	(67%)	(72%)	(67%)

comparison, for example, is questionable. Another factor to bear in mind is that Deer Island may have a different type of inmate population than the other large county institutions and, if so, that difference may affect the Parole Board's decisions. Third, these figures cannot measure the impact of the parole orientation services performed by the parole liaison.

Case Management's plan for 1974 called for the assumption of county parole responsibilities in addition to State parole assistance. County parole is administered by the Penal Department. Inmates are eligible for Penal Department, rather than Massachusetts Parole Board, parole if they have been sentenced to Deer Island by a District Court for less than twelve months. Parole is granted by the Penal Commissioner, in consultation with officials of the sentencing court, and parolees are supervised by District Court Probation Officers. Although Case Management provides some service in this process on an individual basis, no formal procedures have been established. The director of Case Management has stated that he no longer plans to implement formal services to these men in the near future because of two major problems. The first is that there is no permanent Penal Commissioner, and the Acting Commissioner reportedly does not wish to make the major procedural changes necessary for Case Management to perform county parole coordination. The second reason is that assumption of this responsibility would significantly increase the Case Management clerical workload. Observation during the evaluation period indicated that both the Project secretary and administrative assistant were occupied almost constantly. The present administrative assistant believes, and observation confirms, that if she were to add county parole assistance to her State duties, which already consume approximately 75% of her time, she would be unable to perform any other work. The clerical tasks which she now carries out would fall to the already fully-occupied secretary.

Client Planning and Referral Assistance. The third Project function is to provide individual clients with planning assistance. This function is related to the major Project manifest goal of reducing recidivism. It is difficult to measure the amount of assistance which Case Management provides to its clients in long and short-range planning. The client population is particularly resistant to planning activities. The planning assistance which Case Management provides seems to break down into two categories: (1) planning through the Classification Team process and (2) other planning, provided through formal sessions or more casually, in which just the inmate and his case manager or another Project staff member are involved. Case managers are, of course, more involved in helping their clients plan for their time at Deer Island and for release than are other Project staff members, although the administrative assistant is frequently active in parole planning and the Project director has impact through his work on the Classification Team.

Referral is another important part of Case Management's work. The Project's 1974 grant application projected at least one referral for each inmate client. Staff effort is concentrated on inmates incarcerated for one month or more. Data from the "Cohort III" period, August, 1973, through July, 1974, indicate that 67% of all clients discharged during that period had been referred to at least one supportive service organization. Some 66.2% of inmates who spend one to two months at Deer Island, and 83.1% of

clients serving two or more months, are referred at least once. Many inmates, particularly those with lengthier sentences, receive more intensive services and are referred by their case managers to more than one agency for assistance, as shown in Table 3. The program to which inmates were most often referred was the Academy, the Education Program at Deer Island.

The Classification Team, which was created by the present Project director, is designed to provide systematic long and short-range life planning to every inmate who is serving 30 days or more. The team brings together professionals from various disciplines who share ideas and suggestions about inmates who have been at Deer Island for four to five weeks. (See the "client flow" discussion below). Case histories are prepared and presented in person by case managers. The team makes recommendations which, during the evaluation period, were recorded by the director of Case Management, acting unofficially as chairman and secretary. The head case manager has been given additional responsibility for the classification process and indicated that he may assume those duties permanently. Priorities are agreed upon within the team and also recorded. In theory, case managers meet with their client to show them the team's recommendations and to discuss implementation of plans. Occasionally, the team requests that certain recommendations not be shown to an inmate, if, for example, they may be particularly difficult to implement and may raise his expectations unrealistically.

At the end of each classification discussion, a date is set for reclassification. Case managers also present cases for reclassification, at which time each inmate's progress, if any, is reviewed, and his case manager explains to the team any problems with implementation of the earlier plans.

The present Project director, who created the Classification Team and who has worked hard to organize and run it, acknowledges some of its problems, but cautions against judging it harshly on the basis of its performance to date because he feels that it is still growing and changing. No attempt has yet been made to collect data on the extent to which plans made by the team have been implemented, nor to evaluate their success. Based on observation and discussions with staff, it seems that such an evaluation will be necessary soon, and that there are some major problems with the Classification Team process which will continue to impinge on its effectiveness if they are not formally identified and solutions sought. To that end, some of the readily observable problems are outlined below.

During the evaluation period, the Classification Team was experiencing difficulties in several areas. The most significant problem overall is that the team functions within Deer Island, but is not of Deer Island. It receives no input from institution custody staff. The Master stated that he cannot spare an officer for classification at the present time because he is already operating daily with less than a full custody staff. It includes no member of the work release staff, which is responsible for administering a potentially important rehabilitation-reintegration vehicle within the institution. Nor is the team linked to the Release Review Board, which makes recommendations to the Master and Commissioner on release program applications. The Case Management Project director acknowledged this last problem in his report for the quarter April 1, 1974 to

TABLE 3

Referrals Made for Case Management Clients
Serving Two Months or More
 (August, 1973 - July, 1974 discharges)

<u>% Referred at least once</u>	<u>% Referred at least twice</u>	<u>% Referred at least 3 times</u>	<u>% Referred at least 4 times</u>
83.1%	50.7%	22.1%	8.1%

June 30, 1974. There appears, however, to be a broader issue--lack of overall institutional ties and support.

The concept of bringing together professionals from various disciplines to contribute their expertise to individual client planning seems excellent. But for the process to be meaningful, implementation of the team's recommendations must be possible. The Classification Team functions more as part of Case Management than as an integral part of the institution. Its recommendations influence some activities, particularly those of case managers, the tester, and the Academy staff, but they have little official institutional support. In one Release Review Board session, for example, there was detailed discussion of furlough applications of more than a dozen inmates and consideration of the release applications of several others. Never in the three hour session was a recommendation of the Classification Team regarding one of these men mentioned.

The primary implementors of plans drawn up by the Classification Team must be the case managers. Currently, however, case managers express strong reservations about the classification process. They feel that because of the institutional constraints under which they operate, the team's recommendations are unrealistic. The director mentioned this problem in his latest quarterly report. The impact of the case manager's reservations about the team on its effectiveness is enormous. Case managers express both hostility and frustration about classification. Their consistent lateness in preparing classification reports is an indication that they do not take the team's work seriously. More importantly, although they give in to pressure from team members at meetings, they disregard its recommendations later. One case manager stated that when the plans and priorities established by the team seem good to him, he follows them exactly. Often, however, they seem impractical or unwise, and he ignores them completely. He suggested, too, that even more of the team's recommendations would be disregarded by the case managers if they did not face the reclassification process.

The Classification Team does provide case managers with planning assistance which would not otherwise be available. In a kind of brainstorming process, team members ask questions which make case managers think about issues and possibilities for their clients which might never have occurred to them. In some cases, however, case managers do not feel professionally qualified to implement the team's recommendations, particularly those of the psychologist. In one session, for example, it was unrealistic of the team to decide that a case manager would be counseling a client twice a week, when the case manager had already stated that he did not feel capable of dealing with the man.

The Classification Team, as it presently exists, lacks both credibility and power. Individually, members may be perceived by case managers and others as worthwhile resource persons, but they lack standing as a group to see that their recommendations are implemented.

In addition to the work of the Classification Team, case managers provide less structured assistance for clients in planning, particularly for their release. This Project function is difficult to measure because

it is performed at irregular intervals, at any place on the Island where a case manager meets a client. As part of the planning process, case managers frequently refer clients to other programs and agencies for assistance or treatment. For example, case managers suggest programs for clients and help them contact agencies or individual employers about post-release opportunities.

Only five of the thirteen inmates interviewed by the Project analyst for this study had begun to prepare to see the Parole Board. Of these, three responded that they have received planning assistance from their case managers. In the formal inmate polling, several questions pertained to planning assistance. 64.9% of inmates who were asked if their case manager had helped them plan to see the Parole Board responded, "No." Many, of course, were not yet close to parole eligibility. But plans for release should be begun soon after incarceration, particularly in view of the short sentences which most inmates serve at Deer Island. In response to another question, only 38.3% of inmates polled told the interviewer that their case managers had helped them plan for release. It would appear that most inmates do not receive intensive planning assistance. In both formal and informal interviews, of course, the subjects' responses are subjective and cannot be said to assess the impact of Case Management planning assistance with total accuracy.

Institutional Administrative Assistance. Case Management has assumed some institutional administrative functions which would otherwise fall to custody staff. These functions are primarily carried out by the systems manager, who is responsible for:

- (a) taking regular furlough applications,
- (b) collecting merit reports, criminal history data, and warrant information on furlough applicants,
- (c) serving as a non-voting member of the Release Review Board to present furlough cases,
- (d) keeping disciplinary records for the Master,
- (e) recording the furlough and release decisions of the Master, and
- (f) providing daily lists to the front gate of inmates on release programs with their times of departure and arrival.

The systems manager is phasing out his client caseload and will soon devote his entire time to administrative activities.

Case managers also perform some institutional paperflow functions, including taking other types of furlough applications and all release applications and collecting merit reports on release applicants. As described above, the Project administrative assistant has assumed all State parole functions, including a large amount of detailed paperwork.

The Case Management Project also attempts to function as an institutional information center for outside programs providing services to inmates. The Division of Employment Security, The Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, Boston Offender Services Project, Roxbury Multi-Service Center, and various drug programs receive lists of potential clients from the Project.

The Project director has, in the past, shown a tendency to direct his staff to assume institutional functions which are not being carried out efficiently or fairly. An alternative would be to promote institutional change within the existing structure. Although this method would be slower to produce change and more frustrating for Case Management and inmates, it would have three benefits: (a) It would eliminate some of the resentment expressed by custody staff because of what they see as Case Management's "interference" in institutional processes; (b) The effects might be of longer duration because they would be incorporated into the institution's normal routine; and (c) Case Management could become more treatment oriented. This last point is particularly important. The survey results indicated that 62.9% of the inmates responding view their case managers as part of the institution's administration. This belief not only creates unrealistic expectations of case managers' power to obtain furloughs and other benefits, but also inhibits the formation of trust relationships between case managers and their clients. Of the inmates whose overall responses about "what case managers do" were negative, 87.5% think they are part of the administration.

The director of Case Management has tried for and achieved some change within the institutional structure. For example, he worked for the creation of the Release Review Board, eliminating former arbitrary release practices. The Board is now a permanent institutional component.

Counseling. Of all the functions of the Case Management Project, the fifth, counseling, is the most difficult to define and to assess. Case managers perform both formal and informal counseling. To change inmate attitudes and behaviors, and therefore to achieve reduced recidivism, they are expected by the Project director and by other institutional staff to counsel inmates. (In informal interviews, some correction officers suggested counseling as the only legitimate activity for case managers. It is certainly less threatening to the officers and less in conflict with their own roles, than other Project activities.) The director wants counseling to be case managers' major activity. He requires that they report weekly the number of formal counseling contacts, the number of informal counseling contacts, and the number of other contacts which they have had with them. It is left to each staff member to define his client services. Case managers are aware of the director's emphasis on counseling, and so their reported frequency of counseling interviews must be taken as an indication of the maximum amount of counseling performed. Although not an objective measure, it indicates great variation among the experienced case managers. During the period of May 24 to June 14, one case manager reported an average of 5.75 counseling interviews per week, while another reported 18. This wide range was confirmed in individual interviews with the four experienced case managers. All four stated that they do formal counseling. Two defined counseling as their major function. Only one seemed really to see himself as a counselor, although observation indicates that even he does not spend the greater part of his time at Deer Island doing formal counseling.

The director of Case Management stated that case managers practice William Glasser's "reality therapy." The goal of reality therapy is to help an individual learn to act more responsibly through close involvement

with a caring, responsible person, the therapist. The emphasis in reality therapy is on current behavior rather than on psychological history. Although they were familiar with the term, there was no indication that case managers used specific techniques of reality therapy. One case manager denied that they actually practice reality therapy. The word "therapy" implies a lengthy and structured attempt to influence behavior and/or attitudes. Practically, therapy is not being practiced at Deer Island and, indeed, is probably not possible in a County House of Correction. Counseling, on the other hand, particularly informal counseling, is practiced by most case managers with at least some of their clients.

In the broadest sense, counseling can be defined as working with an individual on issues of growth and personal development. In specific, at Deer Island, observed counseling included: confronting an inmate about his drug dependency in an effort to get him to seek help; discussing with an inmate his dismissal from the work release program; encouraging an inmate to apply for a parole job other than car washing; and talking with a client about the relative merits of returning from a furlough and attempting escape.

In most cases, counseling at Deer Island deals with immediate issues and problems, rather than long-term goals. Case managers employ few formal counseling techniques. Specific methods vary according to the individual, but one-to-one discussions of client problems are most common. One case manager reported that he uses chess in counseling sessions, in part for rapport-building and in part as a diagnostic tool and a basis for questioning the client about certain behaviors. Counseling usually involves confrontation. Case managers have to be willing to confront clients with reality, including their own inappropriate or unproductive behaviors. They should be able to tell an inmate when he is doing something or asking for something which the case manager believes to be unwise. Informal polling indicates that inmates do see case managers as confrontive. Ten out of the thirteen inmates interviewed said they believed their case managers would speak out if they thought the inmates were doing something wrong. Observation indicates that the amount of confrontation varies greatly among case managers. Another member of the Deer Island treatment staff noted that case managers tend to react to circumstances, rather than to initiate counseling issues.

Case Management counseling frequency and effectiveness are limited by several factors:

- Lack of counseling training. Few of the case managers have professional counseling training which would provide them with broader insights into clients' behaviors and how to deal with them. Most do have previous counseling experience.
- Lack of counseling supervision. Case managers did not receive supervision from a trained and experienced counselor on a regular basis during most of the evaluation period. The head case manager has begun to supervise, but no sessions have been observed to indicate whether he is assisting them with specific counseling issues.

- Lack of facilities. The Case Management offices are busy, crowded, and totally unsuitable for counseling. Case managers have access during some parts of the day to one room of an office trailer (where they all must try at once to meet with clients) and to some rooms in the Academy. Space for private counseling is severely limited. Two inmates in informal interviews noted lack of privacy as a major Case Management problem.
- Institutional inconsistency. In a staff meeting, an outsider discussed with case managers what seemed to be their unwillingness to face their clients with reality. In several instances, inmates who clearly did not meet institutional requirements for furloughs had been assisted to apply and were rejected. Case managers replied that they were required to help process these applications; that they were not allowed to refuse an inmate assistance in applying for furlough; and that if they tried to discourage an inmate from applying unrealistically or unwisely, he could find a way around the rules, which are not administered consistently. Case managers expressed a fear of appearing foolish for following the rules.
- Role conflict. Case managers' advocacy functions are in direct conflict with their roles as counselors.

This last limitation is particularly significant. A counselor must be able to set limits for his client. He must be not only able but willing to refuse to do and get things for clients which do not seem appropriate for their growth. Case managers at Deer Island spend much of their time as advocates, helping clients to obtain rights and privileges.

There is no doubt about the legitimacy of inmates' medical needs, for example, although case managers have no actual power to help and are not ideal resource persons for this type of problem. There is, however, a serious question about the value of case managers' involvement in furlough and release program decisions. Interviews with inmates indicate that they judge their case managers by their effectiveness in advocacy rather than in other services such as counseling. A major source of case manager frustration and discouragement seems to be this role conflict. Case managers are reinforced by the Project director for performing counseling and planning functions. Inmates, however, reward them for successful advocacy, and they are in closer contact with inmates than with the director. In addition, case managers seem to feel personal pressure to get things for inmates which will make their lives at Deer Island easier. They cannot see long-term changes in their clients' attitudes and behaviors; most are not trained to produce these changes through counseling, and they feel they have no time for counseling because of their advocacy roles. They care about their clients, and they want to help them, but the only help which produces tangible results is advocacy. Even as advocates, their jobs are frustrating and their successes sporadic.

It is not possible to be a successful advocate and a successful counselor at the same time. The two roles have different goals and different responsibilities. Therefore, Case Management counseling and advocacy functions should be totally separated. There seem to be legitimate needs for both types of services at Deer Island. Counseling is obviously an

appropriate function of Case Management. Advocacy may also be, although other staff could be provided for this service. In no case, however, should the two functions be assigned to or assumed by the same staff member. The goals and the activities of advocates are too often inimical to those of counselors. Case Management staff assigned to do counseling should be given both training in specific counseling techniques, and on-going counseling supervision, dealing with specific issues and clients.

CLIENT FLOW

Intake

Upon arrival at Deer Island, each inmate is taken to the Receiving Office, where he is given institutional clothing and a rule book, and where the necessary paperwork is completed to admit him to the House of Correction. Unless a serious medical problem exists which requires his confinement in the infirmary, he is then taken to the classification section of the hill prison's west wing. Deer Island rules require that before an inmate is admitted into the general population, he must be examined by a physician and interviewed by a case manager. On one occasion during the observation period, a new inmate was released from classification before these steps were taken and came to the Case Management office for assistance and information.

For all inmates, this initial interview constitutes intake into the Case Management program. Those with terms shorter than thirty days are offered Case Management assistance to meet immediate needs while incarcerated or to make arrangements for release, but no long-term plans can be made. According to the standard set by the director of the Case Management Project, in the period before the release case managers were hired, intake was to be performed within 72 hours after an inmate's arrival. Inmates interviewed informally during the evaluation described periods of from one to five days between arrival and first contact with Case Management. These responses about the timing of their contacts with the Project are, of course, subjective, and must necessarily reflect not only the accuracy or inaccuracy of their memories, but their current feelings about Case Management service as well. The Project director estimated in his most recent quarterly report that this period had been shortened to twelve hours, except for delays caused by weekends. During the observation period, Case Management staff seemed to be meeting the 72 hour standard in almost all cases, although one new inmate who was placed in the infirmary immediately upon arrival waited several days before being interviewed for Case Management intake. Under more normal conditions, case managers feel pressure to help free new men as quickly as possible from the unpleasant condition of constant lock-up in classification. Observation indicated, in general, an 18-24 hour gap between arrival and intake. If case managers' schedules are changed to provide evening and/or weekend coverage, intake may be performed more quickly. Immediate support from a case manager could reduce a new inmate's anxiety.

With few exceptions, inmates are assigned to case managers according to area of home residence. Caseloads during the evaluation period ranged approximately from 27 to 32 for the regular case managers. There is a need for a Spanish-speaking case manager, but the director reports that despite his efforts, he has been unable to hire one. Unless a case manager is absent or under particular time constraints, he usually performs intake on new inmates from his geographical district who were to become part of his regular caseload. By performing the initial interview, he is able to make himself known to his client, to begin to establish a relationship with him, and to assess his client's responses to the wide range of questions included on the six-page inmate intake interview form (included in the appendix to this report). These questions include details on family background, employment history, criminal activities, the inmate's views of his offense and addiction history. In some cases, a case manager uses the initial interview to begin confronting his client on issues relevant to his criminal history and/or personal problems. During the observation period, study staff attended three intake interview sessions, performed by two of the experienced case managers. One of the case managers used the intake for counseling purposes as well as information gathering and introduction. He held an hour-long session with a young client convicted of larceny, confronting him again and again with the seriousness of his drug dependency.

If case managers' schedules are changed they will be available to do intakes on inmates who arrive outside of regular business hours. Immediate support from a case manager can help reduce new arrivals' anxieties about Deer Island and may expedite their movement from the classification area to the general population.

All inmates serving thirty days or more are asked at the end of the intake interview to sign a form allowing Case Management to obtain medical and military records. It is less common for information to be obtained on inmates serving shorter terms, but the decision is left to each case manager. In the observed intake sessions, both case managers explained that the information would be used to help the subjects plan for their release, that it would be kept strictly confidential, and that they were not required to sign. On the last page of the inmate intake interview form, each case manager places a mark by the information which he would like to obtain on the client, and for which authorization has been granted. He then delivers the entire form to the Case Management secretary, who sends for the requested information by using one of several form letters.

For inmates who are being recommitted to Deer Island, slightly different procedures have been developed. If a man has never before been a Case Management client, the form described above is used. For former clients who have been on the street for an extended period of time, another shorter form (included in the appendix) has been developed. It includes space for information on the individual's activities since his last incarceration. Often, an inmate is recommitted after only a short period of freedom (for example, a brief escape); in this circumstance, no intake is performed.

After intake, the case manager fills in three small cards. One of these is passed from the Receiving Office to Case Management, and then to the doctor or nurse, as the inmate moves through classification. It is

returned to Case Management and kept in the inmate's file (Class II). On another small orange card is written information about the offense and sentence. This card is kept in a separate file in the Case Management office.

A third card may be sent by the case manager to the Academy, giving information on the inmate's educational background. It is sent only if the client indicates some interest in the Academy, although staff there told evaluators that they would prefer to receive information on each inmate regardless of his initial willingness to participate. They seem to feel that, through Case Management screening, they may be missing potential students. The routinizing of delivery of educational information is an issue which could and should easily be resolved between the director of Case Management and the Academy.

Inmates' responses to poll questions about the intake interviews were mostly negative. Only one-third reported that they had found the interview helpful. Cross-tabulation showed that intake, which provides inmates with their first impressions of their case managers, has no significant impact on their eventual opinions of the Project. Their major criticism seems to be simple: 55.6% of inmates responding to the question complained that the inmate interview provided them with no information, but included only questions. In the three observed intakes, case managers did provide some information, verbally and briefly, and also volunteered to answer each inmate's questions. But no systematic attempt is currently made to inform inmates fully about the programs and resources available to them or to alert them to potential problems.

If the intake interview emphasis were shifted more toward orientation, two benefits might result: (1) inmates with more information about their environment might deal more effectively with it; and (2) more positive case manager--client relationships might be established immediately, because inmates would perceive case managers as performing definite services. Therefore, it is recommended that the Case Management intake be revised to include more orientation and fewer information-gathering procedures.

Post Intake

After intake, there follows in most cases a period of informal contact between case manager and client. At the end of the observed intakes, both of the case managers requested their clients to look them up at the Case Management office as soon as they were released into the general population. There is no formal procedure for this post intake contact. In informal interviews, inmates described periods of two days to four weeks between intake and the next contact with their case managers. Based on observation, the latter period seems unrealistically long; here again, inmates' answers are affected by memory and individual biases. Follow-up contacts, both in this period immediately following intake and throughout each inmate's incarceration, may be initiated by either the client or the case manager. Inmates reported, and observations confirmed, that many contacts are made casually, even accidentally, as case managers walk around the Island. Some clients (not including those on release programs) reported daily contact with their case managers. Others reported contact as

infrequent as once in two weeks. Men on release programs obviously have little or no contact with their case managers, since it is not unusual for an inmate on work release, for example, to be absent from the Island between 7:00 a.m. and 7:00 p.m. The director of Case Management expressed some concern about these inmates' need for support. The release case managers were hired to meet this need, but during the evaluation period, their schedules, as well as the schedules of other case managers, were changing.

In general, the inmate himself determines the frequency of his interaction with his case manager. There are inmates who appear at the Case Management office every day, often standing outside the door for an hour or more or leaving and reappearing several times, particularly during the morning. These inmates catch their case managers and other staff members as they enter and leave the office, most often to ask for help in obtaining furloughs or medical assistance or in meeting other short-term needs. Some seem to spend time at Case Management without specific purposes, just to have something to do and someone to talk to. Thus, these men (generally the same ones every day) determine not only the frequency of their contact with the Project, but its type, as well. Some counseling is done, and referrals are often made, but most often this contact is of an advocacy nature, and the goals, most commonly those of obtaining information or tangible goods and privileges are practical and immediate.

During the first month of each client's incarceration, his case manager should have enough contact with him to provide in-depth information and assessment for classification and referral purposes. It is difficult to measure contact between case managers and their clients because so much is of an informal nature, taking place wherever they happen to meet on the Island. The running records which case managers keep for themselves and the weekly summaries which they submit to the Project director (albeit somewhat irregularly) show that there is a great variation in frequency of all types of client contact among the several case managers. Average weekly client contacts reported by case managers over a three week period varied from 35 to 113. Observation indicates that they vary in their knowledge of their clients and that each case manager knows more about, and is more intimately involved with, some inmates than others.

Testing

Although the test administrator is not grant-funded, he functions as an integral part of the Project, and his work with inmates must be considered in an examination of Case Management operations. Testing can occur at any time during incarceration. Inmates are most frequently tested soon after arrival, often at the request of their case managers. New Academy students are also tested. Of the thirteen inmates interviewed by study staff, nine had been tested.

The tester can administer a wide variety of interest, skill, and intelligence instruments, although he is not yet qualified to administer the WAIS, a sensitive individual intelligence test for adults. He usually begins with the WRIOT, an occupational interest inventory, rather than a

formal test, which is less threatening and anxiety-producing for inmates who have had negative experiences with education and examination situations.

The secretary of Case Management maintains a list of inmates to be tested and distributes copies to the tester and to the Academy, where much of the testing takes place. The tester reported that he attempts to meet with each subject to explain the outcomes of the tests. Seven of the nine interviewed inmates who had been tested stated that they had met with the tester to discuss the test results. Three of them volunteered praise for the help they had received from him.

The tester is also a member of the Classification Team. During the observed team meetings, his opinion was sought by other members. Because it has been difficult for him to provide specific information about subjects up to three to four weeks prior to classification, a new system is now being implemented, whereby he will prepare brief reports in advance of each meeting about the inmates on that week's list whom he has tested. The Classification Team also can request that appointments be made for inmates who have not yet been tested. Results are then discussed at reclassification.

Like other Case Management functions, test administration is adversely affected by the physical conditions of the facility. Testing takes place for two hours every morning at the Academy, with an enforced daily break at 11:30 a.m. because no one is allowed to remain in the Academy when the correctional officer in charge of Academy security leaves. The tester sometimes uses the chaplain's office for testing and post-testing counseling, which he also performs during the afternoon in the Academy, but he states that, in general, it is difficult for him to find test administration space which is private and free from noisy interruptions.

Classification

After approximately four weeks of incarceration, the case of each inmate is supposed to be presented to the Classification Team. A review of inmates who entered Deer Island during the weeks of June 23-29 and June 30-July 7 showed that six of the ten men were classified four weeks after arrival, and one within five weeks. One other was not classified until after intake because he refused to be interviewed by his case manager, and two left before they could be classified.

The Project secretary compiles a list of inmates due to be classified and posts it six days before each Classification Team meeting. Case managers are required to complete a "CT-1" form (a copy of which appears in the appendix) for each client on the list by Wednesday morning, the day before the team meets, in order to be prepared to discuss their cases in a supervision meeting and to enable the secretary to duplicate the CT-1 forms for distribution the following day to team members. Instructions for CT-1 forms are given in the handbook which the Project director has written for his staff, but the quality and thoroughness of completion varied, during the observation period, from case manager to case manager and from week to week. In most cases, they were not completed and delivered to the secretary until Thursday noon.

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Throughout most of the evaluation period, case managers were given little assistance or supervision in the preparation of cases for classification. Although supervision sessions were scheduled for Wednesday mornings, at which time each case manager was to meet with the Project director to discuss both those cases to be presented the following day and other case-load issues, they seldom took place, and never without interruption. The head case manager, who began work in July, has been assigned to provide direct supervision to case managers and to emphasize classification preparation and follow-through. He has begun to meet with case managers weekly to review cases, and this guidance may increase the quality and timeliness of the CT-1's and presentations to the Classification Team.

At the meetings, case managers present each case to the team, including their own verbal and written analysis. Team members ask questions and suggest procedures and plans, to which they then assign priorities. These decisions are recorded on form CT-3 (also in the appendix). A typical plan might include recommendations that the inmate attend GED classes at the Academy, be referred to the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission for assessment and possible training assistance, and receive counseling about a marital problem.

As noted supra, the case manager in any individual instance may or may not agree with the team's recommendations. In most cases, however, it is expected that he will attempt to implement them. If he chooses to do so, he may meet with each client to show him a copy of the recommendations and to discuss their implementation. If the client strongly opposes the plan suggested for him, he is expected to be reclassified at the next team meeting. If not, his progress will be reviewed after a period of weeks. (See the discussion of re-classification, below.)

Furlough Application (Regular, Special and Emergency)

Inmates apply for regular furloughs through the Case Management systems manager, who helps them complete the application form (a copy of which is in the appendix). He collects the information required by the Release Review Board, including criminal and institutional histories, detail officers' recommendations (if any), and information on outstanding warrants. The systems manager presents all applications to the Board, but remains impartial during its deliberations. He also attends meetings at which the Master reviews Board recommendations and records the decisions. The systems manager then notifies inmates in writing of dispositions.

Although they have no official responsibilities for regular furlough decisions, case managers also become involved in the process as advocates. Because the Release Board fears "leaks" to inmates about its deliberations, case managers are no longer allowed to be present during discussions of furlough applications, and so cannot influence the Board's recommendations. They often attempt later to influence decisions by taking their client's cases to the Project director, who is in close contact with the Master. Case managers bear the brunt of inmate's anger and frustration when they are not approved for the furloughs they request. Clients put strong pressure on case managers to fight for furloughs. Until June, 1974, case managers

could go directly to the Master or even to the Commissioner for furlough and release advocacy. Since that time, they have been required to communicate only with the director of Case Management, or in his absence with the head case manager, on all matters. This policy change caused resentment among the case managers, and it has been disregarded on some occasions, but the Director is attempting to enforce it strictly.

Unlike applications for regular furloughs, emergency and special furlough applications are made directly to case managers. Special furloughs are granted to enable men to have appointments with social service and employment agencies, specifically those with which they have been working for a month or more. Emergency furloughs are allowed in cases of family death or serious illness. Rules for application and approval for these, as well as regular furloughs, were prepared by a committee under former Commissioner Eaves through the particular efforts of the Case Management Project director. These rules are neither widely recognized by inmates and correctional staff nor broadly adhered to, and revisions may soon be considered to make allowances for additional needs of inmates, so that fewer exceptions will have to be made.

It is the responsibility of the Project secretary to notify the police department of the town or city in which each inmate will be spending his furlough via a form letter.

Furlough Fund

Inmates with less than \$10.00 in their institutional accounts are eligible to receive a grant from the furlough fund established by the Boston Offenders Service Project (BOSP) and administered by Case Management. Inmates apply to the Project's administrative assistant, who maintains fund records and processes the grant forms. Each inmate who leaves for furlough on a week day is given \$1.00 for transportation to BOSP where he can receive an additional \$5.00 for a one-day furlough (or \$10.00 for two days). On weekends, inmates can receive the full amount directly from the Receiving Office.

Polling indicates that the fund is not well known among inmates. 56.8% reported that they had never heard of a furlough fund. The majority of only one case manager's clients were familiar with it. Of course, many inmates have not been on furlough without ten dollars, so it is not clear whether eligible inmates are missing fund benefits. Still, some inmates in need of this resource may not be making use of it, and so an effort to distribute pertinent information more broadly should be made.

Release Program Application

Inmates are eligible to apply for work, education, and therapy release programs if they have been incarcerated at Deer Island for a minimum of two months, are within one year of parole eligibility or wrap-up date, and if they are not currently incarcerated for one of a specific list of violent and/or sexual crimes. To apply for a release program, an inmate

goes to his case manager, who helps him complete an application for release specifying the type of program he is requesting and relevant background data.

Applicants for education release must be approved by the Academy. Applicants for therapy release must have previously established a relationship at Deer Island with the program to which they will be released. The procedure for work release is somewhat more complex and has changed during the evaluation period, due to the relationship between Case Management and the Work Release Office described infra. Before July, 1974, case managers prepared folders of applicants for work release and delivered them to the Work Release Office for review before presenting them to the Release Review Board. Currently, case managers assist each inmate in completing his application, then compile packets of the background information required by the Release Review Board, according to a checklist developed by the director of Case Management. If an inmate is approved by the Master and Commissioner, the systems manager delivers the information in the packet to the Work Release Office for review.

Each case manager presents his own client applications for release status to the Board, acting in most cases as the man's advocate. In the observed Release Review Board session, only once did a case manager suggest that the Board recommend rejection of an inmate's work release application. In that instance, the case manager expressed a strong opinion that therapy release would be more appropriate, and the Board was influenced by his analysis. One member said in an interview that he discounts most case managers' recommendations regarding release applications because they so seldom provide the Board with honest appraisals of their clients' chances for success. He was dissatisfied with the advocacy role of the case managers, although he qualified his comments by stating that one case manager frequently presents a client's case as advocate and then is willing to give the Board his true opinion. Since this is not the same case manager who recommended that the Board reject an inmate's work-release application, in the case described above, it would appear that at least two case managers do provide some realistic evaluation.

This situation is an excellent example of the pressure to advocate privileges for their clients, whether or not they may be beneficial in terms of long-range growth goals (discussed supra). The case manager before the Board is under double pressure to fight for a release program for his client: first, he knows it is likely that he will be blamed by his client if the Board recommends rejection; second, because he cannot cause or see long-term improvements in his client's attitudes and behaviors, the case manager seems to feel a certain personal pressure to help in a more tangible way, by making life a little better for the inmate.

Reclassification

As discussion on each inmate's case is completed, a reclassification date is set by the Classification Team, taking into account the case manager's recommendation. In most cases, reclassification takes place four weeks or more after classification and consists of a brief review of each client's current status and the stage of implementation of the Team's

earlier recommendations. Case managers complete a CT-2 form (see appendix). As noted above, reclassification can take place sooner. If the inmate rejects the plan altogether, the team will reconsider its findings immediately. If the team foresees difficulties at the time of classification, or if the inmate faces particularly difficult institutional or personal problems, they set an early reclassification date.

Parole Assistance

A detailed description of the parole assistance which Case Management provides appears above. The Project's administrative assistant begins working with each inmate who is serving a District Court sentence of one year or more or a sentence of any length from Suffolk Superior Court, approximately one month before he is first eligible to appear before the Parole Board. The only exception is inmates on release programs whom she cannot see on weekdays. She maintains close contact with parole eligibles until their release on parole or final rejection by the Board, including: (a) notifying him of his eligibility date; (b) interviewing him so that she can forward the required forms to the parole office; (c) notifying him of his leaving date; (d) notifying him officially of the Board's decision; and (e) meeting with him for parole orientation and to distribute home and work papers if required. The parole liaison also assists inmates in writing letters directly to the Board requesting early parole consideration.

Some assistance is also provided, on an individual basis, to inmates who are eligible for Penal Department paroles, as explained above.

INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

The Commissioner

The Boston Penal Commissioner has the responsibility for the administration of the Suffolk House of Correction. Although daily administrative functions are carried out by the Master, the present Acting Commissioner has contact with programs operating in the institution. In a brief interview, he indicated that, in general, he approves of the Case Management Project. In his opinion, it is "80% working," despite some personnel problems which have caused what he believes to be unnecessary antagonism within the institution. Although the Commissioner expressed a favorable overall attitude, he cited some specific points of criticism.

- The Commissioner would like the Project to function less as a separate unit and more as a regular part of the institution.
- He objects to being contacted directly by case managers, preferring that they follow the protocol of dealing with their immediate supervisor, the director of Case Management, who would then contact the Master, who deals with the Commissioner.

- . As previously noted, he objects to inmates gathering in the hall outside the Project office, and places the responsibility for this problem on Case Management staff.
- . The Commissioner has forbidden case managers to appear in court on behalf of their clients. He does not want them to seem to be representatives of the institution.

The Commissioner wants Case Management staff functions to be in accordance with regular institutional procedures and policies. Perhaps because of his experience as a correctional officer, the Commissioner seems uncomfortable with the advocacy which Case Management staff members perform for their clients. Their primary function, he stated, should be to provide material about inmates to the institution. Although Case Management does act as an information source for the institution, inmates, and other agencies, no one within the Project would define its "primary function" as serving the institution in this way.

The Release Review Board

Case Management's relationship with the Release Review Board is significant because, as noted in earlier sections, the Board makes important recommendations to the Master and Commissioner on inmates' release program applications. Release programs are often integral parts of Classification Team plans.

The systems manager sits as a non-voting member of the Board. He prepares all material regarding regular furloughs. Case managers prepare cases of applicants for special-purpose furloughs. Case managers were formerly involved with presenting all furlough applications and, until July, 1974, were allowed to be present during discussions of furlough applications. The chairman of the Board expressed the belief that case managers may be disclosing confidential information to inmates about the results of Board votes. This mistrust, whether or not founded on fact, is indicative of a relatively poor relationship between Case Management and the Board.

Custody Staff

The quality of Case Management relations with custody staff, like all other aspects of the Project, varies greatly among staff members. For this reason, the polling of officers can give only a rough estimate of day-to-day working relationships. There seems, on the whole, to be evidence of the custody-versus-treatment conflict common to correctional facilities which have instituted social service programs for inmates.

All but one of the correction officers surveyed said they were familiar with Case Management. The reported frequency of contact varied, but data indicate that most officers do not have close contact with the Project. Some 29.3% reported daily contact, and 9.8% told the interviewer that they were in touch with Case Management several times per week. Thus, 39.1% reported what could be termed frequent interaction. Slightly more

than half (51.2%), however, said that they never or almost never dealt with the Project, although they reported good relationships with it. In general, those officers with greater Project contact were the most critical.

Although most officers viewed Case Management less favorably than other treatment-oriented programs at Deer Island (all of which are probably less demanding of the officers), the majority (63.4%) expressed the opinion that, on the whole, Case Management helps inmates. Moreover, 82.5% said that they have good personal relations with the Project. Only 5% reported poor relationships. When asked what case managers could do better, they gave a wide range of responses ranging from improving communications with officers (11.8%) to simply "doing their jobs," to being "more efficient."

The number of positive responses to questions on Case Management was somewhat surprising because in informal interviews several officers expressed negative overall impressions of the Project. These officers also indicated negative feelings about their own institutional roles, while the survey indicated that 68.3% of all officers pooled liked their jobs. This figure is far above what study staff had come to expect from conversations with institutional officers and administrators. It may have been influenced by a natural reluctance to admit job dissatisfaction to a strange interviewer. More experienced officers, in particular, seemed to be unhappy with the direction which the institution has taken over the past few years. It appeared from conversations with these officers that Case Management is inextricably tied, in their eyes, to these negative trends, particularly the trend of permissiveness towards inmates.

There appears to be another factor at work creating the officers' negative feelings about Case Management, namely a sense of powerlessness or uselessness. This, too, is due to the trend described above. Officers are disturbed because they have neither the power nor the control over inmates which they have had in the past. Thus, in addition to the dissatisfaction with the correctional institution which some officers described, they also expressed discontent with their own roles. Due to the institutional trends over the past two years, some officers, particularly those with greater experience, feel that they no longer have power and control over inmates. A serious morale problem is evident due to a pervasive sense of powerlessness.

Fully 97.6% of the custody staff polled agreed that inmates need more discipline. But the problem is deeper than that. One officer said that, in his experience, most officers try to ignore infractions of institutional rules because they do not want the trouble involved with taking action against an inmate. Not only are they aware of greater physical danger from inmates than in past years, but many believe that the word of an officer is no longer a major influence on decisions regarding inmates. It was also suggested that many detail officers write uniformly positive or neutral merit reports because they believe that their opinions are worth little to the decision-makers in the administration. Some resent the newer programs and staff who do seem to have influence. Not only do some officers feel alienated from the regular institutional processes which used to be important to them and in which their views were essential, but they do not feel part of the newer, treatment-oriented programs. For example, the majority

(56.1%) indicated that Case Management staff have never solicited their opinions about an inmate. Conversely, the majority would not turn to the Project about an inmate's disciplinary or personal problem. Cross tabulation of responses indicates that even those who are most positive about Deer Island treatment programs do not feel involved in them. It is primarily this same group which suggested that Case Management improve its relations with officers. Polling of custody staff seems to indicate generally that programs like Case Management are not relevant to their lives and work as presently structured. Communication, cooperation, and, as one Case Management member said, respect, seem to be lacking on both sides of Project-officer relations. Case managers and custody staff do not feel comfortable with each other. Case managers have stated that, although relations between their Project and other Deer Island staff have improved, they still believe that they are resented by officers.

It is unfortunate that the mistrust and disrespect described above particularly characterize Case Management's relationships with the two special institutional offices, the Receiving Office and the Work Release Office, with which it must work most closely. The supervisor of the Receiving Office expressed strong dislike of the program, classifying it as a "glorified receiving office," whose staff members come to him for data which he believes they ought to record themselves. Staff members from both of these offices seem to resent what they see as intrusion on the part of Case Management into institutional affairs. They believe that Project staff jeopardize security and discourage discipline. They would prefer that case managers stick to counseling and not become involved in furloughs, release programs and inmate discipline. Some work release staff members particularly resent case managers' intervention between inmates and their office. They stated that they can no longer judge an inmate's ability to read and follow directions on the basis of his work release application form, because his case manager completes it for him. They object most strongly to the advocacy function which case managers serve. Work release officers have forbidden any case manager to enter their office in the company of his client for any reason. They do not want any "lawyers" representing inmates. The negative feelings expressed by the work release staff have been exacerbated by a personality clash between a work release officer and a Case Management staff member.

Case managers, on the other hand, believe that if they do not intervene for their clients, inmates will not be treated fairly. They have charged that inmates already approved for release by the Master and Commissioner will be delayed if a work release staff member does not like them. Project staff have also expressed the belief that some staff members in these two offices tend to be unresponsive or even hostile to inmate rights and needs. There have also been charges of racism. Hostility and mistrust are clearly evident on both sides of these questions and, at least in the work release office-Case Management relationship, have been detrimental to Project functioning and staff morale.

The majority of officers surveyed view their jobs in terms of security. Their methods, and at least some of their present goals, are of necessity, different from those of "treatment" staff. Yet their responses to many questions on inmate needs are very close to the opinions of treatment staff.

This agreement is significant because it affects the way staff members work together. All of the officers agreed that inmates need more or better education, job training, and job placement assistance. 95.5% believe that inmates' living quarters should be improved. 78% stated that inmates need more or better medical care (the percentage for treatment staff would be much higher, but this figure indicates at least a general agreement). These are examples of areas of mutual concern on which improved custody-treatment relationships could be built. The daily activities of correction officers will never be identical to those of counselors, case managers, or other treatment-oriented staff. But if common goals can be identified and articulated, then methods can at least be coordinated to work toward the achievement of those goals.

It is worth noting that, while the majority of inmates classify case managers as part of the Deer Island administration, only a minority of officers polled perceive the Project staff as part of the regular "institutional staff." More productive relationships might be established if case managers seemed less like institutional staff members to inmates and more like them to custody staff. At the very least, their position should be clarified.

Outside Programs

The director of Case Management has tried to coordinate the various programs which come from outside Deer Island to provide services to inmates. The Project secretary provides the names of inmates eligible to become clients of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center and the Boston Offender Service Project. Staff members of both organizations have expressed dissatisfaction with the assistance they receive from Case Management. Lists of potential clients are often not prepared in advance for BOSP's weekly visits. Lists for both groups are thought to be incomplete. It should be noted that most Project staff time is fully occupied and that this coordination function has a low priority in comparison to other Project activities. The director of Case Management and the other programs should meet to discuss and resolve this problem.

Representatives of two other programs which coordinate their services to Deer Island inmates through Case Management were also interviewed.

The Division of Employment Security (DES), Law Offender Services Division (LOSD), has provided both individual and group counseling on the Island. An LOSD employment counselor met twice a week for several months with inmates referred by case managers. Shortly before the evaluation period, he began to file daily written reports of his hours and client contacts to the Project director who forwarded them to the Supervisor of the Law Offender program. These services were discontinued during the evaluation period because of personnel problems within LOSD. In addition to individual vocational counseling, group counseling sessions known as "TNT workshops" were run by LOSD staff in cooperation with Case Management. One member of the TNT workshop team said that although he sometimes receives excellent referrals and assistance from Project staff, at other times he has noted two problems: (1) poor communication among staff members and

between case managers and clients about the workshops, and (2) lack of "limit setting." He said that case managers allowed themselves to be manipulated by clients. Despite these problems, it should be noted that these workshops, which would not have been possible at Deer Island without Case Management support, were apparently so successful that the institution is working out an agreement to have them run on a regular basis.

Study staff also interviewed the Supervisor of Vocational Rehabilitation (and Deer Island representative) for the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission (MRC). He receives referrals from case managers during his weekly visits to the Island and maintains close communication with them. Case managers contact him about the status of their clients' applications for MRC services, or inmates confront him directly when he is on the Island. If he needs additional information on potential clients, he contacts the systems manager or one of the case managers. MRC is currently waiting for funding to provide more intensive services at the institution with a representative present three or four days per week. The present supervisor is very positive about Case Management staff and his relationship with the Project. He expressed complete satisfaction with the cooperation and support which he received from Case Management.

PHYSICAL SETTING

The physical limitations of the Case Management offices have been touched upon in other sections of this report. The present Project offices are located in the administration building at Deer Island, directly across from the Master's office. There are three small rooms: the director's office; a front office where the secretary sits and where the copying machine, bulletin boards, staff mailboxes, and one file are placed; and a third room approximately twice the size of each of the others, which opens from the secretary's office. In this room are desks for the administrative assistant and the systems manager, a small desk for the senior tester, the Project file cabinets, and a tiny table and chair pushed back against the files. Access to some file cabinets is impossible if anyone is seated at the small table. Cockroaches are reported to be numerous.

Physical working conditions are not only unattractive but also detrimental to Project functioning for the following reasons:

1. Conditions in colder weather have limited the hours and efficiency of Project staff. Only one of the three rooms is centrally heated, and staff members described instances during the winter when they were forced by the cold to leave early. The windows in the third office cannot be opened and must be removed daily for ventilation in the summer.
2. Space is inadequate for a staff of thirteen. Case managers cannot interview clients in the Project office, nor is there space allotted to them elsewhere. Four case managers were once observed trying to interview clients simultaneously in one room of the trailer. Private one-to-one counseling is almost impossible.

3. Throughout most of the evaluation period, inmates tended to gather outside the single dutch door leading into the Project offices which was most frequently closed on the bottom and left open on the top. Their presence in the front hall, in numbers varying from one to as many as ten, was a frequent source of open inmate-officer conflict and more subtle officer-Project resentment. The Commissioner, in particular, is strongly opposed to inmates gathering there. To alleviate this problem, the Project director had a second door installed, opening from a back corridor into the third Project room. This entry took inmates out of the front hall, but created additional problems because they could gain easier access to files and confidential information on the desks of the administrative assistant and the systems manager. At the end of the observation period, this problem had not been resolved.

PROBLEMS

In the course of the evaluation period it has become clear that several major problems--some within the Project and others external to it--affect Case Management activities. Some of these, particularly internal issues, have been previously noted in this report. Those problems which have significant negative impact on Project effectiveness are discussed below.

Lack of Structure Within the Institution

Case Management's potential impact on clients depends, in part, on the environment in which it functions. It is an environment in which few limits are set on inmates; in which there is infrequent activity and much boredom; in which staff and inmate morale problems create pervasive feelings of helplessness, purposelessness, and even hopelessness.

An overall lack of discipline within the institution contributes to this negative environment. In such a setting, the effectiveness of any program or staff may be limited. One of the words which was heard most frequently during the evaluation period was "inconsistency." Case Management staff accuse custody personnel of inconsistency in carrying out institutional rules, particularly furlough rules, giving preference to "good" inmates, or those who have performed tasks as favors. For example, during the evaluation period some inmates were allowed custody furloughs for reasons not provided for in the written furlough rules. Conversely, officers accuse case managers of inconsistency in carrying out institutional procedures by giving in to any inmate who persistently applies pressure. Both groups blame the administration for the same error. Custody and treatment staff alike talk about "rules"--but do not seem to mean the same ones. There are no written rules governing release programs. Furlough rules are presently being revised. It is clear from the present situation that all institutional regulations should be written and should be made known to inmates, treatment

staff, and officers. The various groups--particularly case managers and officers--should be able to discuss them. Then they should be followed by everyone.

Shortage of Correctional Officers

Reform efforts are hampered by an apparent shortage of custody staff. The Master requested funds for 90 officers this year, but was allotted only 54. Although officers themselves seem to accept and even appreciate overtime work, the Master and other administrators feel that the long hours create unpleasant or dangerous strains. In addition, officers are not able to assist in inmate planning and decision-making. Only two of the four officers who should sit on the Release Review Board are available to participate and none is available to work with the Classification Team. The officer shortage also decreases institutional effectiveness in all areas and encourages Case Management's assumption of non-treatment functions.

Case Management Staff Morale

Morale within the Project is low. It has varied during the course of the evaluation, but the trend seems to be negative. Factors affecting morale have been:

- a. The pressure which clients put on case managers to act as advocates, particularly with regard to furloughs. The pressure combines with case managers' powerlessness to get what their clients want, creating frustration and dissatisfaction. Inmates demand results which case managers can influence, but over which they have no direct control. Frustration increases when some case managers are more successful than others in obtaining furloughs and similar privileges.
- b. Personality conflicts. Some staff members have been noticeably hostile toward the director of Case Management. He tends not to acknowledge this hostility and neither he nor his staff seems able to deal with it directly. Some of this resentment may be due to the job frustration noted above, but one staff member described a growing lack of mutual respect among program participants.
- c. Additional frustration due to lack of long-term results. Case managers seem to be discouraged because they cannot perceive, and are unable to produce, long-term changes in their clients.
- d. The institutional structure and discipline problems noted above.
- e. Conflicting counselor-advocate roles. This factor is related to (a) and (c) and has been described in detail above. Unable to see long-term progress and recognizing the daily survival needs of their clients, managers turn from counseling to advocacy. The former function is reinforced by the director, the latter function by inmates.

Funds might be usefully allotted for purchase of the services of a trained and experienced group leadership "team builder" to run sessions for Case Management staff. A suggested approach might be to hold a two-day session as soon as possible, with a one-day follow-up session in three to six months. The purpose of the groups would be to enable staff members to discuss their feelings about each other and their jobs with the aid of a professional group facilitator. The sessions would also provide quiet time away from the constant interruptions at Deer Island for planning and exchanging ideas about the future direction of the program.

Absence of a Permanent Commissioner

Frequently throughout the evaluation period, the evaluation staff was told that the failure of the City administration to appoint a permanent commissioner was affecting program functioning. The total impact of this problem is difficult to measure, but some results are obvious. It clearly affects morale throughout the institution because it indicates an indifference on the part of City officials to the problems of Deer Island. In a specific sense, it inhibits planning of future program directions and encourages drifting, rather than concerted action. It even prevents the implementation of plans previously made and accepted. Case Management, for example, has not been able to assume the administration of Penal Department parole procedures as planned because of this problem. In a broader sense, the Penal Department needs a permanent head who can deal with probation officers and judges from a position of strength and authority.

Contract and Funding Delays

The director of Case Management and the executive director of MCA both stated that the long delays in contract agreements and invoice payments which they have experienced have impaired Project planning and functioning. The contract which was to go into effect in March of this year was not signed until July. As noted in the July, 1974, quarterly report, major program activities have had to be postponed so long that their impact could not be assessed before the next year's plan had to be prepared. Project and MCA administrative time was lost, and needed services were not provided because of funding delays. Individual case managers were not directly affected by this problem, but the overall Project suffered. In addition to the direct client service impact, an unfair burden has been placed periodically on the Massachusetts Correctional Association, whose board members have questioned the feasibility of continuing the Project when repeated inquiries about funds produced consistent and frustrating "maybe next week" responses. It hardly needs reiteration here that there is no excuse for delays so long that they impair the Project's ability to function.

FILE ANALYSIS

There are six types of Case Management records:

(1) A small file beside the secretary's desk containing one orange card for each inmate. This file provides a quick reference for information such as address, sentence length and parole eligibility date.

(2) Case managers' logs. Case managers are supposed to maintain daily logs of all client activities. Evaluation staff were not allowed access to these logs, and so it was not possible to judge if they were complete or up-to-date. In a staff meeting, case managers stated that they did not have time to work on their logs each day. When each inmate is discharged, his log checks are placed in his "discharged" folder (below).

(3) The Case Management director's several loose-leaf notebooks containing records of various Project activities. In four are weekly summary sheets from each case manager, detailing type and frequency of client contact. These summaries provided valuable information for this study on the "cohort III" or most recent group of dischargees. Another contains individual and aggregate classification team records. The director used these records to prepare Project quarterly reports and the monthly reports required by the Director of Activities at Deer Island.

(4) Two sets of current client files: Class II and Class III records (Class I records are medical and are maintained and stored in the infirmary). According to the administrative assistant, Class II records should include court data and information from the Department of Probation, the Department of Public Safety, and the FBI, as well as any psychiatric files which may be sent. In the front of each Class II folder, the secretary places a summary sheet on which should be recorded the dates for every major step taken by or for the inmate during his incarceration. The secretary records the date of each request for information from an outside source (for example, the Department of Probation) and the date on which a reply is received. This section of the summary sheet is usually completed as is the "method of discharge" section; other sections regarding referrals to other programs, furlough applications, and work release applications are usually left blank. This sheet is potentially the best source of summary information about each inmate's activities at Deer Island. It could provide valuable information about the effect of Case Management's referral procedures; for future evaluation, it will be essential to trace a client's progress. Thus, this summary sheet should be completed for each man. Many current inmates' Class II files are empty, due at least in part to delays in obtaining background information on clients. According to the Project's administrative assistant, it has been very difficult in the past for Case Management to obtain data, especially from the courts. East Boston and Boston Municipal Courts are now providing information promptly, but Dorchester and Roxbury District Courts continue to respond slowly. This delay affects most inmate planning and program participation. The Release Review Board and the Work Release Office require complete criminal histories for release program eligibility, and some inmates have been delayed in starting work because their files were not complete.

Some inmates' files have remained incomplete up to the time of their parole hearings.

Class III files are supposed to contain: intake forms; copies of clients' front office records ("8x8" cards); testing information; Classification Team recommendations; furlough applications; disciplinary records; letters to other agencies about individual inmates; and the orange cards which go through Case Management, the infirmary, and the Receiving Office when inmates are admitted to Deer Island. In practice, these files are not always complete. Even intake forms which should be available for all inmates are not always included or are not completely filled out.

The Case Management intake form is the only Project form which seems to require some modification. The director of Case Management has considered some revisions which would affect not only this form, but the entire orientation-classification procedure for new inmates. Because much information collected by Case Management duplicates that required by the Receiving Office and the front office, the director is hoping to be able to coordinate information gathering with these two institutional offices.

Some minor changes which would increase the usefulness of the intake form are:

- (a) The removal of negative statements to which clients must respond such as Item 5.25, "I can't make plans." The yes/no response requirement tends to confuse subjects; and
- (b) The addition of space for the interviewer's impressions of the inmate's possible addiction problems, in addition to his stated addiction history.

If the Case Management intake procedure is revised to include more information-giving and orientation services for inmates, as recommended above, the intake form should be further edited and abbreviated. It is doubtful that much of the personal information collected is ever used, and because intake sessions are already lengthy procedures, it would be advisable to cut the data collection and devote more time to orientation.

(5) "Discharged" files. Besides the current files, Case Management keeps two cabinets of records of former clients who have left or been discharged from Deer Island. These cabinets are overfull, making it difficult to pull or replace files. The secretary checks the Receiving Office "discharge book" daily and pulls Class II and Class III files for each man listed. These files are combined into one folder and placed in one of the "discharged" cabinets. Some of the information for the recidivism study was drawn from these files. The summary sheets described above were more frequently and more completely utilized in the second cohort period than they are at the present time. They provided information on referrals made, although almost no information was available on acceptances or actual program participation.

PROJECT REPORTING

The Director of Activities at Deer Island has, in consultation with the directors of the various Consolidated Corrections Programs, devised a report form which they are to complete and submit to him monthly. A copy is included in the appendix. Case Management, like other Community Corrections Programs, is also required to submit a report every calendar quarter to the Mayor's Safe Streets Act Advisory Committee (MSSAAC) and the Massachusetts Committee on Criminal Justice (MCCJ).

Although revised quarterly report formats prepared by study staff for all the programs are similar, specific items were designed to record data appropriate to each program's special functions. The new Case Management quarterly report form includes data on: the various types of case-manager-client contact (formal counseling, informal counseling, informal contact); parole applications and services; inmates classified and re-classified; inmates tested; furlough and release program applications; and furlough grants. Information was not available on "workload measures."

In July, a draft of the revised format was provided to the director of Case Management too late to enable him to utilize it before leaving on his vacation. The program analyst for this study, with the authorization of the Director of Activities, filled in most of the items on the new form, utilizing data from Case Management records and the report which the director had written before his departure. This new report is also included in the appendix.

A follow-up meeting with staff from MSSAAC and MCCJ after their receipt of the quarterly reports produced some additional revisions. These changes were described to the director of Case Management in a memo and discussed in a meeting with study staff. The director has stated that he does not believe the "workload measures" section would provide useful or meaningful data, and he will not complete it.

THE ACADEMY

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The Education Program at the Suffolk County House of Correction, "the Academy," is operated by the Technical Development Corporation under contract to the Penal Institutions Department of the City of Boston, using federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funds provided through the Mayor's Safe Street Act Advisory Committee. Its total annual budget of approximately \$80,000 includes four regular, full-time positions plus one, the Director of Community Activities for the prison, which has little to do with the actual operation of the Academy but was added to the grant as a matter of administrative convenience. The basic Academy program includes four major components:

- . Basic adult education, which focuses primarily on the development of basic reading skills.
- . GED preparation, that is, working with inmates to prepare them for the state high school equivalency examination.
- . Pre-release courses, including pre-college courses, which attempt to prepare inmates for a higher education by stimulating their interest, improving their study habits, and developing the listening and reading skills necessary for college.
- . Educational release, placing inmates in college programs outside the institution while they are still incarcerated.

Development

The precursor of the Academy was a volunteer operation which conducted classes for inmates prior to the institution of the Education Program in the spring of 1972. At that time, a pilot study was funded specifically to prepare thirty inmates for GED testing. After a brief organization period, classes began in March, 1972, and by August, twenty inmates had passed the GED test. At that time, further plans were made for an ongoing program, focusing particularly on the achievement of GED certificates. The goal of achieving fifty GED certificates during 1973 was set for the Program, based on the 1972 population of 240 and a projected increase of 100. Instead of an increase, however, the institutional population declined significantly during 1973, and as a result only nineteen GED certificates were awarded during the September, 1972-December, 1973 period.

During the first year of operation of the Program, several significant modifications in the curriculum were made. The initial method of teaching used was a programmed self-study approach, supplemented by individual tutoring. Gradually, however, this approach was abandoned in favor of a more eclectic range of programs aimed at other educational goals as well as the achievement of GED certificates. For example, the Education Program was apparently responsible for the initiation of a recreation program for inmates during its first year. (This was not a major effort, however, and was discontinued when a regular recreation officer was appointed by the institution.) The Program also initiated several non-academic classes with the help of volunteers from the community, including enrichment classes in dramatic techniques and journalism.

Educationally, the Academy added a wider range of reading courses in response to the perceived needs of the inmate population. An education release program was developed for those inmates with a potential for admission to local colleges. An English as a second language program was also added to the curriculum in order to accommodate non-English-speaking inmates and prepare them for the GED program. In addition, the amount of individual tutoring performed increased, supported by the acquisition of a library. Innovations such as team teaching in the GED classes and cross-registration of GED students in pre-college classes were effected.

By the end of the second official grant period, April, 1973, through December, 1973, the full effect of the decline in population at the institution was felt by the Education Program. With only some 140 inmates, only 14 were able to achieve the GED during that grant period. The average number of inmates enrolled for the period was approximately 25 (for the academic program), but this constituted 25% of the eligible on-Island population.

Accordingly, the 1974 grant document for the Academy indicates a broader range of objectives, to fit the broader range of programs developed, along with a lower level of activity in the GED program. Specifically, the education release component of the Program projected the involvement of ten to fifteen men; the pre-college component, thirty-six; the GED program, twelve certificates awarded out of a student group of eighty; basic education component, a service population of thirty-six; and the English as a second language program planned on serving five men.

By the end of 1973, the Education Program, having become responsible for administration of the education release program, had found it difficult to coordinate release activities with four or more colleges simultaneously, and consequently began to develop a special relationship with Bunker Hill Community College, in Charlestown. As a result of contact with the administration of Bunker Hill, a plan was developed for transition of sponsorship of the Program from the Technical Development Corporation to Bunker Hill Community College, scheduled for January 1, 1975. The chief reason for the recommendation of this change by the Academy staff (and Technical Development Corporation) was the greater ability of Bunker Hill to provide specially designed educational curricula directed toward the special needs of the prison population, drawing on the educational expertise of the Bunker Hill administration and staff. The staff of the College, as a

result of operating a new college with an extremely liberal admissions policy, have developed techniques for screening and channeling students in need of particular basic skills.

The major innovations contemplated by the BHCC plan for the Academy include the addition of courses in basic vocational skills, a more regular selection of general enrichment programs, and a series of "coping skills" courses designed to increase the student's ability to deal with day-to-day problems rather than to make progress toward a specific educational credential. The development of additional new teaching techniques is also contemplated, including the increased use of programmed learning for specific purposes, the use of audio-visual and video tape materials, and, most significantly, the more individualized program structure of a "mentor" system. The thrust of the proposed BHCC approach is to add some skills to the repertoire of every inmate, whether he is most in need of remedial reading training, college credits, or simply the basic skills required to make it on the outside.

The 1974 Education Program grant includes an allocation for consultant services, which has been used to fund a preliminary planning effort by BHCC. The staff of the Education Program have managed a series of planning meetings with BHCC and institutional staff, and hope that Bunker Hill will be effectively in control of the Program (although not officially) in September, 1974.

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The 1974 grant renewal application of the Education project describes its chief goal as "to transfer its administration from the sponsorship of Technical Development Corporation to Bunker Hill Community College." This is clearly not a substantive goal, but an intermediate objective. The project's real long-term goal can probably be no better stated than it was in the 1973 grant application: "To expand and improve prisoners' post-release academic and vocational opportunities. . ." Fundamentally, the Program is founded on the common societal belief that education, academic or vocational, has a positive influence on the student and, through him, on the economy and the society in general. It is this belief which underlies the concept of public education.

Examination of the various grant proposal and report documents of the Education project suggest that its general objectives may be broken down somewhat, as follows.

- Generally, to teach inmates something--an exercise valuable, as noted above, for the same reasons that free schools are valuable.
- To provide some inmates with academic credentials, presumably of assistance to them in academic and vocational pursuits in the community.

- . To minimize the chronic idleness of Deer Island inmates, described in one planning document as an extension of the street corner "hanging out" society from which the inmates frequently come.
- . As a presumed result of the above benefits, to reduce criminal activity (both inside and outside the institution) among the inmates taught by the Academy--a goal which, although seldom articulated, and never proposed as the only or ultimate purpose of the project, is implicit in the operation of the Academy.

The project's achievements in pursuit of its goals are discussed below, after a review of project operations.

OPERATIONS

Personnel

The Education Program is currently staffed by three persons: (1) a pre-college teacher and community release program manager; (2) a pre-GED teacher and academic placement developer; and (3) a GED and pre-college teacher. Until June 15, 1974, there was a fourth position in the Program, that of the director of the education project; this position was terminated on that date, however, as specified in the education project grant, and his duties assumed by the pre-college/community release program staff member, now also designated acting director of the project. The grant which funds the Academy also pays for an additional position at Deer Island, the director of community activities, but since this person functions independently from the Education project and reports independently to the sponsoring agencies, his work is not considered in this report. There is, however, another position, not funded by the Education Program grant, which is discussed below: that of the correction officer assigned to the Academy. The officer's role in the operation of the Program is sufficiently important that he must be considered in any review of Program staff.

In practice, the actual activities of the staff vary significantly from their position titles and job descriptions.

Acting director/pre-college teacher/release program liaison. As noted above, the position of director of the Education Program ended in June, 1974. This termination was apparently planned in the expectation that Bunker Hill Community College would have assumed a significant amount of the administrative control of the Program by mid-1974, with full academic control over the curriculum planned for September, 1974, the beginning of the college academic year. Alternatively, it has been suggested that the Director of Community Activities for Deer Island, the fourth position funded through the education project grant, be redefined to include directorship of the education project. Neither of these reassignments of the directorship of the Program having been effected, the present acting director/pre-college teacher/release liaison is a very busy man.

As acting director, he has devoted a great deal of time and energy to the BHCC planning effort. The director of the project is also responsible for composing weekly schedules for the location and attendance of classes, as well as a schedule for the use of Academy facilities by other groups. He also must prepare and submit the reports required by the institution (monthly), the funding agency (quarterly), and the sub-grantee, Technical Development Corporation. As the chief administrator of the Program, he also attends project directors' and other meetings, plans and supervises the volunteer teaching and enrichment course programs of the Academy, and generally meets all the administrative, managerial, and extra-Program liaison needs of the Academy.

As pre-college teacher, this staff member normally taught three classes a week prior to June, 1974. Since then, his teaching activities have been sporadic.

The bulk of this staff member's time prior to becoming acting director was involved in liaison work with the colleges accepting inmates on education release. This involved meeting with administrators of the colleges to achieve acceptance of the Program; conferring with them regarding admission of each inmate applicant; curriculum planning and class scheduling; and the many other details incident to college enrollment. Since there have been inmates placed in as many as four different colleges at the same time, these duties required a significant amount of time.

In addition, the release liaison role requires counseling and individual assistance to the inmate participants, including: investigating admission requirements and application procedures; selecting the proper college and curriculum; obtaining furloughs for admission interviews, registration, or the purchase of books and materials; and assisting with any personal problems which the inmate may have related to his participation in education release. It appears that in many cases this teacher became an advocate for the education release participants, finding it necessary to speak on their behalf to obtain medical care, furloughs, legal assistance, and so forth. Resolution of practical problems of this nature are essential for the inmate to be able to begin and continue in college with the necessary materials and attitude.

Since the summer months ordinarily see a decline in educational release activity, the acting director was able to meet all the demands placed on him during the summer of 1974. However, with the beginning of the new school term in September, 1974, a resolution of the administrative uncertainty surrounding the directorship of the Program demands an early resolution.

Pre-GED teacher/academic placement and resource developer. In practice, this staff member is a pre-GED and GED teacher specializing in reading. The placement and development aspects of the position have never been realized. This staff member teaches approximately fifteen classes per week, and uses the remainder of his time to develop new reading curricula and search out appropriate materials.

At present, this position, originally funded for only five months, is a twelve-month, four-fifths time position. Bunker Hill would like to

assume the curriculum development and materials acquisition aspects of this job, expand it to a full-time position, and thus have this teacher capable of devoting more time to direct teaching and tutoring activities.

GED/pre-college teacher. This teacher also conducts approximately fifteen classes a week, primarily in mathematics for the GED classes and in mathematics and social sciences for the college preparatory classes. For practical reasons, he also assists in administrative tasks to a considerable degree. BHCC would also like to make this a full-time teaching position.

The Academy correction officer. One correction officer is assigned to the Academy, posted at a desk at the entrance. His responsibilities are to control the flow of persons into the Academy area and to oversee the security of property and persons within the area. In general, no one is allowed in the Academy unless the officer is on duty.

The officer is much more than a security guard, however. He is responsible for contacting inmates who are absent from classes, searching them out at their work details or wherever they can be found, and recording the reason for their absence. He also has a great practical impact on the atmosphere which inmates perceive in the Academy.

Physical Facilities

The Education Program is located on the second floor of the north wing of the administration building at Deer Island. Access is gained through a stairway from a separate outside entrance.

The entire Academy area was originally one very large, high ceilinged room, but in 1972, the Program staff, with inmate and correction officer assistance, partitioned the area to provide classrooms, meeting rooms, and offices. The partitions, generally of plywood, do not reach the ceiling and are not good sound insulation.

Approximately half the Academy area is comprised of five classrooms. Two of them are equipped with learning carrels, created by dividing three walls of each room into partitioned booths, each with a shelf. With the decline in use of the program learning technique for which these carrels were designed, they have fallen into disuse. The other classrooms are furnished with conventional student chair-desks, well broken in but serviceable, along with blackboards, bulletin boards, and so forth. Several additional rooms serve as combination offices, classrooms, workrooms, and conference rooms. They are modestly furnished, in most cases with tables constructed by inmates. Four of these combination rooms, the program director's office, the guard area, and a secure storage closet occupy all the Academy space not needed for classrooms. The facility is equipped with two restrooms, both recently remodeled, but no water fountain.

In general, the physical environment of the Education Program compares favorably with other facilities at Deer Island. It is well maintained, and the light and ventilation are adequate. No one involved in the Program expressed dissatisfaction with the physical facilities to the staff of this study.

It was observed, however, that the thin and incomplete partitions provide only poor sound insulation, so that conversational tones are clearly heard from one room to the next. The staff seems to have adapted to this problem by speaking in near-whispers much of the time, so that the unindoctrinated must strain to hear what they are saying. In practice, noise is a problem when the rooms are being used for counseling and interviews by other agencies, and conversations in several rooms can be heard throughout the Academy.

Another problem with the Academy's physical facility centers around the limitation of access to the area which follows from its isolated nature and the need to have a correction officer present at all times. This problem is discussed in somewhat more detail below.

Interaction With Other Agencies

Several community based agencies use the Academy classrooms and interview rooms for meetings with inmates. These agencies include the Roxbury Multi-Service Center's Community Corrections Program, the Boston Offender Service Project, the Deer Island Self-Development Group, Care About Now (a drug treatment program), Community Action Program agencies, the Boston Drug Council, and Alcoholics Anonymous. Some of these programs meet as frequently as three times a week and use as many as five rooms at a time. The meetings create a substantial increase in the traffic and noise level in the area, but they also provide the additional benefit of inmate exposure to the Academy as well as the programs, so that more people are familiar with the nature of the Education Program.

The scheduling and coordination of the visits of these agencies is the responsibility of the acting director of the Education Program. Although there is not a great deal of formal conferencing with these other agencies, there are frequently informal discussions regarding those few inmates who are involved in more than one program, and there are also occasional referrals from or to the Education Program. Thus, by serving as the manager of the Academy area, the director maintains an up-to-date knowledge of the various service agencies dealing with the Deer Island population. He also serves on the Deer Island Classification Team and Release Board, and becomes familiar at these meetings with the activities of Case Management and such other programs as the Roxbury Multi-Service Center's Community Corrections Program.

Caveat

The period during which this study was conducted, the summer of 1974, was obviously atypical of the operation of the Education Program at Deer Island. To begin with, the education release program, depending as it does upon the academic schedules of outside institutions, is virtually inoperative during every summer. Even activity on Deer Island tends to run to a low ebb during the summer, as inmates are attracted to other activities or discouraged by the heat, and thus miss many classes.

More importantly, however, this summer saw the termination of the project director and the beginning of an anticipated period of transition from Technical Development Corporation to Bunker Hill Community College control. Even though the Education Program has been constantly changing since its inception, the appearance of BHCC is expected to bring even more drastic changes. Already, there is an atmosphere of impending change and uncertainty, as conferences and various aspects of transition planning go on adjacent to classes uninterrupted and unchanged by the commotion. When (if) BHCC assumes control, there will probably be a certain period of trial-and-error experimentation with new teaching techniques and curricula, in this area in which there is very little material available which is known to be effective.

The present Academy staff is optimistic about the results of this anticipated change. They expect that BHCC assistance will enable them to deliver a higher quality of service to the inmates. This belief has bolstered the teachers' commitment to the Program, and thus staff morale must be described as high.

THE ACADEMIC PROGRAM

The Education Program consists of four basic academic programs, supported by remedial and cultural enrichment classes. Table 1 shows the proportion of enrollment in each program. The substance of each program is described below.

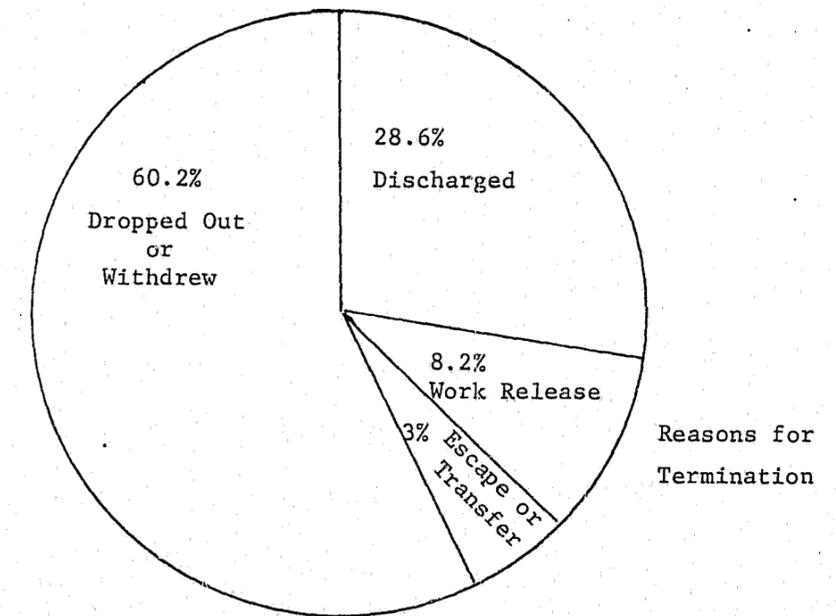
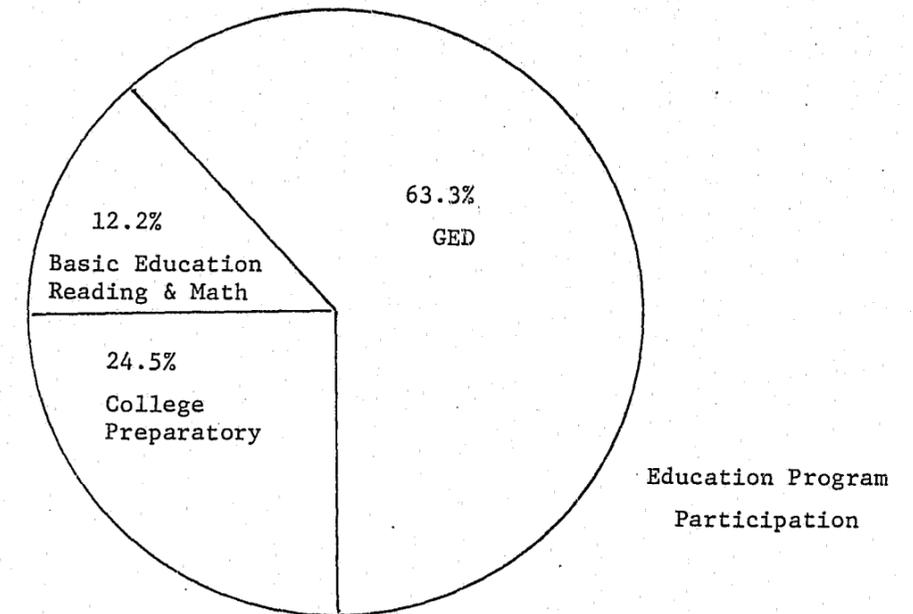
The High School Equivalency (GED) Program

The major purpose of this program is to help inmates develop the reading, writing, vocabulary, mathematical, and interpretative skills necessary to pass the General Educational Development test. Generally, inmates with educational levels of approximately tenth grade equivalency or above are placed in this program.

Acquisition of a GED certificate is a tangible and concrete goal for both the inmates in the program and the Education project itself. Consequently, the classes and homework assigned in the GED program are designed to develop the test-taking skills needed to achieve the certificate, rather than simply providing a general education. The materials are keyed to the format of the GED test. Reading and math are the most basic subjects taught, with social studies classes also included.

The most recent of a long series of changes in this program was the discontinuance of the use of Department of Labor materials, in order to emphasize more intensively the specific skill acquisition, reading, and mathematics elements of the program.

TABLE 1
Deer Island Education Program
August, 1972 - July, 1973
(n=98)



The Pre-GED Program

This program attempts to provide reading and mathematics skills, to those inmates who are not ready for the GED program. Because of the small number of participants and their wide divergence in reading and mathematical levels, these classes amount to practically individual tutoring. It is not unusual to see two or three men in a class, all working at a different level and progressing at different rates.

This group appears to have the worst attendance record, and the teachers describe it as the most difficult to motivate.

The Pre-College Program

This program offers classes to inmates who have attained a high school diploma or GED certificate, but who do not seem to be ready for college level courses. The classes are aimed at providing the skills in composition and analysis needed to succeed in college.

In some cases, contracts have been drawn up between students and teachers to specify the expectations and obligations of the students and the program in the pre-college course. If all the conditions are met, the program can award three college credits for successful completion of the forty-five to forty-eight hour course and then attempt to place the inmate on education release to continue his college education.

Approximately 20% of the Deer Island prison population has a high school diploma or GED and is thus eligible for this program. In the most recent course, 11 inmates began the pre-college program. Two completed it, with the other 9 dropping out for various reasons such as transfer to another institution, placement in segregation, or psychiatric problems. Apparently, only two of the 9 dropped out because of lack of interest.

Affiliation with Bunker Hill Community College should provide the Academy opportunities for a much wider selection of college level courses, the most basic of which will be offered on the Island, and the remainder made available through education release.

The Education Release Program

This release program was initially designed to allow inmates to attend both high schools and colleges in the community. In practice, however, it is a college release program; high school placements are perceived as both duplicative of services offered by the on-Island program and more difficult for the inmates to adjust to. Participants in this program live in the release dormitories at Deer Island and commute every day to local colleges.

Active participation in this program has fluctuated considerably over the course of the Academy's existence. At the most, there were five releasees attending four different colleges. During the first half of 1974,

four inmates were involved in the program, of whom two had begun college attendance in 1973. The two new students were selected from among five applicants for release status; both of them attend Bunker Hill Community College. By mid-1974, two of the four had dropped out.

Administration of the education release program was a considerable burden to the project director for that period during which there were inmates attending several colleges at the same time. The affiliation with Bunker Hill Community College has been expected to limit enrollment to that school exclusively, and to abbreviate the process of admission, obtaining financial aid, and registration. Thus, education release liaison was not expected to be as time consuming a function in the future. However, as of September, 1974, this expectation has not been realized; there are four men attending three different colleges.

Enrichment Courses

In addition to the academic programs, the Education Program attempts to provide cultural enrichment courses whenever the occasion or the teachers are available. Subjects covered in past classes have included newspaper journalism, black studies, drama, dance, visual studies, and film. Teachers report that a psychology class, offered during the summer of 1974, boasts the highest attendance of any Academy activity in the past year. Some of the classes are taught by Academy staff members, but others are conducted by volunteers from agencies such as the Phillips Brooks House at Harvard and the Proposition acting company.

Interest and participation in cultural enrichment classes appear to be quite high. However, close coordination and supervision by Academy staff is necessary, since poorly prepared presentations or absenteeism and tardiness on behalf of those presenting the class is quickly taken by the inmates as a sign of a lack of commitment, and participation drops off noticeably.

The Academy also offers a small library for the use of the inmates, which is operated by an inmate librarian. Because of the high turnover rate among inmates, the Academy has difficulty in keeping a competent librarian. One of the problems with which the librarian must deal is the apparent lack of concern of the correctional staff with the preservation of library books; in several reported situations, when an inmate was moved from a cell his materials left in the cell were thrown out--including library books. Thus, a good librarian must be expected to collect library books from the inmate living areas in order to guarantee that they will be returned.

It is expected by Academy staff that enrichment classes will continue after BHCC takes charge, on both staff and volunteer bases.

Teaching Materials

Teaching aids for a program dealing with institutionalized adult students are not numerous. The Education Program has an assortment of

audio-visual and other teaching aids which the staff considers adequate, but the texts and written teaching materials continue to be a problem. Much of the material formerly used by the Program has been rendered obsolete by the abandonment of the Department of Labor programmed learning approach. Selection of new materials is a slow and difficult process, as the staff search out the few educational materials suitable for inmate education and await the development of new remedial level adult education materials.

One result of the deliberateness with which the acquisition of new materials is being approached is that students do have occasionally to alternate the use of textbooks or share the use of a workbook. The teachers provide mimeographed worksheets so that workbook texts need not be filled out and can be reused.

A minor irritant in the process of acquiring new written materials is the lack of a petty cash fund or credit account by which teachers could obtain materials and textbooks without spending their personal funds. Under the present system, the teachers must advance the prices of materials acquired and be reimbursed upon submission of invoices and bills, a process which takes two weeks or more. This may be a sufficient hardship on the teachers to inhibit the purchase of new materials. In any case, the involvement of Bunker Hill Community College in the Education Program could eliminate this problem.

Teaching Staff

The stated educational requirements for teaching positions at the Academy have been far exceeded in practice. There is consensus among the current staff that experience beyond the academic is not only useful but practically prerequisite to succeeding in this teaching situation. Accordingly, the backgrounds among current staff include adult education experience, experience with prisoners in a correctional setting, teaching in a public school, and vocational preparation concentrating on counseling and human resource development. In general, the staff appears to be highly qualified. Their tenure with the Program is generally not long; there have been several personnel changes since the initiation of the project, and all of the current staff were employed within the last eighteen months.

The former director of the Program, while totally responsible for hiring, subjected his own decisions to veto by the others. He felt this was necessary due to the small staff and extremely close interaction required among staff members.

Attitudes

In addition to being well-qualified, the staff of the Academy appears to be competent and highly motivated, devoting significant extra time and energy to the Program. They feel that this dedication has been developed despite, rather than because of, the support of the institution.

Generally, the staff see the Academy as isolated and to a degree belittled by the rest of the permanent Deer Island staff. There is a

definite feeling that the administration considers the Academy as a group of outsiders and not a part of the institution. Case Management's institutional functions make it closer to the overall Deer Island administration, but the physical, conceptual, and bureaucratic isolation of the Academy is striking.

The teachers do not have access to inmates outside the Academy area. They have never seen the inmates' living area. One teacher advised that he had been working at Deer Island for more than a year, had never met the Master, and would not know him on sight. Academy staff members are not permitted to share the dining facilities of the correction officers, nor of the inmates; since the correction officer assigned to the Academy requires everyone to leave while he goes to lunch, the teachers are faced with the choice of either leaving the Island and driving several miles to the nearest restaurant, or bringing their lunches and enjoying them while sitting in their parked cars. While the teachers accept such petty difficulties with resignation, and do not view them as malicious, they do feel that these instances of isolation are indicative of the attitude of the institution's administration toward the Academy.

At times, even these well-motivated teachers experience periods of depression and low morale. The two chief causes of this appear to be poor attendance on the part of the students and a lack of effective response from the institution in handling inmate problems. These two become the same when the teachers perceive, as they generally do, that the attendance problem is the fault of the institution, a result of what they see as a generally pervasive lack of inmate accountability on Deer Island. Such routine matters as health and dental care frequently become major obstacles to class attendance, and intervention by teachers in different matters of this sort is necessary in order to keep the students coming to class in a frame of mind reasonably receptive to learning. Absenteeism in particular can be discouraging to the teachers. Situations were observed in which teachers, excited about an innovative lesson plan, were disappointed when no students appeared for the class. Frequently, particularly at the lower levels, a few absences will result in an inmate's forgetting whatever he had learned before, and the teacher having to start again at the beginning of the course with that inmate.

The proposed shift of Program administration to Bunker Hill Community College is being planned with the full participation of the Academy staff. Anxiety over the potential change is at a minimum, with the general feeling apparently that change will bring an improvement. The teachers expect much greater availability of materials, and are especially pleased with the prospect of increased diagnostic testing and more student-tailored specialized curricula. If Bunker Hill is successful in gaining detail status for the Academy, and if the contractual approach to education courses is adopted, the attendance problem could be reduced (both of these changes are recommended below). However, as long as non-participation in the Academy is so much less demanding than participation, many inmates, particularly those at the lowest educational level, will refrain from volunteering for intensive programs.

BHCC's proposed change to a "mentor" system of individualized teaching would also necessitate a larger teaching staff, depending on

student participation. Consequently, the insecurity one might expect among Academy staff at the prospect of a change in administration does not exist, and to the contrary the teachers look forward to more flexibility in matters such as salaries and benefits with their absorption into the Bunker Hill Community College staff.

OBJECTIVE ACHIEVEMENTS: THE ACQUISITION OF CREDENTIALS

The initial focus of the Education project at Deer Island was on the acquisition of GED high school equivalency certificates. When the Program first began, it supplanted a volunteer teaching program which had already begun to prepare some inmates for the GED examination. Counting these inmates, the first nine months of the Education Program produced twenty-five GED certificates, out of thirty inmates who took the test. On the basis of this beginning, the Program projected for 1973, based on an average population of 250, the awarding of 50 GED certificates; in fact, the population declined to 200 or fewer inmates and only 11 certificates were awarded. Eight GED's have been earned in the first six months of 1974. These results are shown in Table 2.

As the Table indicates, with the exception of the first class of inmates, prepared by the six-month pilot project, the Education Program has produced from two to seven successful GED applicants each quarter. This represents approximately half of those who took the test.

The GED program is apparently reaching only a relatively small proportion of those inmates who might benefit from it. For 1973, for example, 21 GED tests were given. This represents 24% of an estimated 86 inmates who were discharged during that period, having entered the institution with a tenth or eleventh grade education and a sentence longer than three months and having been discharged by parole or wrap-up (assuming that the distribution of educational levels and sentences is the same as that for the "cohort II" year and using the discharges as reported in the 1973 yearly report). Of course, many of those 86 falling into an apparently suitable category for GED training in fact have skill levels far below tenth grade and not at all capable of improvement to GED level within a year. The self-reported educational levels of all Deer Island dischargees are shown in Table 3.

In cost terms, assuming that the proportion of all students who are enrolled in the GED program is the same as it was during the August, 1972, through July, 1973 (cohort II") period, the average cost of a GED certificate actually awarded by the Program (again, excluding the first quarter of Academy operation) is \$3,278.

The thrust of these observations is not to suggest any deficiency in the Academy's teaching techniques or in their preparation of inmates for GED examination. Rather, it suggests that the Academy's efforts to prepare inmates for GED examinations are seriously hampered by the inmates' low actual skill levels, the relatively short sentences of many of them, inmate

TABLE 2

DEER ISLAND EDUCATION PROGRAM
GED TEST RESULTS

Year	1972		1973				1974		Total 1st. Year	Total 2nd. Year	Total Both Years
Quarter	3rd.*	4th.	1st.	2nd.	3rd.	4th.	1st.	2nd.			
<u>First Tests</u>											
Passed	18	3	2	4	3	2	1	2	27	8	35
Failed	10	4	1	4	0	4	1	6	19	11	30
<u>Retests</u>											
Passed	1	4	0	0	0	0	3	2	5	5	10
Failed	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	3	7
<u>Incomplete</u>	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2
<u>Total GED Tests Given</u>	32	13	3	8	3	7	5	13	56	28	84

* First GED tests were taken by inmates enrolled in pilot program. Present program did not begin classes until August, 1972; participants were first tested in 4th quarter of 1972.

TABLE 3
Educational Level of Deer Island Dischargees
August, 1971 - July, 1973

<u>Years of Formal Education</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Cumulative Percentage</u>
1	1	0.1	0.1
2	0	0.0	0.1
3	4	0.4	0.5
4	13	1.4	1.9
5	9	0.9	2.8
6	20	2.1	4.9
7	40	4.2	9.1
8	111	11.6	20.6
9	162	16.9	37.5
10	198	20.6	58.1
11	132	13.8	71.9
12	223	23.2	95.1
13	17	1.8	96.9
14	17	1.8	98.6
15	6	0.6	99.3
16	7	0.7	100.0
Total	<u>960*</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

*Seven sample members with missing data omitted.

apathy, and institutional practices which tend to discourage the inmates from participating. Only the latter two factors are potentially subject to short-term policy changes.

Any potential, then, that the Academy has for increasing its rate of production of GED recipients lies primarily in the areas of increasing attendance, mandating attendance by designation of the Academy as a detail, and providing the inmates with additional incentive to attend the Program through the initiation of a contract or similar arrangement with inmates. These possibilities are discussed below.

The high school equivalency certificate is only one milestone on the educational road, however. Since the Education project at Deer Island is attempting to meet the educational needs of inmates at all levels, GED certificates alone are not an adequate measure of the accomplishments of the Program. A more complete picture is given, for example, by the "performance measures" section of the most recent quarterly report, developed by the Program staff with the assistance of the staff of this study. These measures take note of progression by inmates from one program to the next, each verifiable step on the way to greater educational achievement. Unfortunately, these measures have never been compiled before and thus there is no baseline to which to compare the 1974 figures. In the future, of course, this will not be the case.

The performance measures available do indicate in general that the Education project is achieving some sort of educational milestone each quarter for approximately 20-25% of its enrollment. Again, this suggests that increased emphasis on incentives to attendance might have a beneficial impact on the performance of the Program. It must be noted, of course, that the performance measures figures represent Academy staff judgments of student readiness to progress from one level to the next, rather than a standardized "objective" measurement.

A final "objective" measure of Academy performance is the enrollment, or total number of inmates affected by the Program. The proportion of the eligible population served varies depending upon how the overall population is measured. For example, of the August, 1972, through July, 1973, discharges from Deer Island, 25% had been enrolled in the Academy. Of the 240 inmates who were either incarcerated at the beginning of the period or committed during the period of the first quarter of 1974, 36% were enrolled; and of those inmates surveyed in the institution for this study at one particular time, 68% either were or had been in the Academy. These figures are not discrepancies; rather they reflect the fact that the Academy is much more likely to reach men who have been committed for longer sentences. Thus, when participation is taken as a proportion of institutional inflow or outflow, it is rather low--25%. But, when participation is measured as a proportion of the inmates in the institution at a particular time, it is quite high--68%. A population measure which is an amalgam of inflow and static volume gives an intermediate participation rate--36%.

THE REDUCTION OF RECIDIVISM

The recidivism study conducted as a part of this study indicated that, for the August, 1972, through July, 1973, period, participants in the Education Program had a recidivism rate (as defined for the purposes of this analysis) of 39.8%. This figure is slightly less than the 45.2-46.9% base expectancy rate for the Education Program participants which the analysis calculated; it is also slightly lower than the recidivism rate for the entire cohort of Deer Island discharges. While these differences are, of course, absolute for the one-year period covered, they are not statistically significant evidence of any real (non-chance) improvement attributable to the Program. In fact, the recidivism rate differential could be caused by chance, by the "self-selection" effect of including only inmates who volunteer (and thus may be better risks), by some "shadow" unmeasured variable, or by a Program "treatment effect." A tabular display of the subsequent criminal experience of Academy participants subdivided by severity and term structure of recidivism does not indicate any substantial or suggestive differences from the overall group. All of these results are discussed in greater detail elsewhere in this report.

The lack of a substantial impact on recidivism by the Education Program is not surprising. Given the enormity of the educational shortcomings of the inmates, the transience of the student population, and the difficulty which the Program has experienced in maintaining participation and attendance, it would probably not be reasonable to expect this program to have a measurable impact on recidivism. Even if it were clear that attainment of a high school level education or equivalency certificate would significantly alter the behavior of persons likely to be engaged in a pattern of criminal activity, the number of inmates who have achieved this level has been limited, as noted above.

Even though 24% of the inmates have a high school education and only about 20% stopped school prior to the eighth grade, the actual educational level of these inmates appears to be substantially below these grade levels. Of the inmates enrolled in Academy reading classes at the end of 1973, for example, 28% had reading abilities below third grade level, 33% between third and sixth grade level, and 39% above sixth grade. Given such skill levels as these, and an institution in which 50% of the inmates are incarcerated for less than six months and only 20% for more than a year, along with an average length of Program participation of about nine weeks, a lack of impact on the relatively remote goal of recidivism should not be surprising.

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

Officers and the Academy

It appears that from the outset of the Education Program there was a very close relationship between certain officers and the staff of the Program. Several officers worked on the renovation of the Academy space; one officer served as a volunteer music teacher; and at one time there

were even two officers enrolled in GED classes, one of whom obtained the equivalency certificate upon completion of the Program. Staff members of the Education Program talked about their work on a regular basis at officer training sessions. They also assisted some 25 officers in placement, grants, and loans at the law enforcement education program at Northeastern University.

Since the beginning of the Program, relations with the officers appear to have deteriorated somewhat, so that the chief contact between the Academy and the custody staff at Deer Island occurs through the correction officer assigned to the Academy. For this reason, his position is an especially critical one.

This officer is stationed at a desk at the entrance to the Academy area; he records each entry to and exit from the area, using a sign-in sheet for teachers and visitors and an attendance sheet for every inmate. No one is allowed in the Academy, including Academy staff members, without an officer on duty (although neither the officer nor the Academy staff members can cite the source of this unwritten regulation). Thus, evening activities in the Academy are precluded by the unavailability of an officer and members of Academy staff are evicted from the building during the officer's lunch hour.

A guard is clearly necessary for the Academy to operate. According to Academy staff, problems with theft and disorder have been experienced when the guard was not present. But security is only one part of his job. The officer's role in monitoring and encouraging inmate attendance is critical. He contacts by telephone the detail officer of every inmate who is absent and records the reasons given for his absence.

Because of this responsibility, and because the officer is the first person one encounters when entering the area, the Academy staff feel that his effectiveness and his manner are definite factors in determining the attitude and receptiveness of the inmate students. An officer with a strict or officious attitude might well discourage attendance to the Academy and create an undesirable atmosphere for a learning environment.

The guard regularly assigned to the Academy was recently absent for an extended period due to illness, and has returned on an abbreviated work schedule. This has given the Academy staff the opportunity to observe several different officers functioning in this position, and has produced unanimous agreement among them that the Program would benefit by having that position filled by one person on a permanent basis--that person to be thoroughly familiar with the operation of the Academy and to have a personality which allows adaptation to the needs of the Education project.

One concern of Academy staff with the officer position has been the reportedly inconsistent manner in which rules have been applied. Unfortunately, no one seems to know with any certainty exactly what rules exist. There is no knowledge of any policy manual or similar publication, and if there are written directives, they are not circulated to the Academy. On the other hand, a description of the education project and its operations, while available, is apparently not circulated to the guards assigned to the

Academy or to other programs, nor is it used to orient new officers to the Program. Conflicts then frequently arise because there are no clear guidelines as to what is permitted, what is not, what is encouraged, what is discouraged.

The role of the correctional officer assigned to the Academy would become even more important should the Program obtain the status of a work detail, as recommended in this report.

The officer assigned to the Academy should be selected on the basis of the special qualifications which adhere to that post, and the director of the Education Program should have input into this selection process.

Since conflicts do arise from misunderstandings and ignorance regarding institutional policies and specific regulations, and since contact between the Program and institutional custody staff is frequent, institutional policy should be made explicit. The Penal Institutions Department should prepare and provide the Education Program with a manual detailing its policies and procedures, rules and regulations.

In a sense, this lack of explicit communication with the project is indicative of a somewhat broader neglect of the Education project by the institutional staff. There are no on-Island meal facilities for the Program staff. They are not allowed to park adjacent to the Academy area, for no apparent reason. Both of these minor irritants to Academy staff are unnecessary and should be eliminated by the institution's management.

The Education Program should take a first step toward improvement of relations with the correction officers (although, as the study survey indicates, most officers already feel that the Academy is a beneficial program), by offering credit courses for the officers, if at all possible. Some 97.6% of the officers questioned by study staff indicated that they would like to see these courses offered.

Inmate Participation

Participation in the Education Program is strictly voluntary. It begins in most cases with an interview by Education project staff as a result of a referral from Case Management. In this interview, the staff member explains the purpose and operation of the Academy and points out the opportunities available to the inmate. Approximately 58% of all new commitments are interviewed, and some 25% eventually participate in the Program. The responses to the inmate survey indicate that there is no regular or common way in which inmates find out about the Academy; some 38% of those polled indicated that they first heard about it from other inmates.

If more inmates could be interviewed, and relatively soon after their commitment, the degree of inmate participation in the Program might be increased. The participation of the Academy staff in the meetings of the recently formed Classification Team may serve to provide them with a greater opportunity to screen and, on request, interview a larger number

of potential participants. In any case, the number of commitments interviewed by Academy staff--and Academy staff are best equipped to describe the programs offered and to assess a potential student's interests and needs--should be increased.

The Program director or his designee should conduct personal interviews with as many new commitments as possible. This interview should take place regardless of the inmate's educational background, since the present Education Program allows participation at every conceivable level. For maximum effectiveness, this interview would best be conducted during the second, third, or fourth week of incarceration, after the inmate has had some opportunity for orientation to the institution, but has not achieved a long-standing daily routine.

Exclusions may be justified for inmates with severe alcohol or drug abuse problems which would inhibit their participation in the Education Program, or those over forty years old and considered beyond the scope of existing programs, if Case Management were sure to explain the Academy program to even these new commitments so that, should they have an interest in education (or in the case of alcoholics or drug users, should an interest develop once their habit is under control), they could seek out the Academy themselves.

Attendance

The biggest obstruction to increased effectiveness appears to be the high level of absenteeism of the students. Of inmates enrolled, only about one-third attend regularly and the average participation rate is about 35% for the first six months of 1974--a decline from the 50% of the August, 1972, through July, 1973 year. Table 4 shows overall attendance statistics for the latter period. The reasons most frequently given for absenteeism include illness, disciplinary segregation, court appearances and attorney conferences, furloughs, escapes, and a not insignificant number of inmates who simply cannot be located in the institution. Only occasionally does class participation conflict in time with an inmate's assignment to a work detail.

A substantial number of absences are attributed simply to the inmates not wanting to come on a particular day. The Academy staff attributes the poor attendance in general to an overall lack of accountability for the inmates on Deer Island, so that inmates are simply unaccustomed to have to be in any particular place at any particular time and seldom appear to be forced to accept responsibility.

The Education Program has made adjustments in its schedules in an attempt to avoid conflicts with visiting hours and other competing activities. Inmates who are absent are searched out, inasmuch as possible, and reminded of their classes.

The Program has also taken steps to eliminate class absentees from class rolls. An inmate who misses classes is rescheduled to attend a reduced number of classes the following week; the number of classes for

TABLE 4
Class Attendance at the Academy
 August, 1972 - July, 1973

<u>Scheduled Classes Attended</u>	<u>Percentage of Students</u>
0- 10%	10.2
11- 25%	11.2
26- 40%	9.2
40- 60%	34.0
61- 75%	24.5
76- 90%	6.1
90-100%	4.0
	<u>100.2</u>

which he is scheduled is reduced every week if he has unexcused absences, so that he is eventually cut from the Program if he does not attend.

The disruptive effect of the high rate of absenteeism is obvious, particularly in those situations in which everything learned at the last class attended appears to be lost over the term of the absences.

Of course, participation in the Education Program is voluntary, and there are good reasons for it to be voluntary. It does not necessarily follow, however, that class attendance should be entirely discretionary on the part of the student, or that the student should feel no responsibility for the intensity of his contact. The students should not be permitted, without sanction, to waste the time and effort of the education project staff by casual or haphazard attendance. Once they have made an initial commitment to a program of instruction, they should be presented with a structure of expectations which would encourage them to attend regularly.

Two procedural changes could create this expectation. One is the establishment of a contract learning system, in which the Academy, the inmate, and the institution enter into an agreement whereby the inmate is obliged to attend classes during a specified period, the Academy is obliged to instruct him, and the institution must give him the opportunity to attend these classes. This contract might well be part of a larger inmate institution contract in which the inmate pledges a certain amount of work on a work detail before he is permitted to enroll in the Academy. The second change designed to encourage attendance and supporting the operation of the contract learning system is the designation of the Academy as a detail assignment, on parity with work details. Thus, during the contract period when the student is participating in an educational program, he would be responsible to the Program staff in the same way that he is responsible to a work detail officer.

Physical Facilities

Conventional classes and individual tutoring sessions are only part of the activity which takes place in the Academy area. Meetings, counseling sessions, and staff conferences are also common. The decline in use of the programmed instruction approach to some of the Academy courses has meant that existing student carrels are not used much, if at all. For both these reasons, and to avoid future overspecialization of the physical facilities as occurred with the carrels, one or two of the classrooms in the Academy should be refurnished with standard classroom tables and chairs, suitable for the wide variety of purposes to which the rooms are put.

Curriculum Development

The students participating in the Program present a broad range of educational needs, at every level. There are few appropriate adult education materials available, although new developments in, for example, semi-tutorial approaches, show some promise. The present teaching staff,

however, cannot adequately both deal with its students and research the availability of materials and development of new techniques and possible means of designing new curricula. By affiliation with an educational institution with some experience and analogous educational services, such as (not necessarily) Bunker Hill Community College, the Education Program could more efficiently devote itself primarily to teaching while leaving the more specialized and sophisticated responsibilities of curriculum development to specialists.

Should the Education Program succeed in increasing the degree of inmate participation and the attendance of inmates at classes as discussed elsewhere in this report, and should the Program develop in the direction of more individualized mentor type teaching, and should the Program continue (as it ought to) meeting a higher standard for its periodic reports, it would be reasonable to expect that some additional staff might be required. Since at this time it is not clear which of the above factors will be operative, it is impossible to estimate precisely what the future staffing and budget needs of the project will be.

Files and Records

The Deer Island Education Program's file system might more aptly be described as a form storage system. The primary file is a chronological one, consisting of monthly folders, each containing whatever Program-related information has accumulated during the subject month. These documents typically include the weekly class schedules, class rosters for special courses and enrichment programs, communications regarding use of the facilities by other agencies, GED test schedules, results of GED tests, memoranda from the Penal Institution Department or other agencies.

A second file, organized alphabetically, is also kept, consisting of a two-section paper folding file and contains intake interview reports, monthly progress reports, and any other information of a general nature which comes into the project.

The data collection performed during the course of this study was hampered a great deal by the inadequacies of the project's filing system, and a great deal of time had to be devoted to reconstructing student records. This situation--the present condition of the filing system--apparently resulted from the lack of any demands or any perceived need for organized data retrieval, combined with the low priority assigned to clerical tasks, of necessity, by the Program's small staff.

It is recommended that the file system be reorganized into three major sections: a client file, a Program file, and an attendance file. The client file should consist of letter-size folders for each student, arranged alphabetically, and further divided into active and inactive sections. This file should be opened upon the inmate's entry into the Program with the insertion of the intake interview report form and the placing of the inmate's file in the active section. An attendance card would then be completed for the student and placed in the attendance file, a single card file. Weekly entries summarizing class attendance would be recorded

on this card for each inmate, and upon an inmate's termination of participation, his attendance card could be removed from the attendance file, placed in his folder in the client file, and then in turn that folder moved to the inactive section.

The Program file would be the depository for Program business not related to specific clients, including items such as class schedules and reports on GED test results. There should be sections for blank forms, correspondence, reports, and Program records, each section being labeled and arranged alphabetically.

Revised forms for the initial intake interview report, the attendance record, and the class schedule and attendance form have been prepared by study staff and are presented in the appendix to this report.

Quarterly Reports

The quarterly reports of the Education Program through the first quarter of 1974 were always considered adequate by the sponsoring agencies. However, no quarterly report is perfect, so several changes in the format and content of the report were effected for the second quarter 1974 report with the assistance of study staff. The changes eliminated some superfluous information and expanded the amount of statistical data provided, arranging it in more usable format.

The revised report was organized into three main sections. The first contains client service information, including a statistical breakdown on client flow, workload measures, and services provided. The second section, on administrative information, provides detail on the budget and expenditure rates of the Program and reports changes of an administrative nature since the last report, such as budget modifications or personal changes. The third section of the report is the narrative, which provides for an interpretation and explanation of trends reflected in the statistics and a narrative explanation of developments not adequately described by statistics alone.

A copy of the revised quarterly report submitted for the second quarter of 1974, which can fairly be called a model quarterly report for all the programs discussed in this study, is presented in the appendix.

The Inmate Survey

As detailed elsewhere in this report, a large sample of the resident population of Deer Island--some 94 inmates--were interviewed regarding the institution and the programs there. Some of their responses directly related to the operation of the Academy are noted here.

Ninety per cent of the inmates surveyed stated that they had some knowledge of the Education Program, 22% having heard of it from Case Management and 38% in conversations with other inmates. Fifty-six per cent of

the inmates who were familiar with the Academy expressed positive attitudes about it, while 20% were negative. Thirty-two per cent of the inmates surveyed reported present participation in the Program, and an additional 36% said that they had been in it at some prior time. Of those inmates who are now or had been in the Academy, 79% indicated that they felt the Program helpful, while only 18% said that it had not been helpful. When queried as to what the precise benefits of the Program were, 34% cited the achievement of a degree or diploma, 13% said that they benefited by reviewing and brushing up previously acquired skills, and 21% simply cited learning as a benefit. It is interesting to note that, while the Program itself estimated that approximately 1/3 of the inmate population as of December, 1973, was enrolled in its Program at some time during their incarceration, fully 68% of the inmates surveyed in August, 1974, claimed to have been enrolled in the Program at one time or another.

COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS PROGRAM

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The Community Corrections Program (CCP), one of nine components of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center (RMSC), operates under contract to the Mayor's Safe Streets Act Advisory Committee through the Penal Institutions Department of the City of Boston. The Program provides counseling, referral, and support services to releasees from the Suffolk County House of Correction at Deer Island who are returning to the Roxbury community. Ordinarily, clients are eligible for the Program three months in advance of their parole or wrap-up (sentence expiration) date; thus, inmates with sentences under three months are excluded. Initial counseling takes place during the three months prior to release from Deer Island; afterwards, clients are expected to remain on the Program caseload for nine months or longer. The families of clients are also provided with some services both before and after release of the client.

The Program is based in the RMSC offices at 317 Blue Hill Avenue in Roxbury. It has a staff of fourteen and operates on an annual budget of about \$200,000, all LEAA funds. As of June 30, 1974, there were 69 clients in the caseload, of whom 14 were at Deer Island and 55 released.

PROGRAM OPERATIONS

The Roxbury Multi-Service Center

The Roxbury Multi-Service Center operates under a twenty-seven member Board of Directors, which administers the multi-faceted organization through an administrative staff headed by an Executive Director. The Executive Director has complete administrative control over the Community Corrections Program, primarily dealing with the Program Director through his assistant, the Director of Direct Services. Community Corrections Program staff are actually employees of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center, subject to RMSC employment policies and benefits, and the Executive Director has final approval over all personnel decisions.

In addition to providing the physical office space required for the Community Corrections Program, RMSC handles all accounting, budget actions, disbursements, and payroll matters for CCP and provides its reproduction

center, central records system, legal section, and building security system. Other components within RMSC are used both formally and informally by the CCP, including assessment and counseling, legal, mental health, and housing services.

The overall corrections component of RMSC consists of two programs, the Community Corrections Program and the Community Rehabilitation Center. The Director of the CCP is also Director of the Community Rehabilitation Center, a half-way house for paroled ex-offenders. Each of the two programs is headed by a Project Manager, who reports to the (one) Program Director, who in turn reports to the Assistant Director for Direct Services and through him to the Executive Director. The table of organization shows the administrative structure.

Personnel

The project staff of the Community Corrections Program consists of a Director, a Project Manager, a social worker, two job developers, a head advocate, five advocates, an executive secretary, a secretary, and a clerk-typist. With minor exceptions, this is the same staff called for in the initial grant proposal.

The following sections of this report give an overall view of the operations of the Program through a position-by-position discussion.

Program Director

The job description for the position of director of the Community Corrections Program sets out as guidelines for qualification a minimum of four years experience in social welfare or correctional work, including one year's experience in administration of a social welfare program, with graduate study in the behavioral sciences or a related field preferred. The current director has a bachelor's degree in social work, and was appointed to the directorship after serving as social worker and project manager in the Program.

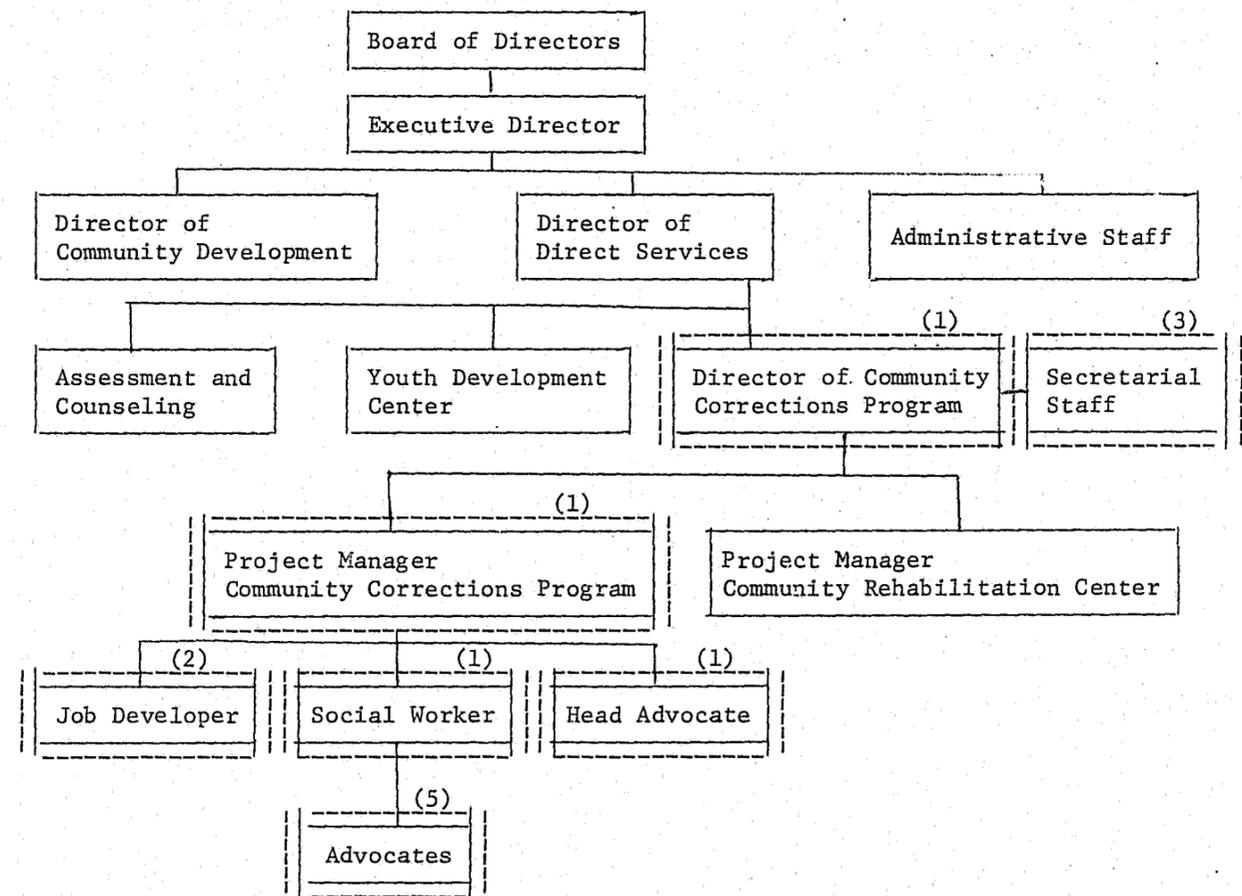
The program director's responsibilities for the other element of RMSC's corrections program, the Community Rehabilitation Center, are not examined here. Generally, it appears that the director's involvement with the CRC, while substantial, is considerably less time consuming and direct than with CCP. This may be a function of the size of the CCP staff and the instability of personnel within CCP, which requires more supervisory attention.

The director, with the assistance of the project manager, is responsible for recruiting and interviewing prospective personnel and recommending personnel decisions to the executive director. The rapid turnover in recent months has made this a major task.

Another primary responsibility of the program director is the coordination of the work of the CCP staff with that of other RMSC staff and

TABLE 1
Table of Organization

Roxbury Multi-Service Center
Community Corrections Program



 = Positions funded by CCP grant.

that of other agencies operating at Deer Island. To this end, the director attends meetings such as the RMSC cabinet meetings and a monthly meeting with the other project directors and the Director of Activities at Deer Island. Additional meetings are required from time to time to develop and maintain contacts with agencies used as sources of clients, services, or information by CCP. In addition, there are regular CCP staff meetings.

The program director is also responsible for preparation of written reports including monthly reports to Deer Island, monthly and annual reports to the Roxbury Multi-Service Center, and quarterly and final reports to the Mayor's Safe Streets Act Advisory Committee. Special reports are sometimes requested by these or other agencies as well. The director also has primary responsibility for preparing grant proposals.

The director receives monthly reports from each staff member who deals with clients, and uses these reports as a basis for both reporting and evaluating the work of the Program. It appears that this method of gathering information is still in development, and that little evaluative use has been made of it.

Project Manager

Qualifications for the position of project manager are a minimum of three years experience in social welfare or correctional work with experience in staff supervision. A graduate or undergraduate degree in behavioral sciences or a related field is preferred. The present project manager has a bachelor's degree in social work and has served in the Community Corrections Program as an advocate and as a social worker.

The project manager is the managerial head of CCP, exercising direct regular supervision over the social worker, head advocate, and job developers, and indirect supervision over the advocates, with primary responsibility for day-to-day operations. The position also has responsibility for providing the director with monthly narratives and statistics on Program operations, and assisting the director in matters such as recruitment and selection of employees, public relations, communication with other agencies and institutions, and development of staff training programs.

The project manager directs regular team meetings for the CCP staff members, and frequently accompanies or represents the project director at RMSC staff meetings or the project directors' meetings at Deer Island. The project manager also receives reports on client intake interviews from the head advocate, and based on those reports assigns cases to the advocates.

Job Developers

There are two job developers. Qualifications for this position are at least three years experience in the areas of personnel recruitment, employment counseling, or job development, and a knowledge of the special problems of paroled and released offenders regarding employment.

One of the present two job developers has been with CCP for two years, and had job development and placement experience with social agencies prior to that. The other has been with CCP for approximately a year and was previously employed in another component of RMSC.

The primary responsibilities of this position are assessing the client's educational and employment history; evaluating his current skills, abilities, and interests; and, most importantly, securing appropriate employment, vocational training, or educational placement. To help accomplish this goal, the job developer is further charged to develop additional opportunities for the training, education, and employment of paroled and released ex-offenders.

The job development process and the specific tasks undertaken by job developers are discussed in greater detail below.

Social Worker

The social worker position requires a minimum of two years experience in social work counseling, preferably in corrections, and a bachelor's degree in behavioral sciences or a related field. The current social worker was employed in July, 1974, after the position had been vacant for several months, during which its duties were performed by the project manager, formerly the social worker. The person now filling this position has a master's degree in social work and experience in a non-correctional setting.

The primary responsibilities of the social worker include counseling of released offenders, home visits to families of clients, assimilation of information about other service agencies available for referral, and general supervision of the advocates. In working with advocates to provide supportive counseling for clients, the role of the social worker is usually advisory, and direct contact with clients is minimal. The social worker provides the advocates with suggestions for appropriate referrals; these may include outside social agencies or consultants from within RMSC.

Home visits to all families of clients allow assessment of the personal needs of the family and referral to appropriate agencies to meet those needs. Typically, assistance is provided in qualifying and applying for welfare aid; finding medical or psychiatric care; obtaining or maintaining adequate housing; or other social services, including those offered by RMSC. The social worker also advises families regarding education, drug abuse, home management, and budgeting. On the social worker's recommendation, a client's family may be allotted emergency assistance funds for clothing, housing, or food.

During the first six months of 1974, the social worker made 37 home visits. It has been noted that the Program was without a full time social worker during this period; and yet this total is nearly the same as the total of 39 home visits reported for the last six months of 1973.

The social worker is responsible for individual supervision of advocates, particularly about client caseload management. It is unclear

whether the supervision of advocates by the social worker is restricted to this function or whether it includes general supervision also. The extended period during which the same person filled the role of social worker and project manager may have contributed to the confusion of responsibility in this area.

Head Advocate

Qualifications for the position of head advocate are prior experience in counseling and prior experience in a social welfare program, with supervisory experience or the potential for supervision desirable. The present head advocate has a bachelor's degree in sociology; his experience includes eight months in the assessment and counseling component of RMSC, and one year as an advocate in CCP prior to becoming head advocate a year ago.

The primary responsibilities of the head advocate are conducting initial interviews and initial assessment of clients, acting as a liaison with the correctional institution, and handling "emergency" cases. The responsibilities of the position formerly included supervision of advocates and client assignments, but this responsibility has shifted to the project manager and social worker. It is anomalous that the head advocate does not supervise or monitor advocate activity.

Advocates

There are five advocates. Their responsibilities are defined in broad terms as counseling to and intervention for clients. They attempt to assess the needs of the client and his family and seek out and deliver appropriate services in response to those needs, while maintaining a supportive counseling relationship. The practical operation and apparent effectiveness of the advocacy effort of CCP is discussed below.

Qualifications for the position of advocate appear to be simply appropriate personality and experience with no formal criteria. Examination of the present staff indicates that perhaps a higher standard has been met. The range of experience levels includes employment with another component of the RMSC, teaching, health services delivery, and counseling in correctional and non-correctional settings. Three of the current advocates have attended college, and two have degrees, one in psychology. Two of the five advocates are females; all five are black, ranging in age from early twenties to late thirties, and including both life-long residents of the Roxbury community and newcomers to the city. One advocate speaks Spanish fluently.

The average length of employment with the Program is short; three of the current advocates began during the past six months.

Clerical Staff

The CCP has three secretaries: one executive secretary, one secretary, and one clerk-typist. This clerical staff handles typing, clerical

work, and filing for the Program, under the direction of the program director. The secretaries maintain a client file, receive and direct phone calls and visitors, receive and distribute mail for the Program, type forms, reports, and correspondence for the Program staff, and perform other general clerical duties. All calls and visitors coming into CCP are received and handled by the RMSC receptionist, who screens callers and visitors and directs them to the appropriate component; CCP clerical staff provides relief for the receptionist when necessary, sharing that duty with the other RMSC components.

Interaction With Other Agencies

As with most other programs providing services to CCP program participants, the Boston Offender Service Project accepts clients both by independent initial intake and by referral, so coordination is required between the agencies to assure that services are not duplicated. BOSP is by far the program to which clients are most frequently referred, having serviced 42.2% of CCP participants during the first year of CCP's existence and 51.5% during the second. Of the 27 served by both programs in the first year, 15 received financial aid from CCP as well as BOSP. This group of 15 represents 62.5% of the 24 CCP clients who were given funds; generally, they were given money for as many purposes as the other recipients, with 60% of the recipients having more than one reason for funds, compared to 58.3% of the overall recipient group. By these indications, then, there is a group comprised of about 10% of BOSP's clientele and 23% of CCP's who receive money from both programs, though not necessarily at the same time.

While CCP does occasionally refer clients to drug and alcohol abuse treatment agencies such as Center for Attitude Change (CAC) or Care About Now (CAN), such referrals are infrequent. CCP generally excludes persons receiving such services from the Roxbury program at the initial Deer Island contact, because other agencies are better able to handle these problems which typically overshadow all the client's other concerns. The only programs in which CCP clients are involved to any great extent while incarcerated are the Deer Island Case Management and Education Programs. During the first year of CCP, 46.9% of its participants had attended the Academy for some period of time, and 76.6% had case managers. Although statistics are not available, it may be that a significant portion of participants who were also in the Academy enrolled in that program subsequent to being in CCP, after counselors had suggested that this program was valuable for improving the client's opportunities regarding employment, furloughs, and parole. There is a moderate amount of communication between CCP and Education Program personnel, usually on an informal basis and directed at some specific educational problem of the client such as his application for educational release or college admission. Such communication is facilitated by the fact that CCP counselors interview clients in the Academy's physical space three mornings weekly.

Informal communication between advocate counselors and case managers appears to occur in much the same way; however, a more formal communication system has been envisioned by CCP in the so-called "team concept" of client service cooperation between Case Management and CCP personnel. It appears

that the most frequent communication between case managers and advocate counselors occurs when there is overlapping concern with particular client problems involving, e.g., furlough, parole, medical treatment, or court appearances.

The directors of all of programs serving Deer Island inmates and re-releasees attend a regular monthly program directors' meeting at Deer Island, chaired by the Director of Activities. These meetings are designed to keep the programs abreast of policy changes and to coordinate planning. There also appears to be a moderate level of written communication between program directors, particularly regarding policy changes which are initiated between meetings.

In dealing with Penal Institution Department staff, CCP personnel cite as major problems an inability to get decisions regarding important problems and a perceived inconsistency in the application of existing policy. Mild friction appears to occur as a result of both personality and institutional conflict. At the administrative level, there is mutual respect and cooperation. At the operational level, however, CCP staff are quick to cite institutional inhibitions on their activity, and their accompanying frustration. They claim the institutional environment is not conducive to counseling and in fact reinforces many of the very attitudes counselors are seeking to change. Chiefly, this is an objection to the relatively unstructured environment of the institution in which productivity and accountability for inmates' time is not stressed. Inmates reportedly miss assignments and appointments with impunity.

PROGRAM ANALYSIS

Goals and Objectives

The Community Corrections Program stated its overall program goal as: "To provide continued counseling, social employment, mental health, and family services to the two hundred residents of the Suffolk County House of Correction at Deer Island during the year 1974, facilitating the process of re-entry into the community." The provision of services per se thus appears important to the Program; but Program and RMSC staff agree, and the Program's stated objectives confirm, that the major reason for providing these services is to reduce recidivism among the clientele.

The following are the stated objectives of the Program, with regard to their client population:

- (1) Provide 90% of paroled men with employment, reducing the possibility of a high unemployment rate and the need for parolees to commit crimes against persons or property.
- (2) To retain 90% of parolees in their communities after parole, maintaining a low recidivism rate.

- (3) To assist in the development of educational and vocational goals.
- (4) To encourage and engage 90% of the clients' families in participation for pre-release planning.
- (5) To identify and encourage the client's and family's use of existing community resources.
- (6) To assist in planning temporary and permanent housing for clients in need of it.
- (7) To address social, physical, and psychological needs of 80% of all client families.
- (8) To develop a work treatment plan for the client via three counseling sessions over a period of three months during incarceration.
- (9) To develop a program of evaluation to study the effectiveness of the Program in meeting its objectives.
- (10) To establish a public relations program which will explain to the community the purpose of the Program for further generation of community awareness and support.

In examining these objectives it may be useful to look at each briefly in terms of the objective data available from the first and/or second years of the Program.

- (1) During the first full year of operation, the Program placed 53% of paroled men in employment, education, or vocational training programs. During the first half of 1974, 14 clients were placed; as of August, 1974, none were still employed in jobs or educational placements provided by the Program. Of the Program clients discharged from Deer Island during the second year of CCP's operation (33), only 15% (5) were reported as having been placed in jobs by the end of the year, with an additional 9% (3) reported in educational placements.
- (2) Of the Program clients who were paroled during the first year of the Program, 7.8% were reincarcerated and 39.1% were subsequently charged with a criminal offense within six months after their release. This rate does not represent a statistically significant difference from the predicted base expectancy rate calculated in this study.
- (3) While "development of educational and vocational goals" defies direct measurement, actual placements as indicated under (1) above provide some indication of activity in this area.

- (4) During the first year of the Program, 56.2% of the client's families were contacted. The usual case appears to be one family contact by the advocate counselor, with a subsequent referral to the Program's social worker only in the case of special problems.
- (5) Seventy-four per cent of the clients participating in the Program during the first year, and 70% in the second year, were referred to other community agencies. Such referrals also comprise the bulk of the services provided to clients' families.
- (6) It appears that only a small minority of the clients lack housing upon release; during the first year of the Program, 12.5% of the clients received assistance in this area.
- (7) During the first half of 1974, the social worker added the families of approximately two-thirds of the new clients to her caseload.
- (8) During the first two years of the Program, advocate counselors met with each client an average of fourteen times during incarceration, while job developers saw on-Island clients an average of two times before release.
- (9) Prior to 1974, no complete evaluation of the effectiveness of the Program was undertaken; an evaluation program undertaken in 1974 was incomplete and inaccurate.
- (10) There is no evidence of an established public relations program, though considerable public relations work appears to be produced as a by-product of the regular activities of the advocate counselors and job developers in the community.

Reduction of Recidivism

The Community Correction Program established for itself as the ultimate measure of its effectiveness the recidivism rate of its clients (as noted above). The Program's attempt at its own recidivism study resulted in an incomplete but interesting collection of case histories, due to a lack of access to official records and thus an inability to collect accurate information. The self-reported and second-hand information that the CCP report had to rely upon will clearly never provide sufficiently accurate data for a reliable recidivism study.

The recidivism study conducted as a part of this evaluation, presented in detail elsewhere in this report, shows that the actual recidivism rate (as defined for the purposes of this analysis) of CCP clients is 39.1%. This is 2.1 to 4.5% less than the predicted recidivism rate for the same group, and 2.1% less than the actual rate for all inmates in the Program participation cohort population.

However, CCP participants showed almost exactly the same rate of subsequent charges as black inmates serving sentences of three months or more who were non-participants, a group constructed from the sample to give another and (as it turns out) more telling comparison. A slightly higher proportion of Program participants (3.8% more) were charged with another offense within two months of their release from Deer Island compared to this constructed group.

As discussed in the detailed recidivism study report, none of these differences is statistically significant. Nor did separate analyses of subsequent charge severity, sentence severity, and time lag show any apparent treatment effects.

There is no indication that Program participants are significantly different from non-Program participants. An examination of such indicators as length of sentence, disciplinary action while incarcerated, and prior incarceration indicate that CCP participants and non-participants with sentences of three months or more are virtually identical in these areas. Nor is there any indication that this uniformity of findings regarding both participants and non-participants would not continue over a longer recidivism follow-up period, particularly since any further change in the performance of CCP clients would have to be the result of a residual effect, contact with the Program having diminished to virtually nothing by the end of the six-month follow-up.

The comparison of CCP clients with comparable non-client groups within the same year is shown in Table 2. The base expectancy predictive analysis is explained in detail under a separate heading.

As long as the Program has as its ultimate purpose the reduction of recidivism, moves directed at continuing precisely the same program operations more efficiently (i.e., with less resources) would probably put the Program no closer to this goal. The logical conclusion, however, is not that the intermediate objectives of this Program--the providing of employment, counseling, and diversified support for the ex-offender when he re-enters the community--necessarily fail to achieve the primary goal of reducing recidivism. That hypothesis has not been tested in this instance because the intermediate objectives to a large degree have not been met--clients of the Program were not kept on jobs, nor did they receive the intensive counseling or supportive services anticipated. The more limited conclusion is therefore that the failure of the Program to meet these objectives has precluded any effect the Program might otherwise have had on recidivism.

Job Development

Deer Island Contacts. There are two job developers; they form half of a team with the advocates "to provide a total spectrum of services to the client." One job developer's caseload includes the same clients as that of three of the advocates, and the other job developer's caseload corresponds to that of two of the advocates plus any emergency cases handled by the head advocate. This allows each advocate to deal with only one job developer, presumably expediting the flow of information regarding clients.

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF CCP PARTICIPANTS WITH SELECTED GROUPS OF NON-PARTICIPANTS

	All Deer Island Discharges Aug.1972-July 1973 (includes sentences under 3 months) (N=391)	Community Corrections Project Participants (N=64)	Non-CCP Blacks with Sentences over 3 months (N=91)	Non-CCP Whites with Sentences over 3 months (N=147)
Length of Sentence (mo.)				
Mean	10.76	12.57	12.46	12.94
Median	10.2	11.4	9.9	11.62
Mode of Discharge				
Paroled	63% (246)	79.7% (51)	58.2% (53)	65.9% (97)
Expired sentence	37% (145)	20.3% (13)	41.8% (38)	34.0% (50)
Disciplinary Action	25.6% (101)	29.7% (19)	27.5% (25)	32.7% (48)
Furlough				
At least one	40.4% (158)	57.8% (37)	35.2% (32)	51.7% (76)
More than one	29% (113)	40.6% (26)	25.3% (23)	39.5% (58)
Age at Release (yrs.)				
Mean	25.1	22.3	23.4	27.1
Median	28.6	24.9	27	28.7
Subsequent Charge				
Within 6 months	46.5% (182)	43.6% (28)	44% (40)	40.1% (59)
Within 2 months	29.4% (113)	28% (18)	24.2% (22)	23.7% (34)
Incarcerated	5.1% (20)	7.8% (5)	15.4% (14)	7.5% (11)

Job developers, in conjunction with the advocates, meet with clients who are still at Deer Island three mornings a week. Each new client is introduced to a job developer by his advocate, at which time the job developer interviews the client for the relevant background information to supplement the information already provided by the advocate on his work history form.

The job developers have what they call a "job strategy plan," a program designed to develop interview skills in clients prior to their release. The plan calls for six job strategy sessions at Deer Island, using such teaching aids as charts, outlines, handouts, and closed circuit television to develop interview skills and teach clients, for example, how to fill out application forms. This recently initiated plan appears thus far to have failed in its purpose due to a lack of participation by clients. Frequently, only a small percentage of scheduled participants appear, and the job developers revert to individual counseling sessions. Job developers point out that participation on the part of clients increases as the prospective release date approaches, so that long-range planning and counseling simply may not be feasible.

The Placement Process. After the client and job developer agree on the appropriate type of placement, the job developer starts to contact prospective employers or programs, at the same time attempting to prepare the inmate for the application process. This includes such matters as obtaining reference letters from previous employers, verifying past employment or training, and organizing information for quick reference in preparing applications. When an employer is found who is willing to consider a client for employment, a tentative interview is scheduled. The inmate must then apply for a furlough to go to the interview. The Furlough Board meets weekly and requires two days' notice for furlough applications. If a furlough is granted, the employment interview is confirmed and the inmate is allowed to leave Deer Island for the interview. The job developer usually meets with the client briefly before the interview and then accompanies him to meet the employer. Because inmates frequently have difficulty getting furloughs for job interviews, the job developers usually try to schedule several interviews for the same day.

Notification from the employer usually is received several days after the interview. If the client has gotten the job, the job developer arranges the details for a starting date. Ideally, though apparently not in practice, the job developer should visit the client at his job sometime during the first week, and perhaps twice monthly thereafter for at least six months to check his progress, deal with adjustment problems, and see that he has gotten any promotions or raises he may have earned.

Employment Contacts. Community Corrections Program job developers conduct extensive liaison work with employers, in an effort to keep abreast of future openings and changing hiring policies. These two staff members averaged twelve new employer contacts monthly during the year 1973. They keep a file of information cards on each employer contacted, including up-to-date information on such things as current personnel and hiring practices. It includes no individual client experience records, which are kept separately.

The employers who have hired clients are located in the Roxbury, Dorchester, or downtown Boston areas. Larger companies are preferred because they usually afford more opportunities, and are more likely to offer training programs. Smaller companies are also more reluctant to hire ex-offenders. Most of the clients have arrests or convictions for larceny in their records, making it difficult to place them in retail establishments. Clients generally also lack transportation, and are reluctant to seek jobs with the many large firms in the Boston suburbs. Many opportunities, particularly for training programs, are reportedly lost for this reason. The current tight job market, the influx of seasonal job seekers during the summer when students flood the job market, and keen competition from other social agencies has made placement even more difficult in recent months. The job developers feel that the half-way houses and job banks for state prison releasees operated under the Boston Pre-Release Program may be a more potent vehicle for job placement, possibly due to the affiliation with state agencies. The job developers do not deal with private employment agencies, but they do seek placements through the state Division of Employment Security and the Boston Chamber of Commerce. Federal and City contractors are considered a good source for placement opportunities; the National Alliance of Businessmen sometimes has funds available for training.

Job developers feel that CCP's connection with RMSC is of value in dealing with employers, since the Center is well known, has a good reputation, and lends an air of stability to the Program.

Housekeeping. Job developers attend staff meetings and team meetings on a regular basis, and meet with advocates regarding clients on an informal basis as needed. They keep a file on each client, and record day-to-day activities regarding each client on a comment sheet in his file. Interview information or employer contacts are recorded on a job disposition form. A summary of daily activities is compiled in a weekly report and then in a monthly job developer's report to the program director. The job developers use special forms to record other information kept in the client files; for example, there is a follow-up form for job development contacts with employers, a job referral form, and a vocational counseling form. These forms appear to have been developed primarily for internal use by the job developers, and it appears that they are not as consistently utilized as those reports which are sent to other people.

The job developers have a small library of employment materials, consisting primarily of reference materials and manuals regarding jobs. In general, the job developers appear to coordinate their efforts, share resources, and work together in planning and presenting the job strategy sessions.

Results. During 1973, the job developers reported having placed 45 clients in 56 jobs, at an average weekly salary of \$103.57. Job developers obtained placements for approximately 65% of their caseload. The results of the follow-up survey, discussed *infra* at p.132, cast doubts on the evaluative usefulness of these statistics, however. There are few education placements.

The degree of client contact is not extensive. Job developers actually see clients approximately two times while they are in Deer Island and, it appears, roughly once monthly after the initial placement is made.

Both job developers are of the opinion that the biggest factors affecting the success of their placement attempts are the nature and attitudes of the clients. They point out that as client age declines--the median age in 1973 and the first half of 1974 was 22--a larger percentage have never been gainfully employed, have neither education nor skills, and lack the type of responsibilities that motivate one toward occupational stability. Three quarters of the clients are unmarried and most of these live with their parents. The job developers, with increasing frequency, report encountering clients who have never been assigned a Social Security number. The relatively low starting pay of the positions in which the clients can be placed is usually below their expectations. The hard work ethic is not common among younger clients, and the alternative street hustle frequently seems both more desirable and more profitable. Clients frequently set unrealistic employment goals for themselves in view of their qualifications, expecting to be placed in jobs as counselors, photographers, radio broadcasters, or other professional or technical positions. The lower age of new clients has become even more of a factor since several have been taken into the Program at seventeen, and are precluded by law from employment in certain positions.

The low level of education placements is striking. For example, although local colleges such as the University of Massachusetts, Boston College, and Northeastern University have special admissions programs for ex-offenders, the CCP has not placed a client in any of these programs during the past year. About one quarter of CCP's client intake for its second year had finished high school.

The difficulties of dealing with the low educational level of the clients (10th grade median) and the declining availability of training programs and skilled trade apprenticeships are compounded by the apparent disinterest of the clients. In addition, vocational education and training programs are generally limited, and their tendency to run in long cycles excludes inmates whose release dates do not coincide with the beginning of a cycle. On-the-job training is available in unskilled jobs, for example, at Harvard, MIT, and Tufts Universities, but the job developers hesitate to place clients in these positions, preferring to get them involved in skilled jobs. Not surprisingly, there is a relatively high interest in vocational training programs which carry a stipend, such as those offered by the Dorchester Skills Center and OIC.

An additional problem in making appropriate training and educational placements may be the cooperation of the advocates. In most cases, the advocate introduces the client to the job developer after a brief period of program participation, as soon as the advocate has gotten acquainted with the client and feels that he is ready to talk about employment. Job developers feel that they should be involved in client counseling at an earlier stage so that they could emphasize training and education as well as placement. Apparently the advocates are not emphasizing educational and training opportunities to the clients.

Job developers have available for their use results from the Deer Island testing center, for clients who took the voluntary tests. The CCP staff claim these are of little value, as they tend to measure interest rather than aptitude. Comprehensive aptitude tests would be of significant value.

Institutional problems frequently frustrate the efforts of job developers also. The most important of these probably concerns the availability of clients for employment interviews. Absenteeism from job counseling sessions, which averages approximately 23%, is less destructive than absence from job interviews, which averages 37% (first year figures). In addition to the loss of a job opportunity for the absent client, such experiences may result in the loss of the employer as a job source for others. The fact that furloughs are not approved until one week before the effective date inhibits the job developer's planning ability, and frequently causes hurried preparations for job interviews. Furthermore, if inmates are required to go before the Parole Board before job interview furloughs will be granted, reportedly a new institutional policy, the client's likelihood of obtaining parole or a furlough or a job are reduced. Whenever the Parole Board assigns reserve dates, by which the inmate must arrange a job in order to obtain parole, the job developer has only a very short time in which to find a job and thus is less likely to make an effective placement. Job developers feel that submission of incorrect or incomplete paperwork by Case Management may sometimes be the cause of an inmate not getting a furlough for a job interview. Even when a furlough is granted and job interview arrangements are made, the inmate sometimes is barred from furlough by the Deer Island Receiving Office. There may be confusion as to the time the inmate should be released, delay because of confusion with forms and approvals, or a determination of furlough ineligibility by the Receiving Office and a resultant refusal to give an inmate civilian clothing so that he may leave. The problems in the administration of the furlough program are discussed at greater length in the study report chapter on the Case Management Project.

The Follow-Up Survey on Employment. To assess the effectiveness of the job development aspect of the Community Corrections Program, study staff attempted to follow up all placements made during the first six months of 1974. The survey involved contacting each employer and obtaining pertinent data such as duration of employment, relations with other employees and supervisors, raises, promotions, transfers, training, problems encountered in employment, and reasons for termination if applicable. Study staff succeeded in contacting every employer or school.

Quarterly reports indicate that there were 14 such placements, but when the job developers were requested to provide employment data for those placements, they delivered information on 13 clients, placed in 15 jobs (two clients being placed twice). The survey of the employers contacted for the 15 listed placements indicated that, as of August, 1974, none of the clients were still working or studying at their initial placements. Table 3 shows the survey results and Table 4 the costs of CCP's job placement activity.

In only nine cases had the client actually started work or training. Of these nine, eight were placed in a job or vocational training; for them,

the term of employment ranged from one week to eight months, averaging 4.4 months. One employee got his job through other sources, the employer never having heard of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center or CCP; two placements were in training programs in which placements are made by Deer Island; and the one college placement was made by the Education Program at Deer Island. The remaining five may have been placed because of the efforts of the Program (although even one of these was apparently hired on his brother's recommendation).

The five placements who apparently never started work or training include: one accepted for employment who never reported for work; two second placements after termination of an original job, on which the second employer has no record of employment; one whose employer had heard of neither the client nor the agency; and one client who had been employed previously for 12 to 18 months but terminated at least 6 months prior to the beginning of this year.

Of the six placements who actually started work on their jobs, three resigned of their own volition. Two of these gave as their reason the need to find a better paying job; apparently both were unsuccessful, at least immediately after termination, as they reportedly attempted to return to the jobs they had left. The third handed in his resignation as an alternative to being fired after missing two of his first six working days without an excuse. The other three clients were terminated by their employers, primarily for absenteeism, though unsatisfactory performance was also reported.

Of the two reported placements in vocational training programs, one discontinued participation after four months to take a job, and the other completed the six-month course and has spent six weeks since that time attempting to find a position. The client reportedly placed as a college student was enrolled in a summer preparatory program, completion of which allowed entry into a regular college curriculum; he withdrew from the program after completing his first of two five-week sessions.

Opinions regarding the performance of the CCP were sought where employment was verified, and ranged from enthusiastic compliments to severe criticism. One employer reported that he had never been contacted by anyone from CCP, that the employee in question had been hired on the recommendation of his brother, and that he certainly would not have been hired had he been known to have a conviction on his record. In only two cases in this six-month survey did employers report any contact with a job developer or counselor from CCP subsequent to placement, and in one of those the job developer reportedly stopped to visit six months after the placement and one week after the employee had been fired. Four employers stressed the need for follow-up counseling sessions by agency, especially concerning those personal problems of the employee which the employer is totally unprepared to handle. One employer reported that he had on several occasions attempted to contact the CCP advocate to counsel the employee, and was never able to contact the advocate directly but had to go through the job developer. This employer's impression was that the advocate was overburdened by his caseload and was unable to provide the counseling needed for clients. Another employer said that the client's chances of keeping his job might have been enhanced had the job developer

TABLE 3
PLACEMENTS BY CCP JOB DEVELOPERS DURING JANUARY - JUNE 1974

POSITION	MONTHS								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Trainee, Diesel Mech.	completed training, unable to find job								education and training placements
College	drop-ped out								
Trainee, Laundry	resigned due to physical discomfort								
Trainee, Diesel Mech.	dropped out to accept employment								
Security guard	quit to seek higher pay								job placements, quit
Stock clerk	quit w/o notice to seek higher pay								
Factory worker	quit to avoid being fired								job placements, fired
Clerk	fired for absenteeism								
Clerk	fired for absenteeism & poor work								
Clerk	fired for absenteeism, lack of initiative								
Factory worker	never reported for work								job placements, never worked
Cooks helper	never reported for work								
Groundskeeper	no record of employment								
Gas attendant	employer never heard of client								
Auto reconditioner	employment was prior to this year								

TABLE 4
COST OF CCP JOB PLACEMENTS JANUARY - JUNE 1974

Cost of job development activity (based on 9-month grant)	
Total administrative staff (Dir., Mgr., clerical, fringe)	\$40,331
Total overhead and expenses	<u>21,401</u>
Total administration and overhead	<u>\$61,732</u>
Job development share of total a. & o.	\$13,581
Job developers' salaries (inc. fringe)	<u>17,998</u>
Total 9-month cost	<u>\$31,579</u>
Job development cost for 6 months	<u>\$21,053</u>
Cost per placement	
...@ 14 (from quarterly report)	\$ 1,504
...@ 13 (from job dev. files)	1,619
...@ 8 (actually started work, school)	2,631
...@ 5 (started work)	4,210
...@ 3 (started work solely due to CCP)	7,018

and advocate counselor met with the employer and employee prior to employment to make everyone aware of their expectations. One employer specified that clients were not receiving enough supportive services from the Program, and a counselor was not provided even in cases where the need was quite obvious, such as with an employee who was such an introvert that no open communications were possible, or where family problems imposed burdens on the employee with which the company could not cope.

Four employers expressed the opinion that the employees lacked motivation generally, and that this lack of initiative and ambition caused their failure rather than the lack of specific skills. In fact, none of the jobs were described as requiring specific skills, beyond the ability to perform simple tasks reliably and to get along with other people. One employer reported that while most positions with his firm require some skills, CCP has priority on the unskilled jobs. Another stated that the Roxbury Multi-Service Center has a good reputation in the city, and that is an important factor in considering applicants from that agency.

Two employers were quite favorably impressed by the working efforts of the CCP staff, particularly of the job developers. One of these advised that he was particularly impressed by the way that job developers go all out for a client, and continue to make a strong effort on their behalf in spite of repeated frustrations.

Regarding the two employees placed in vocational training, a staff member from that training program related that to the best of his knowledge the two students were placed while they were in Deer Island by the institution, as were several other inmates. He stated that he knew CCP staff personnel were involved with these two students prior to their participation in the vocational training program, but that the program had no contact with CCP after placement. He indicated that the current tight job market situation makes placement of students who have completed the training program extremely difficult, and that in fact the program has never placed a student on a job.

No employer stated that his experience with the employees who were the subjects of this survey or with CCP has caused him to stop considering ex-offenders for employment; however, two of the employers with reportedly poor placements report that they are currently modifying their policies on such employment. The personnel manager for one large company advised that his firm anticipates requiring a formal agreement by the placing agencies to provide counseling for such employees, and the management spokesman from another large company stated that he would consider further placements from CCP only upon assurance of adequate counseling after placement.

In sum, the survey indicates that the job developers are responsible for placing clients in employment, where the client actually starts work, in about one-third of the reported placements. Employers have the impression that employees placed by the Program lack adequate preparation for the jobs, particularly in attitude development rather than particular skill acquisition. It appears from the employers' observations that no significant follow-up occurs subsequent to the placement, and no counseling is provided for the new employee. To be fair, the employers have an incomplete picture of the follow-up performed. Normal procedure followed

by job developers and advocate counselors entails contacting a client for follow-up by telephone, primarily because it is felt to be undesirable to subject a new employee to conspicuous visits from a community social welfare agency. Since the working hours of the client frequently coincide with those of the counselor, interviews at the RMSC or at the client's home are precluded.

Program Development. The preceding discussion leads clearly to the conclusion that the job developers, if they are to improve their performance, must seek more involvement with the clients before and after placement.

They should seek more contact with the client while he is still in Deer Island for better assessment of his attitudes, personality, and suitability for a particular type of work, meeting with him on an individual basis at least four times during his incarceration, in addition to job strategy sessions and similar meetings. During this period there should be intensive counseling on both acquiring jobs and keeping them after placement, with attention devoted to, e.g., development of work habits, social skills in interpersonal relationships, the proper approach to resolving conflicts and problems, and development of realistic expectations regarding pay increases and promotion. More extensive use of the Deer Island (Case Management) testing center should provide more complete evaluation of the client aptitudes and interests.

After a client is placed in a position, more attention should be given to preparation of the employer, discussing anticipated problems and how to handle them. The job developer should request strongly that the employer contact the advocate counselor in the event of impending discharge, unexplained absences, or unanticipated problems. A specific procedure should be developed for extended follow-up by the job developer as well. For example, he might contact the employer for a progress report monthly for three months, at which time the client would normally be terminated from the job developer's caseload if there were no problems. In addition, the job developer should be kept up to date by the advocate on his contact with the employee, and should take immediate action when problems arise. In the event of termination, the client should be contacted immediately for a new job. The advocate counselor would be present at job developers' counseling sessions with his clients. Even though the pair work as a team, the advocate can maintain his primary responsibility for the client, with the job developer being used for employment support. Job developers should be able to carry a caseload of twenty clients, eight incarcerated and twelve released, with an average service period of five months and thus a client flow of four per month. For comparison, the first six months of 1974 show an average flow of Job Development clients of 1.5 per month per job developer.

Advocacy

The CCP has five advocates positions which are conceptually the heart of the Program. The duties performed and services rendered include: developing a supportive counseling relationship with the client and his family before and after the client's release; assessing the needs of the client and his family and making appropriate referrals; and serving as a

liaison between the client, his family, and those who provide needed services.

Procedure. Advocates visit Deer Island three mornings weekly. Meeting rooms are assigned in the Academy area and clients are scheduled for interviews by the advocates either at prior meetings or through case managers. The frequency of scheduled interviews depends on the needs of the individual client and may range from three times a week to twice a month. In most cases, counseling begins three months prior to scheduled release. At the first session, the advocate introduces himself and the Program and obtains basic information on the client's educational level, family situation, and future plans. The advocate completes a registration or intake face sheet, which comprises the first entry into the inmate's client file, and a work history form to provide information to the job developer.

While the client is still in Deer Island, the advocate also contacts his family to introduce himself, explain the participation of the client in the Program, and assess the need for referral to other agencies or to the CCP social worker. At least one additional visit to the client's family usually follows this initial contact.

For the incarcerated client, advocates attempt to provide assistance by intervention with the courts, probation and parole departments, furlough and work release board, mental health or medical resources, and other social agencies. During this period, the job developer is also constructing a "work treatment plan."

After a client's release, his contact with the advocate continues, the frequency of meetings being determined by the client's needs. This follow-up counseling period is expected to last approximately nine months, but it may be and frequently has been extended. Advocates attempt to meet with all clients at least once monthly. If a job has not been obtained or if a better job is being sought, the advocate and job developer may hold joint client meetings. A client may, on the recommendation of his advocate, receive some financial assistance from CCP for temporary housing, clothing, food, medical, or transportation needs. In general, the advocate intervenes on behalf of the client whenever the need is perceived, dealing with employers, legal counsel, the police or courts, probation or parole departments, and other social and governmental agencies.

Counseling. Counseling is frequently described by the advocates as their primary function; their estimate of the time that they spend in counseling ranges from fifty to seventy-five percent. However, it appears that the time advocates actually spend in even informal counseling or interviewing sessions is at most twenty-five per cent. There is no employment requirement for counseling experience or training, and even though some of the advocates are thus qualified for counseling, several are not. The Program has provided training sessions and consultation by counseling specialists to advocates in the past, but the high turnover rate has reduced to one the number of current advocates who have had this training.

The advocates variously describe their techniques as "reality training," "coping therapy," or getting a client to "get his head on

straight." A great deal of the advocates' counseling is in fact advocacy or problem-solving, attempting to assist the inmate in resolving problems with agencies inside and outside the institution. The result of most counseling directed towards specific problems appears to be the eventual referral of the client to an appropriate agency, according to the nature of his problem. At least half the advocates' counseling time is very informal, intended only to allow the advocate to get to know the client and to provide the client with someone with whom to talk. A great deal of emphasis is placed on the importance of building a relationship based on trust and confidence. Practically all counseling sessions are informal and unstructured, conducted on a first-name basis, with the casual dress and demeanor of the advocates contributing to the low-key relationship. The importance of making the client comfortable and relaxed is emphasized, and the counselors appear to be trying to avoid an officious or institutionalized appearance.

In-depth counseling is apparently sometimes attempted, with the goal of enabling the client to assume the handling of his own life and to reconcile his personal problems which have led to incarceration. This endeavor is described as "support counseling," defined as the reinforcement of positive endeavors by the client, and contrasted to attempts at imposing the Program's goals on him. Several advocates observed that they meet resistance to their efforts because clients are "over-social-workered," having had constant exposure to one social agency or another since early childhood.

There is a tendency among the clients to attempt to use the advocates only to serve their own immediate purposes, and this requires constant attention by the advocates to avoid becoming a messenger to perform personal errands. Care is also required to see that the performance of functions such as communicating with legal counsel or court officials does not get the client into the habit of passing off his responsibilities to others.

As with the Case Management program, the advocacy and counseling function of Program staff do conflict and, in the presence of strong practical incentives, the advocacy or intervention role has prevailed. The conflict and its effect on CCP are less apparent only because the type of counseling attempted by CCP in the first place is not "reality training" at all but a less intrusive sort of endeavor based on rapport and trust building and leading to friendly persuasion.

If counseling is to be a major part of this Program, the broad nature of the services provided by the advocate counselor and the wide assortment of emotional problems encountered demand that he be better prepared to recognize these problems, and to handle them through counseling or referral. To this end, qualifications for the advocate position should be modified to ensure that capability exists in this area by requiring either a college education, training, or experience in the areas of psychology or counseling. Salaries may have to be adjusted. In-service training in counseling is also essential.

Effectiveness. A very important part of CCP is the pre-release counseling aspect, which is designed to prepare the client for re-entry

into the community, by providing counseling in many different areas, such as employment and job development, family problems, financial and housing problems, and social or psychological problems. Advocate counselors, for the first six months of 1974, contacted their clients at Deer Island an average of approximately three times each month. During the same period, the average pre-release caseload for advocates of clients on Deer Island was three, making a total number of interviews conducted at Deer Island by advocates less than ten per month. These counseling sessions lasted from ten to sixty minutes. It appears that a wide range of problems were discussed, but that approximately half of the counseling time was spent addressing problems related to work or education release or furloughs. Client absenteeism was not unusual.

Precise data regarding pre-release family contacts was not available for this study since it is recorded only in narrative comments in the confidential client files. Study staff were not permitted to examine these files. CCP policy requires such family contacts, and advocates report that they regularly attempt them. Estimates of successful contacts vary from practically none to almost all, but it seems from the social worker's experience that more than half the families of clients are visited prior to the client's release.

Even though parole advocacy is pointed out as one of the primary functions of the advocate, it appears that actual advocacy is rare. Rather, the advocate assists the client in preparation for his Parole Board appearance by impressing on him the value of participation in rehabilitative programs and job development opportunities. The advocate also assists in preparation of necessary documents and forms, and counsels the client on how to best present himself as a potential parolee. Only in rare instances is the advocate called upon to speak for the client. Nevertheless, the advocate's intervention or perhaps merely the fact of Program involvement appears to have an effect, as demonstrated by the fact that during the first year of the Program, 79.7% of the Program participants in the discharge cohort were discharged by parole, as compared with 63% of the entire cohort. The difference is even greater when Program participants are compared to a more comparable group, the non-Program black inmates serving sentences of three months or longer, which has a parole rate of 58.2%. It is noteworthy that similar differences are evident upon examination of furloughs granted, a process also handled by a Board which functions much like the Parole Board.

Advocates are not maintaining the degree of follow-up contact which is essential if their supporting activities are to have the potential for changing client behavior. More emphasis needs to be placed on the development of client relationships conducive to follow-up counseling. Because a client placed in employment usually has the same working hours as the advocate counselor, and because interruptions of work for counseling meetings is undesirable, advocates must develop an altered or flexible schedule to facilitate follow-up contact. It should be emphasized that the advocate counselor has primary responsibility for follow-up counseling even after a client is placed in employment, and should establish a relationship with the employer and the job developers to keep abreast of developments regarding the client.

The Head Advocate Position. The head advocate conducts initial intake interviews at Deer Island by scheduling appointments with prospective clients three mornings a week. Each month, Case Management sends him a list of all inmates from the Roxbury-North Dorchester area who are expected to be released on parole or wrap-up within the next three months. From this list, the head advocate excludes inmates involved in release programs, and then sets up appointments with the others. At the initial intake interview, he obtains background information, explains the offerings of the Program, and if the inmate shows interest obtains a signature to an agreement explaining the terms of the client's participation. The head advocate then prepares a draft letter of acceptance or rejection which is forwarded along with his evaluation and recommendation to the project manager. During the first six months of 1974, the head advocate interviewed twenty inmates, eighteen of whom were accepted into the Program.

This low number of interviews means that the head advocate actually spends little time interviewing; over the six-month period, he saw an average of .26 inmates each trip (less than one a week). His availability during this period did allow access by a few walk-in cases, and his contact with inmates as he moved through the institution was probably of some value in acquainting inmates with the existence of CCP.

This low interview rate is at least partly due to the low number of potential clients--the result of a decrease in the inmate population and increased use of release programs. At Deer Island, inmates scheduled for interviews frequently do not appear, and the head advocate spends time calling or searching for them.

In addition, the information provided by Case Management--in particular the "discharge list"--has been described as frequently incorrect or incomplete. The head advocate reports occasions when he discovered through other inmates that the names of inmates due for release were omitted from the list. A minimal amount of cooperation between CCP and Case Management should resolve this apparent problem.

"Emergency" or special cases arise when an inmate who lives in Roxbury or North Dorchester and would otherwise be eligible for CCP is unexpectedly released without three months' prior notice. This occurs, for example, when a sentence is vacated. The purpose of emergency cases is to deliver necessary services temporarily to these releasees to facilitate their re-entry into the community. CCP staff describe typical assistance as locating housing, job placement, family counseling and assistance, or financial assistance. The head advocate does not report on emergency cases, nor is there a client file on them. Nor are emergency cases included in the Program's total caseload; however, the head Advocate reports the total number of these cases in his monthly reports. Four such cases were reported in the twelve-month period ending June 30, 1974.

Other duties assigned to the head advocate, though not in the current job description, include participation on the Deer Island Classification Board and on the Furlough/Release Board, both of which meet weekly. He also prepares semi-annually a recidivism report, consisting of a summary of all present and past clients of the Program whom he knows to have been

reincarcerated. The first recidivism report unfortunately suffered from inaccuracies and inconsistencies; a general lack of expertise with statistical methodology was obvious. Providing the head advocate or whoever prepares such reports in the future with the appropriate training to prepare such a report could produce a more useful document.

Agencies which the head advocate contacts in the performance of his duties include Case Management, from which he obtains the list of inmates prior to release; the Boston Offender Service Project, which he uses for a referral for financial aid on emergency cases; and the Center for Attitude Change, which is infrequently used for emergency cases. Case Management, as noted above, has been criticized for its performance. Dealings with BOSP appear quite perfunctory, and apparently consist of no more than a simple referral or an occasional exchange of information regarding clients. CAC is also infrequently used, apparently because of the prevailing impression that it is operated in an unorganized manner.

There is some confusion among CCP staff about the relatively basic question of the head advocate's place in the organization. While the job description of the project manager specifies direct supervision of the head advocate as a duty, the present head advocate describes himself as answering to the director, not the social worker or project manager, even though he considers himself on the same hierarchical level with the job developers. He is extremely dissatisfied with the lack of supervisory responsibility in his position and expresses the opinion that new advocates cannot be given a proper orientation by the project manager, and should be under the supervision of and trained by the head advocate, who is more familiar with their work and more directly in contact with their clients. He feels that too many people in the small organization have supervisory authority, and that there is no well-defined line of responsibility.

There is a solution to the problems involved with the head advocate job. The position should be abolished. The primary extent of client contact is in two areas, the initial interview and screening of potential clients and the handling of emergency cases, both of which could be easily handled by others.

The initial interview and screening process, as well as representation on the furlough and release board and classification teams, could be effectively handled by the social worker. The head advocate made approximately seventy-eight trips to Deer Island for the purpose of conducting interviews during the first half of this year, and reported fourteen inmates interviewed. Contacts with inmates who are not eligible for the services of this Program and observations of institutional activity are of no apparent value to the Program. The two boards meet a total of five times monthly.

In the first six months of 1974, there was one emergency case accepted by the head advocate; future cases can be assigned to advocate counselors.

The project manager is in a much better position than the head advocate to prepare evaluative studies, a task recently undertaken by the former.

Were the social worker to assume the present responsibilities of the head advocate for conducting initial interviews and attending classification team and furlough and release board meetings, she could gather complete background data, occupational history, and family information on each client at the initial interview, and assign the client to an advocate according to his special skills and abilities as well as caseload distributions. The social worker could later approve the treatment plan jointly devised by the advocate and job developer and handle any family cases referred by advocates. The policy of classifying cases as emergency or special cases is unnecessarily restrictive of Program access; the social worker could conduct an extensive interview with such clients and supervise the preparation of a modified treatment plan, thus allowing them to become active clients.

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

The Inmate Survey

Staff consultants to this study performed an interview survey of the Deer Island inmate population in the first week of August, 1974. Ninety-four inmates were interviewed. The details of administration of the survey are discussed elsewhere in this report. A few of the responses to the questionnaire which may be considered particularly indicative of the inmates' knowledge and attitudes toward the Program, particularly its advocacy function, merit consideration here.

Of the inmates interviewed, 64% expressed familiarity with CCP. Of that group, 14% learned of the Program from their case managers, 48% through conversation with other inmates. Of those who claimed some knowledge of the Program, 80% expressed positive feelings toward it, and only 3% were negative. Fifty-four percent of those with knowledge of the Program were of the opinion that providing of money and jobs was the primary business of the Program. Thirteen respondents stated that they were presently involved in CCP; another five stated that they had participated in the past. Of this group with some personal exposure to the Program, all who responded thought it a good program. Seventy-one percent of the respondents feel that other inmates like CCP, with only one responding that he thinks inmates do not like it.

The responses to the survey questionnaire generally support the opinions expressed by the small sample of program participants who were personally interviewed by the staff program analyst. Those (four) were unanimous in the feeling that CCP was a worthwhile program which was of value to the inmates, and that practically all of the inmates from the Roxbury and North Dorchester area liked the Program.

Reports and Files

The program director is required to provide separate detailed reports on the Program's activities to the Deer Island Director of Activities and

to the Executive Director of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center on a monthly basis, and to MSSAAC on a quarterly basis. Statistical data for these reports is collected by requiring the advocates, job developers, and social worker to report on a monthly basis the details of their activities. Standardized forms have been adopted for this purpose, and are designed so as to provide the Program director with managerially useful information as well as required data for reporting purposes. Recent changes in the requirements for monthly and quarterly reports have resulted in modifications of these forms to provide the data needed.

The advocates, job developers, and social worker all keep individual files on each client, containing both background information and regular entries of current activities. Each client also has a file folder kept in the central file in the project manager's office, which should contain a copy of all the information entered by advocates and job developers. The primary recording device in these files is the "comment sheet," on which the advocate records all activity regarding a case. This sheet is the primary data source and in most cases the only recording of activities concerning and services provided to the client. There appears to be a widespread practice of letting client information accumulate and recording it on a comment sheet on a periodic basis, only after something "significant" has transpired. This leads to omission of much data, particularly negative information on the client.

The key shortcoming of this reporting system in general is that the primary data gatherers submit inaccurate information. The practice appears to be for those persons reporting to the program director to review the past month's activity at the time the report is submitted, rather than keeping a cumulative record brought up to date on a daily or weekly basis. Such reliance on a monthly file search and personal memory leads to errors and omissions. Attempts made by study staff to verify or substantiate several reported statistics revealed that different persons use different definitions of terms or different sources of information for ostensibly the same item, both of which produce discrepancies. The present staff is unable to determine from the records any detail regarding the activities of the predecessors--a particular weakness in a program with such rapid staff turnover. Further, it appears that inadequate recording of activities on a daily basis meant in some cases that only estimated monthly totals could be reported. The recently increased reporting requirements on the Program have made necessary a longer and more detailed report from the advocates, job developers, and social worker, and additional information such as programmatic activity indicators required for supervisory purposes make these reports even longer. They are simply too exhaustive to be completed accurately on the basis of memory and guesswork.

Inadequacies in the recording and retrieving of information appears to be a function of personnel disinterest and poor supervision rather than of the filing system itself. Even though great difficulty is now encountered in attempting to retrieve information from the files, the present system, if executed, would provide adequately for recording and accessing information.

Staff must be directed to maximize the accuracy and usefulness of the file system by recording all appropriate entries at the earliest

opportunity in a complete and clear manner; a need for negative as well as positive information should be stressed. RMSC should modify its monthly status reports to provide a clear and concise summary of all activities regarding each client during the month so that Program management will have a continuing system for monitoring client-related activities.

Quarterly Reports. Prior to the second quarter of 1974, the quarterly report, prepared by the program director, consisted of a narrative section which briefly and generally described the Program's activity during the period, and a statistical section which consisted of caseloads and a detailed activity breakdown for job developers, advocate counselors, head advocate, and the social worker. The statistical section of the reports was compiled by combining the totals of the monthly reports from the head advocate, job developers, and Social Worker, with a breakdown into small categories of individual activity. The format for the statistical data used in the quarterly report corresponded exactly to the forms used by Program staff for their monthly report. More recently a listing of all active clients, both in Deer Island and on parole, was added to the report.

This report was criticized by the receiving agency for being overly general and for failing to describe the Program's activities adequately. Several reports were rejected as inadequate and at least once a supplemental addendum was required. Apparently, the primary problem in producing adequate quarterly reports rested in the funding agency's inability to communicate to the Program precise requirements and guidelines. The result of this communications failure was that some parts of the reports were criticized as being too generalized while other parts were characterized as trivia.

During the month of July, 1974, staff of this study developed a new format for the quarterly report which was implemented in the report for the April-June, 1974, period. This revision was done in cooperation with the program director, giving consideration to the availability of information as well as the needs of the receiving agency. The new format for the quarterly report is divided into three sections, each of which is presented in a different form. Client service information is presented in a chart format with four columns, providing data where applicable regarding this quarter, this quarter last year, last quarter, and projections. Data are provided concerning client flow, workload measures, and a summary of services provided. Acquisition of these data is designed so that after one year the only column requiring computation of data each quarter is the one for the current quarter, since last-quarter and this-quarter-last-year information can be obtained from previous reports. Projections can be computed on the first report of each new grant period, and remain unchanged for the duration of the grant period. The administrative information section provides for presentation of grant and budget detail, and for changes in personnel or budget since the last report. The narrative section summarizes the activities of the Program during the quarter, with emphasis on unexpected trends or unusual activities. Detailed attention should be given any problems encountered as well as plans or expectations for the future. The narrative section can be kept concise and yet provide sufficient detail to inform the sponsoring agencies of programmatic activities.

All information presented in the new quarterly report is available from monthly reports submitted by Program staff, although in some instances the reported data require grouping the raw data from the staff. It is expected that the staff reports be modified to provide required data in a directly usable form; however, modifications of the monthly report form which draw from the same data should be completed before modification of the basic reporting forms is undertaken. The appendix includes the first revised quarterly report.

The revised format for quarterly reports should be used for future reports, with modifications of that format requiring approval by the sponsoring agency. Monthly reports submitted by Program staff personnel should be modified to provide data needed for periodic reports in more directly usable form, inasmuch as possible without compromising managerial uses of the reports.

More generally, MSSAAC or the Massachusetts Committee on Criminal Justice should provide all programs with a written directive fully explaining the requirements for quarterly reports, addressing such points as due date, format, delivery, purposes, and particularly a detailed description of requirements for the narrative section. The programs should receive feedback, both positive and negative, from the report on a regular basis.

Program Development Recommendations

Turnover. In the short history of the CCP, there has been a high rate of employee turnover, as evidenced by the fact that five of the current employees were hired during the first six months of 1974, and four were promoted to their present positions within the last year, while only four have been employed in their present position for at least one year. Terminations were, without exception, initiated by the employees, and in most cases were effected in order to seek higher paying jobs.

This trend can be attributed to low pay and a lack of opportunity for advancement, problems typical of community social service agencies. The effect is particularly costly due to the training and experience required for an employee to attain maximum effectiveness. Regular pay increases should alleviate this problem. For example, the positions of advocate, job developer, and social worker could be assigned four levels of pay each, with scheduled increases over a three-year period.

Training. Due to the high turnover rate, the lack of a well-defined orientation and training program acutely affects performance. A definite improvement would be to prepare a manual detailing policy and procedures for new employees and a detailed outline for orientation of new employees. Periodic in-service training sessions should also be held to update employees on changes in policies and procedures or available resources, and to present such information to new employees. Specific training sessions by experts in such areas as therapy, counseling, and recognition of emotional disturbances are necessary if the advocates' counseling is ever to be professionally performed and meaningful.

Supervision. In order for the project manager to direct effective use of resources, determine training needs, make major policy decisions, and direct the day-to-day activities of the Program, a more effective monitoring and case supervision system is required. Monthly status sheets should be completed to provide sufficiently complete information on each client. Case conferences should then be scheduled with the advocate and social worker if appropriate; at least once each quarter, the project manager should review the entire caseload in detail, allowing for full critique, evaluation and planning regarding each case.

Coordination. Increased coordination is desirable at the administrative level between CCP and other programs serving the client population. Such communication must eliminate conflicts and duplication of services such as those with Case Management regarding furlough applications, parole recommendations, or warrant dispositions; with BOSP regarding job placement or financial assistance; and with the education program regarding educational placements or academic counseling.

Many of the agencies used by CCP personnel for client referrals are reportedly ineffective, particularly those funded on a temporary basis for pilot studies or experimentation. The Program should establish a system of regularly reviewing the services offered by programs used for referral and determining whether those agencies have been effective.

Client Population and Length of Contact. Participation by a growing number of Deer Island inmates in work release and education release programs has created a large segment of the inmate population to whom the services of CCP are not available. To enable the Program to offer its services to that group it is recommended that the working schedules of advocates and job developers be adjusted to allow meetings and interviews in the evening hours or on weekends. There is no demonstrated advantage to pre-release participation in the Program for a period of more than three months; an extension of this time would only ensure overlap and conflict with Case Management. It would also increase the number of inmates ineligible for the Program for having too short a sentence and allow eligibility to many inmates so soon after the beginning of their incarceration that they would still primarily be involved with adjusting to the institutional environment, rather than preparing for release. On the other hand, a decrease in the term of pre-release involvement might limit CCP's ability to arrange job interviews, furloughs, and so forth. Thus, the present three-month period is best left unchanged.

Caseload and Staffing. Actual client flow and caseloads for the first six months of 1974 are substantially below the projections for this year. Although client flow for 1974 was projected at 200, the first half of the year produced a total of 21 new clients (with no termination), and a total caseload of 69 for the six-month period. If the client inflow rate for the first half of the year remains constant, the total client flow will be 45% of the projected level.

While job developers show an average caseload of 31 currently, their projected average caseload in the grant application, based on retention of each client for approximately three months, is 25. Only three clients were

paroled or released during the second quarter, and at the end of that period, 14 of the 31 were still incarcerated. This means that the average released caseload for job developers for the first half of 1974 is 8.5.

Based on an extended projection of the first half of 1974, the head advocate has handled 5% of his projected caseload of 40.

The social worker's caseload projection of 50 clients is based on a projected 37 clients receiving short-term assistance, averaging 2.75 months, and 13 requiring long-term assistance of 4 months. In fact, the social worker has accepted a total of 6 new family cases in six months; based on the stated criteria, this is 24% of the projected caseload.

It is the usual case for clients to be carried on the Program's caseload considerably longer than the formal criteria, for several reasons. Program standards provide for extensions in some circumstances and the counselors feel that a large number of clients need extended counseling beyond the recommended period. However, the mechanism within the Program for terminating clients appears to have broken down completely; as of mid-1974, none of the clients released from Deer Island during the preceding year had been terminated. Only recently has a regular systematic process for terminations been initiated.

Study staff examined the present caseload levels and turnover rates and have estimated that the present level of service provided could, with significant management improvements, be increased by the adoption of the staff caseloads indicated below. Assuming the present rate of client inflow, the total Program budget would appear as summarized in Table 6 below. The average cost of a job placement would be as indicated in Table 7 (cf. the discussion of present operations supra).

At these recommended levels, with the other programmatic changes suggested herein, the Community Corrections Program could be the program it was designed to be. Whether the designed concept will succeed in its goals could then be evaluated.

It is recommended that except in extenuating circumstances families remain on the social worker's caseload for a period of nine months. With a projected client flow of 1.33 families per month, the social worker would have a maximum caseload of twelve families. The current release rate for Program clients is 1.5 per month, and the social worker's current caseload is approximately 20% of the Program's caseload.

TABLE 5

Determination of Recommended CCP Caseloads

Advocate Counselor: 6 in Deer Island, 18 out; 24 total.

Flow: 2 per month.

Contact: 3 months prior to release, 9 months after.

Hourly Summary:

6 in Deer Island, each with 2 hrs. per wk. counseling = 12 hrs./wk.

6 on release status, out less than 3 months, one hr. per wk. = 6 hrs./wk.

12 on release status, out 3-9 months, 2 hrs. per month = 6 hrs./wk.

Total scheduled counseling = 24 hrs./wk.

Administrative duties, meetings, follow-up, contacting referrals, family visits, transportation = 16 hrs./wk.

Job Developer: 8 in Deer Island; 12 out; 20 total.

Flow: 4 per month

Contact: 2 months prior to release, 3 months after.

Hourly Summary:

8 in Deer Island - 2 meetings/mo./client = 16 hrs./mo. = 4 hrs./wk.

12 out, follow-up = 4 hrs./wk.

Total client counseling = 8 hrs./wk.

Job strategy meetings = 4 hrs./wk.

Job interviews = 8 hrs./wk.

Job development and research = 8 hrs./wk.

Employer meetings and telephone contacts = 4 hrs./wk.

Administrative duties, staff meetings, etc. = 8 hrs./wk.

Social Worker: Maximum caseload, 12 families.

Flow: 1.33 per month.

Contact: 9 months.

TABLE 6

Projected Cost of CCP With Recommended Caseloads at Same Flow as
January-June, 1974 Period

At the present rate of client inflow, the Program caseload would be 40. Recommended caseloads would require the following staff, assuming a proportionate change in administrative staff, with salary levels as presented:

2 Advocates	\$17,936
2 Job Developers	22,260
1 Social Worker	10,550
1 Program Director	15,825
1 Secretary	<u>7,000</u>
Total Staff Salary	\$73,571
Fringe at 12%	<u>8,829</u>
Total Staff Cost	\$82,400
Overhead (at same rate per line staff as present)	13,375
 <u>Total Program Cost at recommended caseloads and projected client flow based on January-June, 1974</u>	 <u>\$95,775</u>

Per Client Cost \$2,394.37

TABLE 7

Projected Cost of CCP Job Placements With Recommended Caseloads
Based on Client Flow of January-June, 1974

At the present rate of client inflow, the Program caseload would be 40, with a flow of 40 per year. The recommended caseload for job developers is 20, requiring that the Program employ 2 job developers. A caseload of 40 for the Program requires 2 advocates and one social worker at their recommended caseloads; thus, job developers comprise 40% of the line staff. Assuming a reduction in overhead expenses proportionate to the reduction in line staff, that amount would be reduced to \$13,375. The reduced administrative staff would cost \$25,564.

Job Developers' share of Administrative Costs (40%)	\$10,225
Job Developers' share of Overhead (40%)	5,350
Job Developers' salary (including fringe at 12%)	<u>24,931</u>
Total Cost of Job Development	<u>\$40,506</u>
 Per Client Cost of Job Development	 <u>\$ 1,013</u>

This projection is based on the maximum possible placements for job developers, assuming every client entering the Program was placed. For present operations, see Table 4 at page 135.

THE BOSTON OFFENDER SERVICE PROJECT

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The Boston Offender Service Project is operated by Massachusetts Half-Way Houses, Inc., under contract to the Mayor's Safe Streets Act Advisory Committee. BOSP provides short-term assistance to ex-offenders returning to the community from the Suffolk County House of Correction at Deer Island. Its objectives are to meet immediate practical needs through financial aid, counseling, and job referral, provided during the first two to four weeks after release.

The idea underlying the BOSP approach is that money grants to re-leasees might significantly aid their successful reintegration into the community in two ways: first, by alleviating short-term practical problems, lessening tension, and removing the incentive to theft as a necessary means of support in the short run; and second, by lending itself to use as a tool through which counselors can encourage ex-offenders to seek out permanent sources of funds, primarily jobs. This view holds that men leaving prison--particularly a short-term institution like Deer Island--do not need intensive long-term therapy.

BOSP is a relatively small and simple program. Its goals and methods of operation have not changed since its inception in July, 1972. The staff is small, for most of the Project's existence consisting only of one program administrator and one community worker; its offices are modest, two rooms on the second floor of a former hotel, now a half-way house and MHHI offices; its budget is not large--about \$90,000 annually during 1974, of which \$54,000 represents direct financial assistance to clients. The single major programmatic change made since the beginning of the Project was the expansion of the serviced population to include furlough, work release, and education release cases in addition to Deer Island parolees and inmates discharged on termination of their sentences ("wrap-ups").

To be eligible for BOSP, parolees and wrap-ups must have no permanent housing upon release, no job, and no other legitimate source of income in the community. Thus, inmates paroled to residential treatment programs or men who have been on work release and obtained permanent jobs and savings are disqualified. While most clients come to BOSP immediately upon release from Deer Island, some have been in the community on their own

after release, and others are referred from other social service agencies --but all are relatively recently released from Deer Island. In the case of referrals from other agencies, BOSP and the referring agency confer to determine how BOSP can augment the other agency's services. Financial aid will be given only if the client is not receiving money from any other source.

BOSP services are usually provided over a two to four week period. Money is given a client to provide food, shelter, and clothing. Coupled with this financial assistance is a continuous effort to get the client to find another source of income. This effort includes: having the client apply for welfare; instructing him in ways of enhancing his employability, e.g., making his interviews more successful; developing job search skills, such as a knowledge of employment referral resources in the community; and counseling and encouragement aimed at getting the client to want to find himself a job. Financial assistance ends when the client receives either his first welfare check or his first paycheck. Occasionally, clients are provided with funds beyond the four week limit if some other form of income is anticipated very soon. Generally, however, there are no more cash grants after four weeks, although clients are encouraged to continue coming to the Project to receive counseling or further job referrals.

A Note on the Study

In many ways, BOSP and MHHI staff were cooperative and open to the research effort which produced this report. Certain MHHI policies on confidentiality, however, prevented the study staff from a complete investigation of the Project. Direct observation of counselor-client sessions, with or without the consent of the client, were barred. Likewise, access to files containing "subjective" information about counseling sessions was not permitted. Because of these policies, it was impossible to confirm directly the counseling and referral procedures the BOSP staff described.

Client interviews, the only other means of learning about the actual counseling procedures at BOSP, were also somewhat restricted by the Project staff. Although study staff was available for several days to interview clients, only four clients were produced. The BOSP staff member responsible appeared to be busy, but reported on several occasions simply having forgotten to refer a client. On some days, only a very few clients reported to the BOSP office.

The effect of these limitations was to make thoroughgoing investigation or analysis of the counseling aspects of the Project impossible. Therefore, the discussion on counseling below is somewhat detached, being based on second and third party reports, and on a sufficiently small number of them to make general conclusions at best tentative. The logical result of this policy of restricted access (which BOSP staff acknowledge) is to make any evaluation of the program depend more heavily on the objectively substantiated aspects of the BOSP effort--its recidivism impact and its job placement success.

Goals of the Project

BOSP staff and administration emphasize that the Project's goals have not changed during its two years of operation. Confirming this view, the following statement of the Project's chief aim has appeared in every quarterly report for at least the last year: "The primary goal of the project is to reduce the need for ex-offenders to rely on illegal activity in order to survive. By focusing services on the practical problems facing ex-offenders as they return to the community, it is hoped that BOSP may have an impact on the additional crime and recidivism rates of the Deer Island population." The first goal of the Project, therefore, is the reduction of recidivism.

BOSP cites as a second goal: "To demonstrate that not all the inmates leaving correctional institutions require intensive residential services in order to successfully readjust to community life." Excising from this statement the implicit assumption that releasees who are not served by BOSP will be placed in long-term treatment or residential programs, the Project's secondary goal can be stated as the provision of essential tangible services to destitute releasees who would otherwise have no resources, whether or not the provision of these services affects recidivism. Without excluding the implicit assumption regarding residential treatment, BOSP's second goal becomes simply an intermediate objective of comparative efficiency: to provide the same kinds of services provided by long-term residential programs equally as successfully and at lower cost. For the purposes of this report, it is assumed that BOSP has a separable secondary goal of providing immediate practical assistance to people in need of it, regardless of the impact on crime.

Short-term services to releasees might be valuable for at least two reasons. One is that the services provided will have a long-term impact on the ex-offender's adjustment; that is, by providing aid during the first month after release, the program can effectively reduce the client's dependency on crime and/or welfare as a means of support in the longer run. The second possible rationale for short-term aid is that this assistance is in effect its own reward. In other words, the prison releasee, by virtue of his position--created as it is by the intervention of the criminal justice system--should, as a normative matter, be provided with assistance in reestablishing a life within the society from which he has been excluded. The implications of accepting or rejecting this second rationale are quite significant in the cost-benefit evaluation of the Project discussed in detail infra.

The intermediate objectives used to further the two primary goals of the Project are three: the provision of financial aid, counseling, and job placement assistance. Each of these is discussed in some detail below.

OPERATIONS SUMMARY

Target Population

BOSP was originally designed to serve "wrap-ups"--those releasees unable to gain parole and therefore discharged at the end of their

complete sentences. This group, it seemed, would be the most needy of immediate funds for food, transportation, clothing, and lodging. Since wrap-ups would probably have few if any contacts of their own, extensive job referrals would probably also be necessary. Almost as an adjunct, BOSP originally planned to serve parolees as well. It was anticipated that this group would need fewer services than the wrap-ups, since parolees are more likely to have either a job or housing upon release (presumably having had to demonstrate one or the other in order to obtain parole). Immediate cash grants rather than extended employment counseling were predicted as the service the parolees would need most.

In operation, BOSP found that the job and housing plans of the parolees frequently collapsed after their discharge, thus increasing their need for BOSP type services. Consequently, little distinction was found in the need for assistance between wrap-ups and parolees. In fact, the Project's final report for 1973 noted that parolees on the average had remained in the program for 17.3 days, while wrap-ups were involved for only 15.7 days. For the two year period--August, 1972--July, 1974--51.0% of BOSP's client intake were parolees.

Generally, the services provided to wrap-ups and parolees are the same: financial aid, counseling, and job referrals. Collaboration with other social service agencies is sometimes necessary in order to avoid duplication of services, but BOSP is not averse to using its job and financial resources to support ongoing treatment by other agencies dealing with ex-offenders from Deer Island. One firm rule, though, is that financial aid will not be given to any client already receiving money from another source.

In terms of its demographics and criminal histories, the BOSP client population is only slightly different from the overall population of Deer Island releasees, as can be detected from a close examination of Table 1. Based on data from the Cohort II (August, 1972--July, 1973) period, that table shows that BOSP clients are less likely to have been paroled (41.8% for BOSP versus 60.4% for Cohort II); more likely to have committed property rather than person offenses; more likely to be single than married (71.2% for BOSP and 59.8% for the entire cohort); less likely to be white (47.7% for BOSP and 54.7% for the entire group); but generally much like the rest of the cohort in terms of such variables as age, sentence length, and educational level. The net effect of the small differences in such characteristics of the BOSP population is reflected in the slightly higher recidivism rate predicted for BOSP clients by the base expectancy predictor analysis described in the data analysis discussion.

Release Programs

In April, 1973, BOSP expanded its services to include Deer Island inmates on work release, education release, and furlough. The impetus for this expansion appears to have been that BOSP at that time was not expending money at the budgeted rate; thus, a program expansion seemed necessary. One way in which expenditures were increased was by raising the daily allotment per client to \$16.00 and providing clothing allowances in addition to food, lodging, and transportation. The other step which was taken

TABLE 1. PROGRAM PARTICIPATION BY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS (AUGUST, 1972 - JULY, 1973)

	PROGRAM PARTICIPATION															
	CCP - Light Contact	CCP - Intense Contact	CCP - All Participants	BOSP - Light Contact	BOSP - Intense Contact	BOSP - All Participants	Academy - Light Contact	Academy - Intense Contact	Academy - All Participants	Case Management Participants	All Light Contact Participants	All Intense Contact Participants	All Program Participants (CCP, BOSP, Academy)	All Program Non- Participants	Entire Cohort	
Number	30	34	64	56	97	153	64	34	98	236	102	129	231	160	391	
Mean Education Level	10.1	10.1	10.1	10.0	10.2	10.1	9.8	10.3	10.0	10.2	9.9	10.1	10.0	10.1	10.1	
Current Offense - % Property	50.0	61.8	56.3	51.7	62.9	58.8	40.7	67.6	50.0	53.8	48.5	63.6	57	38.7	49.5	
Current Offense - % Person	16.7	8.8	12.5	16.1	10.3	12.4	15.6	14.7	15.3	15.3	16.8	9.3	12.6	16.3	14.1	
Mean Sentence Length	11.9	13.1	12.6	7.9	9.6	8.9	10.3	10.8	10.5	10.0	9.4	10.1	9.8	11.4	10.5	
% Paroled	83.3	76.5	79.7	28.6	49.5	41.8	68.6	61.8	66.2	64.4	53.9	54.3	54.1	69.4	60.4	
Mean Age of 1st Arrest	17.4	17.4	17.4	17.2	18.0	17.7	16.3	16.0	16.2	17.9	16.7	17.9	17.4	18.7	17.9	
Mean Age at 1st Conviction	18.6	18.5	18.5	17.8	18.8	18.4	17.0	16.9	17.0	18.6	17.3	18.8	18.1	19.4	18.6	
Mean Age at 1st Incarceration	21.7	20.9	21.3	20.6	21.5	21.2	18.8	20.5	19.4	21.8	20.0	21.5	20.9	23.5	21.9	
Charge 1st Conviction - % Property	36.7	44.2	40.6	41.1	44.3	43.1	46.9	55.9	50.0	44.7	52.0	48.9	47.6	37.7	43.7	
Mean Months Sentenced to Incarceration	13.0	16.8	15.0	34.5	26.0	29.1	20.9	20.2	20.7	18.9	24.5	25.8	25.2	30.4	27.3	
Mean Months Sentenced to Probation	32.9	35.8	34.5	54.6	40.8	45.9	42.0	38.7	40.9	39.7	50.4	41.7	45.5	47.4	46.3	
Most Serious Offense - % Person	41.4	55.9	49.2	51.8	52.6	52.3	45.3	50.0	46.9	49.1	49.0	51.2	50.2	48.1	48.8	
Most Serious Offense - % Property	48.4	32.3	39.7	39.3	44.3	42.6	46.9	47.1	47.0	43.6	42.1	45.6	44.2	41.3	43.2	
Most Serious by Length - % Person	13.8	5.9	9.5	18.2	16.0	16.8	12.5	12.1	12.4	17.0	17.0	12.7	14.6	22.1	17.5	
Most Serious by Length - % Property	58.6	67.6	63.5	50.9	66.9	61.0	59.4	69.7	63.0	54.7	54.0	67.4	61.5	46.7	54.7	
Most Frequent Offense - % Property	46.6	50.1	48.5	55.4	49.5	51.7	45.3	61.7	51.0	46.6	49.0	48.9	49.3	38.9	44.4	
Most Frequent Offense - % Person	13.3	14.7	14.2	5.4	12.4	9.8	7.9	5.8	7.2	7.6	7.9	10.1	9.1	3.1	6.8	
Most Frequent Offense - % Drunk	10.0	2.9	6.3	16.1	10.3	12.4	12.5	11.8	12.2	10.6	17.6	9.3	13.0	22.6	16.9	
% from Boston, Roxbury & Dorchester	76.7	94.1	86.0	50.0	67.0	60.8	56.3	58.8	57.2	55.9	52.0	66.7	60.2	41.3	53.8	
% Single	63.3	76.5	70.3	66.1	74.2	71.2	67.2	79.4	71.4	63.1	63.7	72.9	68.8	46.9	59.8	
% White	20.0	0.0	9.4	55.4	43.3	47.7	54.7	38.2	49.0	51.1	55.9	40.3	47.2	65.6	54.7	
% 1st Deer Island Incarceration	56.7	55.9	56.3	50.0	47.4	48.4	62.5	64.7	63.3	64.8	58.8	50.4	54.1	55.0	54.5	
Age - Release	26.0	23.9	24.9	27.5	28.0	27.8	24.4	24.3	24.4	26.8	26.1	27.6	26.9	31.0	28.6	

was to include the temporary release groups in the program service population.

Work Release. Prior to BOSP's becoming involved with the work release program, inmates on work release were advanced money to meet food and transportation costs until their first paycheck was received. The advances were then automatically deducted from the first check, a process which frequently left the inmate with little money and some frustration. According to BOSP staff, the drop-out rate from the work release program was heightened by this feature. Since April, 1973, BOSP funds have been provided to work releasees as cash grants, not loans, to cover food and transportation expenses until receipt of the first paycheck. The average weekly allotment is \$20.00. If tools or clothes are necessary, additional fund allocations are negotiated.

BOSP does not have direct contact with work releasees. Rather, the community worker, after receiving a referral from the work release staff, deposits a check in the inmate's work release account.

According to BOSP, although no comparative statistics are available, men are staying in the work release program longer and general frustration with the program seems to have decreased since BOSP became involved. This positive note might be mitigated somewhat by the findings of this study with regard to the impact of the work release program on subsequent recidivism, based on a period during one-third of which BOSP funds were available to work releasees. Those findings in brief (reported in more detail elsewhere in this report) are that the work release program had no detectable affect on recidivism rates among its participants during that period. Since only one-third of the period included BOSP participation, the results cannot be conclusive, however.

One effect of BOSP's involvement with work release is, in effect, a transfer of funds from BOSP to the Deer Island inmates' fund. Before BOSP became involved, advances given to releasees which were not repaid were charged against the general inmates' fund; now, if an inmate fails to appear at his work release job or escapes, BOSP rather than the general fund bears the financial burden.

It is ironic that inmates involved in work release, who receive these special BOSP benefits, are less likely to be eligible for BOSP upon discharge since they are more likely to have a job, having been on work release. The maximum permissible amount of savings for a BOSP candidate is \$100.00.

Education Release. Inmates on education release are certified to BOSP by the education program at Deer Island; they are then eligible for \$20.00 a week for transportation, food, and, if necessary, clothing. This money is granted indefinitely, as long as the inmate is actively enrolled in school. Unlike work release, BOSP does have direct contact with educational releasees. The client must report to BOSP weekly to receive his check; at these meetings, the worker encourages the client to begin thinking about education and job plans after he is permanently discharged. To verify the client's regular attendance at school, BOSP checks with the Academy.

Furlough. Financial aid to men on furlough is handled differently. Inmates released on furlough during the Monday to Friday week are given letters of authorization from Case Management at Deer Island which they then present to BOSP at the Project offices. This is the first contact BOSP has with these furloughed inmates. They are at that time given a check to cover transportation and food costs for the duration of the furlough. Those men who are released on furlough on weekends are given money at Deer Island from a "furlough fund," which BOSP established and replenishes periodically. The furlough fund is administered by Case Management.

In addition to work release and furlough coverage, BOSP further expanded its services in April, 1974, to include men on therapy release and vocational release. These men now receive benefits in the same way education releasees do. They must visit the BOSP offices to obtain money, and the BOSP counselor talks with them then.

Client Intake and Eligibility

Once a week the BOSP community worker goes to Deer Island in order to screen and briefly to interview prospective clients. She obtains a list of men to be discharged within the week from the Case Management Project and then attempts to interview all dischargees who might meet BOSP's eligibility requirements.

The primary purpose of the initial interview is to acquaint the prospective client with BOSP. He is given a copy of BOSP's entrance criteria, including their eligibility requirements: no permanent housing, no permanent job, an inability to secure financial aid from any other source, and eligibility for public assistance and/or Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission services. A brief statement of the program's goals and procedures is included. The following aspects of the program are also made clear to the potential client:

- (1) Each client, as directed by the community worker, must apply for welfare to be used as a fallback in the event that the client is not employed. (However, some clients for various reasons refuse to apply and this is usually accepted by the BOSP worker.)
- (2) Each client must register with the Massachusetts Division of Employment Security.
- (3) Clients may make use of the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission. This is appropriate for clients seeking financial aid while participating in a training program or attending school.
- (4) Each client is informed of the Brooke House drop-in center for leisure time activities. (According to reports by BOSP staff and MHHI administration, this program is not in fact much used by BOSP clients.)

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- (5) Possession or use of drugs or alcohol in the vicinity or office of BOSP is not permitted. An important rule, made clear from the beginning of the client's involvement with BOSP, is that a client will not be given financial assistance while drunk or high.
- (6) There will be no physical violence nor threats of physical violence to staff or to other clients. No possession of weapons is permitted.
- (7) Each client and his community worker will set up appointments for counseling and financial assistance. One of the most important aspects of the BOSP approach is that of individual responsibility. A client should expect aid from BOSP only if he has fulfilled his own obligations which involve keeping appointments made with the BOSP community worker as well as with parole officers, probation officers, and other individuals at agencies to which the client has been referred.
- (8) No client may receive financial assistance from BOSP if he is receiving financial assistance from any other source.

Direct observation of the Deer Island intake interview procedure was difficult, in part because of the BOSP staff member's reticence. Presently in the process of training a new worker, the staff member felt that an additional observer would have a detrimental impact on the interview session. In addition, the same MHHI policy which forbade evaluators from sitting in on counseling sessions militated against observation of interviews as well.

Another reason for the lack of observation in the intake procedure is a more systematic problem: the low discharge rate at Deer Island. The population at the institution is now quite low, approximately 140 inmates, and since the average sentence length has risen to approximately eleven months, only a handful of men is discharged in the average week. During the period of this study the rate of discharge was particularly low. One week, no eligible men appeared on the discharge list; on another occasion, one man was eligible but could not be located to be interviewed; another week, two men were being discharged, one of whom was a chronic alcoholic and did not plan to use BOSP. The low rate of discharge also affected the effort made during this study to interview discharges.

A serious complaint voiced by BOSP is that the discharge list provided by Case Management often appears to be incomplete, so that men who might be eligible for BOSP services are not reached. Since BOSP is dependent on referrals from Deer Island, it is important that they be given access to as many eligible men as possible, and that any error in determining eligibility be cast in the direction of over-inclusion. This should be a problem simple to resolve through consultation between BOSP and Case Management.

Another problem with the intake procedure is that even men whose names have been obtained may be impossible to contact for an interview

during the community worker's half-day visit to the Island. This is in part due to the relatively great freedom of movement given inmates at Deer Island. But since a BOSP interview is unlikely to be viewed as threatening by the inmate--presumably the contrary--it would seem that improved communications and preplanning between BOSP and institutional management could maximize the number of men available for interviews. Again, the intervention of Case Management would be helpful in this regard.

The weekly trip which the BOSP community worker makes to Deer Island serves other purposes as well. The appropriate checks are distributed for work releasees and information about men starting work release during the week is gathered, including each one's Social Security number, parents' names, and place of employment. The work release officer at Deer Island considers this weekly meeting an important and efficient procedure.

Service Delivery

After release from Deer Island, the BOSP client must make his own way to the BOSP office. At his first appearance, he is usually given a check for \$3.00 for transportation and \$3.00 for food. If he has no lodging, he is also given a check for a week's rent, made out to the landlord--frequently the YMCA Correction Assistance Project, located conveniently just across the street from the BOSP office. The total average daily allotment per man is approximately \$16.00, including special allotments for clothing as well as food, transportation, and lodging.

During the first week--felt to be an especially crucial time--BOSP usually imposes stricter controls upon clients than are applied later in the program, by requiring that a client come daily to pick up food and transportation checks. From the first meeting, the BOSP worker attempts to provide appropriate referrals to the client; thereafter, the client must demonstrate that he has kept his scheduled appointments with BOSP and with other agencies before he can collect his check. Customarily, the BOSP worker verifies the client's activities by telephone calls before making out the check. Usually the client is required to report every other day during the second week. He is encouraged to find as many of his own job possibilities as he can, in addition to continuing to follow the referrals made by the community worker. Clients are discouraged from doing nothing while waiting for a particular favored job to be offered.

BOSP staff attempt to match their cash grants carefully to the client's need. They feel that his motivation will be reduced if he is given enough money to live without having to try to develop new resources. On the other hand, a client must not be given so little money that he becomes frustrated and turns to criminal activity as an easier and more effective means of supporting himself.

Termination

Financial assistance is discontinued when the client receives either his first welfare check or his first paycheck, although job referrals and

counseling might continue if needed. In some cases, extensions of financial aid are made beyond the four-week termination deadline, especially when a man is expecting a welfare check or a paycheck soon and has shown himself to be motivated during his involvement with BOSP. These extensions are granted only upon approval of the Project's grant manager at the Mayor's Safe Streets Act Advisory Committee.

Staffing

BOSP's original budget provided for a project administrator, a community worker, and a quarter-time bookkeeper. Although there have frequently been vacancies, this has remained the basic staffing pattern. The project administrator and the community worker perform many of the same duties, but the former has ultimate responsibility for the operation of the program, including supervision of the community worker and completion of all written reports.

The responsibilities of the project administrator are:

- . supervising the community worker;
- . approving all checks for food, shelter, or other assistance;
- . developing and maintaining a working relationship with Deer Island personnel, including institutional administration as well as representatives from the several release programs served by BOSP;
- . screening and selection of BOSP clients;
- . preparing reports on BOSP activity as required for MSSAAC contract compliance (quarterly and final), for the Penal Institutions Department (monthly), and for MHHI's internal monitoring;
- . maintaining liaison with other social service agencies through which BOSP clients may receive further assistance; and
- . working with MHHI planning and development personnel to refine management and reporting.

The duties of the community worker are in some ways similar to those of the project administrator. The community worker is also responsible for maintaining relationships with various service agencies such as the Department of Public Welfare and the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, and like the project administrator, is also involved with screening and selecting clients. In addition, the community worker must be responsible for most direct client contact. This contact includes seeing the client when he comes to his BOSP appointments; making appropriate referrals for housing, jobs, and training; acting as an advocate for clients having difficulty obtaining services from other agencies; and verifying client referrals and investigating clients' failures to meet their commitments.

The original staffing design was modified for eight months beginning in March, 1972, when MHHI negotiated an Emergency Employment Act contract to provide funds for the project administrator's salary. BOSP was thus able to hire an additional community worker so that staff during this time consisted of two community workers and a project administrator.

In November, 1972, there was a major staff turnover in which the project administrator and one of the community workers left. For the next year, the program operated with two workers and no administrator *per se*. Then in November, 1973, one community worker left, the other became project administrator, and a new worker was hired, bringing the Project back to its original staff configuration. The designation of one staff member as an administrator again was at least partly a result of BOSP's assumption of work release, education release, and furlough clients.

From March to June, 1973, another position, funded by the Work Incentive Public Service Employment Program and called the "program service coordinator," existed. The job description for this position called for preparation of all the Project reports as well as substantial involvement with other units of MHHI, particularly the credit union which serves all their staff and residents, including BOSP clients. The program service coordinator was transferred to another MHHI component and the position terminated after three months.

From April or May, 1974, until the program service coordinator left in June or July, BOSP operated with only one community worker and no administrator. Since July, 1974, there have been two staff members, one community worker and one project administrator. Thus, the Project is again in its planned staff configuration.

Supervision

BOSP receives a great deal of administrative support from Massachusetts Half-Way Houses, Inc. MHHI administers the Project grant and provides office space; hires, trains, and supervises BOSP staff; and monitors Project progress. Accounting and bookkeeping functions are supervised by the MHHI business manager, who also maintains the computerized payroll system for the corporation and is responsible for meeting auditing requirements.

MHHI's director of management and development devotes a significant amount of time to close supervision of BOSP staff, particularly with regard to budget, planning, and reporting issues. He has also been responsible for staff training and staff transition management. The executive director and the director of treatment of MHHI are also closely involved with BOSP.

The director of treatment holds a weekly review meeting with BOSP staff in which client flow, case management, cash expenditures, and staff performance are monitored. At this meeting, the BOSP worker presents a weekly status sheet charting the active clients, the amount of money paid to each, the number of referrals made, and the client status at the end of the week. Each contact with the client is discussed in detail to

determine why actions were taken and to generate alternative ways of dealing with similar situations. On the basis of this discussion, plans are made for dealing with each client during his remaining time in the program.

Interestingly, the interaction between the director of treatment and the BOSP workers in this review session is similar to the interaction between the worker and clients. There is in both contacts a focus on personal accountability and responsibility. At the review meeting, the BOSP worker must be able to justify each action by showing that it was based on an adequate understanding of the client and his situation. The worker must demonstrate that she has verified each client's efforts before awarding cash grants. The BOSP worker writes a report after each weekly review meeting summarizing its results.

A second regular weekly meeting has recently been implemented in order to focus in greater depth on the problems of certain individual cases.

These case-oriented supervision sessions are an essential and valuable part of the BOSP program. They ensure consistency in the application of principles to individual clients; they keep the program from straying from its goals of providing concrete and immediate assistance; they provide a means of monitoring the performance of the community worker; they ensure that critical tasks such as verification of client activities are not allowed to "slide"; they provide a forum for the systematic identification of problem areas and for the development of alternative approaches. The pragmatic nature of the case conferences is well suited to the philosophy and operation of the program.

Information Systems

BOSP maintains three major files, two of which are primary and one derivative. One is a client file, logically enough containing one file on each BOSP client. Each client file is opened with the completion of an introductory page which explains the Boston Offender Service Project in general and requires the client's signature to indicate that he has read or has been read this page. Following this is an initial interview form filled out during the Deer Island intake interview and containing basic background information about the client, including an estimate of the services that he will require and a brief subjective summary of the client. Three additional forms--the individual financial record, the individual referral record, and the subsequent contacts form--are filled in during the course of the client's involvement with BOSP. At the client's termination from the Project, a termination form is completed and inserted in his file, including notations on the status of his termination, a narrative summary of his progress, and a summary financial statement.

The second major file is the "information matrix." This file, actually a very large spiral notebook, contains information on each client recorded on one line of each of three pages. The first page contains basic pedigree information along with essential data such as the

client's education level, employment skill level, occupation, and disabilities, which are required in order to assist him in job placement; it is filled out when the client is first interviewed. The second page, containing program involvement information, is filled out over the period of the client's involvement with the program from the weekly status sheets. The third page of criminal history and military information depends entirely on self-reporting by clients; much of it is typically left blank.

The weekly status sheets comprise the third major BOSP file. Each status sheet represents one week of client contact. It summarizes for each client his entry status, arrival and termination dates, financial aid, employment status, referrals, and so forth. The status sheet is compiled every week from the client files, and is subsequently used first as a vehicle for the review meeting with the director of treatment of Massachusetts Half-Way Houses, Inc.; then to complete the information matrix entries on each current client; at the end of the month, to prepare a monthly report to the MHHI Board of Directors and another monthly report to the Penal Institutions Department; and at the end of each quarter, to prepare the quarterly report for the Mayor's Safe Streets Act Advisory Committee.

The weekly status sheet and the second sheet of the information matrix both contain analogous items, entitled "Aftercare" on the status sheet and "Follow-up" on the matrix, which are ordinarily left blank.

Copies of the major forms, except the information matrix, used by BOSP are included in the appendix to this report.

In addition to these forms, other records are kept of the clients on release programs, the money they have received, and the purpose for which it was given; and re-entry records (kept in the information matrix) on clients who have left the program and then returned.

Notes on the Filing System

In general, BOSP's filing and information gathering system is well designed for its purposes. One minor change, the distinction of notations in the "referrals" column of the weekly status sheet to divide appointments at BOSP from other-agencies contacts, has been suggested to BOSP staff, who have reported beginning to implement this change.

More generally, the completion of follow-up items on the weekly status sheet and information matrix, both of which are largely uncompleted at present, presents the somewhat larger issue of the degree to which BOSP should pursue more extended contact with its clients, which is discussed below.

Reports

For a program of BOSP's relatively small size, with only one or two staff members being the typical staffing pattern, BOSP is subjected to a

significant set of reporting responsibilities. As noted above, there are weekly reports to Massachusetts Half-Way Houses, Inc., monthly reports to MHHI and Deer Island, and quarterly reports to MSSAAC. Compilation of the basic statistics for each of these reports is made easier by the weekly completion of the weekly status sheets and the information matrix. Thus, as long as each separate required report does not require novel information but relies instead on much the same basic body of data used for the other reports, preparation of these documents should not be an unbearable burden.

Quarterly Reports

Until the second quarter of 1974, BOSP maintained the same format for each quarterly report, including a brief overview of the program describing the goals and the services provided; a standard statement of client eligibility; a discussion of any staffing changes which might have occurred during that quarter; and a discussion of Project operations, including current policy issues and problem areas. This narrative section was followed by a set of tables measuring client and cash flow by month, and relating it to referral sources, parole or wrap-up status, complete and incomplete termination status, and race. Additional tables summarized BOSP's involvement in the release programs, and a final table summarized the Project expenditures for the reporting period.

This quarterly report, although frequently cited as a potential model for satisfactory quarterly reports, did not include some desirable items of information, and was marred by one recurrent and undetected error.

The error occurred in the client flow table, an example of which appears as Table 2. In that table, clients who were on the BOSP caseload at the end of the month were noted in the output section of the table as "open" cases and included in the output total. In addition, the open cases at the beginning of each month were included in that month's input totals and broken down between parole and wrap-up status. Thus, the total input figure for each month after the first month in each reporting period was misleading, in that it included clients who had been carried over into that month from the previous one and were thus already recorded in the previous month's input breakdowns. The input total, then, was a total number of clients dealt with by the program during the month--but only for second and third months during a quarter. Thus, summing the total input figures for more than one month, as the table does in its total column, is to double and possibly triple count some clients. In the output section of the report, the addition of open cases as of the end of the period makes the totals representative not of output but of output plus client backlog. Thus, also the totals for each month after the first in a reporting period in the putput section also include double counts, and the quarterly totals for output include double and possibly triple counts. Similarly, the racial breakdown in this table includes double counting.

The sum effect of these cumulative additions is that every figure in the total column on this table, save those for complete and incomplete

TABLE 2. BOSP CLIENT FLOW TABLE EXAMPLE

	Month 1	Month 2	Month 3	Total
Entry Status				
Parole				
Wrap-up				
Total				
Race				
Black				
White				
Spanish				
Termination Status				
Complete				
Incomplete				
Open				
Total				

terminations, is probably over-stated. This problem has been corrected in the second quarter 1974 report.

On a more general level, the quarterly reports of the Project have not included any information on the administrative details of the Project, noting, for example, the spending rate of the Project compared to its budgeted rate. In terms of client service information, the reports do not give any means of judging the proportion of potential clients who are taken into the program; the intensity of the service which is provided to clients; the proportion of clients who are successfully placed in jobs or training programs; or the caseload of the Project or its staff.

Some of this information is readily available in the information matrix, and some would require nominal additional effort to collect. That this information should be gathered and presented in quarterly reports was suggested to the Project, and technical assistance was offered by study staff in order to help the Project prepare a revised quarterly report including the applicable items from the suggested quarterly report format. However, BOSP did not make the recommended modifications in its second quarter 1974 quarterly report, except to change the method of accounting for open clients in the client flow table, as discussed above. The quarterly report finally submitted was modified somewhat in form but very little in content from previous reports. MHFI has indicated that future BOSP reports may include some of the additional information recommended by the quarterly report format.

BOSP AND RECIDIVISM

As noted above, one of the two primary goals of the Boston Offender Service Project is to reduce their clients' reliance on criminal activity. The recidivism study, explained in detail elsewhere in this report, analyzes the program's success in this regard. It shows that for the "Cohort II" population (Deer Island releasees from August, 1972, through July, 1973), BOSP clients were slightly less likely to be charged with new offenses than their calculated base expectancy rate would predict. Specifically, 42.5% of BOSP's clients in this cohort were charged with a new offense within six months of their release from Deer Island, compared to a base expectancy rate of 44.5% to 45.6%. This difference, while it is of course absolute for the 153-client one-year sample, does not satisfy criteria for a statistically significant continuing difference; the probability that the difference between the higher predicted rate and the observed rate would occur by chance variations in the clientele alone, were these rates representative of samples from a larger population, is .58. In other words, assuming that the rates were calculated from random samples selected from precisely the same universe, a difference of at least this magnitude could be expected to occur purely by chance 58% of the time.

In summary, then, by the operational definition of recidivism used in this study, the likelihood that BOSP's clients are at all different from the expected in terms of recidivism is only 42%. The small observed difference in recidivism would be significant at a 95% confidence level only if

it persisted for three years or more. Even then, the possibility of an intervening "self-selection effect" (as discussed in the data analysis chapter) could not be excluded.

Recidivism Term Structures and Severity

Further scrutiny was directed to the data collected in this study to give a fuller picture of BOSP's potential impact on the criminal activities of its clients.

The first step in this further analysis was to examine the term structure of recidivism, to test the hypothesis that BOSP might reduce criminal activity during the initial month of direct client contact. This comparison showed no striking differences; some 16.3% of BOSP's clients in this cohort were charged with a new offense within one month, as compared to 17.4% of the entire cohort. Subjects who participated in no voluntary programs were charged with new offenses within a month 16.9% of the time. While these figures are raw recidivism rate comparisons, rather than base expectancy analyses, their apparent convergence suggests that little would be gained by more sophisticated analysis.

A dichotomous comparison of the type of criminal charge made against clients, divided into "minor" and "major" categories, was also made. The minor category in this case represents primarily parole and probation violations and minor offenses against public order. This raw comparison indicates that 37.9% of BOSP's clients were charged with a new major charge within six months, as compared to 34.0% of the entire cohort. These raw figures do not suggest a potential severity reduction effect by BOSP.

An additional comparison was made focusing on the severity of the disposition of the charges made against clients. This comparison shows that 7.8% of BOSP's clients were reincarcerated within six months, as compared to 9.7% of those in the entire cohort. It is difficult to make much of this small difference; in actual terms, it represents less than two observations--that is, if only two additional BOSP clients had been incarcerated, this difference would disappear.

Recidivism by Contact Intensity

The basic recidivism comparison and each of the three tabulations described above was repeated for two sub-groups of BOSP's clients in the second cohort, those who terminated the program in a "complete" status and those who were "incomplete." The recidivism rate of the incomplete (light contact) group was virtually the same as that predicted by the base expectancy table; the observed rate of the completed clients was 3.4% to 4.9% lower than the predicted rate, but this difference is not statistically significant at a 95% confidence level for a sample of this size. The major charge-minor charge and severity of disposition comparisons by contact intensity were similarly suggestive of no treatment effect. The tabulation of the time lag between release and the first subsequent charge shows that the complete clients were recharged within one month at a 13.4%

rate, which compares to a 16.9% rate for all those in the cohort not in any voluntary program. The difference runs in the direction that might have been hypothesized for a treatment effect, but it is not statistically significant.

Recidivism and the Shadow Variable

Beyond these tabulations, additional attention was given to the possibility that BOSP in particular might not be fairly evaluated by comparison to the base expectancy rates calculated in the course of the study. The possibility that this might be so is raised by the observation that a base-line entrance criterion for participation in BOSP is that the client have no appreciable financial resources and no permanent place of residence. These measures of destitution are not among the background variables which were available, and thus no measurement of poverty as such was used in the development of the predictor tables. Thus, it is conceptually possible that the poverty of BOSP's clientele makes them more likely to relapse, just because they are poor, and that the table used to predict aggregate rates does not reflect the impact of poverty as an independent variable on recidivism as a dependent variable.

To analyze the potential impact of poverty (or any other unmeasured and unrepresented variable) on the BOSP recidivism experience, a special comparison was made. This comparison assumed that the entire reduction in recidivism in the second cohort as compared to its base expectancy rate was due to the effect of the BOSP program; each of the other programs was assumed to have shown an observed rate of precisely what would have been predicted with a predictor which lends maximum weight to some BOSP "shadow" variable. Based on the assumption, then, that BOSP is responsible for all reduction in recidivism, the "real" base expectancy rate for BOSP must have been 49.7%. The actual rate of 42.5% is not different from this hypothetical predicted rate by an amount sufficient to permit the conclusion of a treatment effect at the required 95% confidence level for this sample size.

Thus, even if it is true that BOSP's clients are more likely to be charged with new offenses because of some variable in their backgrounds which the predictor does not take into account, the maximum possible difference which that might make in BOSP's expectancy rate is insufficient to change the basic conclusion: that there is no evidence that the BOSP program effects a significant change in the recidivism experience of its clients.

DIRECT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Over the first seventeen months of operation of the BOSP program, \$34,257.55 was distributed to clients for personal expenses, food, rent, residential treatment facilities, and (a small amount) for tuition of clients on education release. This represents an annual expenditure rate of \$24,182, of which \$17,628 represents service to wrap-ups and parolees,

the basic clientele of BOSP, and the remainder payments to temporary release clients and residential treatment (half-way house) clients. During the first quarter of 1974, \$9,042 was expended on direct assistance, an annual rate of \$36,167. For the 1974 grant term, an annual client assistance expenditure rate of \$40,823 is projected.

For the permanent release clientele, the average daily payments in general are slightly higher than the general relief welfare payments (excluding medical assistance) for which they might later qualify would be. For the first seventeen months of the program, the average daily payment to permanent release clients is \$6.77; the total average payment to each client during his involvement with the program, \$110.99. The first quarter of 1974 shows approximately the same pattern of payments, with each client receiving \$119.17 on the average.

With regard to the temporary release clientele, the average payments are substantially lower. Furlough clients, frequently out of Deer Island for only a day, received an average of \$6.66. Education release clients received \$57.92 on average, and work release clients, who are supported with BOSP funds only until their first paycheck, received an average of \$21.71. In each case, these figures for the first quarter of 1974 are somewhat less than the comparable numbers in the 1973 final report which reflects the first seventeen months of operation. Those figures are \$17.32 for furloughs, \$170.26 for education releasees, and \$34.39 for work releasees.

As noted above, the average BOSP daily payment is slightly greater than the average direct general relief payment to a welfare recipient. However, general relief clients also receive medical benefits from the Department of Public Welfare, amounting to a value of approximately \$1.47 a day on average. Thus, BOSP's average daily payment seems slightly lower than the average welfare stipend including medical costs. But to conclude that BOSP daily payments were lower than the average general relief payment would require the assumption that BOSP clients are unable to obtain medical assistance without paying for it, which may not be a justified assumption. In any event, though, the support provided by BOSP is clearly of the same general magnitude as welfare.

Justifying Financial Aid

The primary purpose of the financial assistance provided by BOSP in terms of the program's major long-term goal is to facilitate the counseling and job placement services of the program and, both through that effort and as a direct result of the provision of financial support, to reduce criminal activity by BOSP clients. As the data analysis performed in connection with this study demonstrates, that effect of the financial assistance is at best quite small.

That BOSP does distribute funds to its clients as its work plan calls for, that the use of these funds is controlled as closely as practicable, and that accounting of the expenditure of this money is adequate, are all unchallenged. But a bottom line judgment of the efficacy of this direct financial assistance effort, absent an impact on recidivism,

depends on other considerations, some of them quite subtle and clearly normative in character.

The argument for financial aid begins with the view that BOSP clients receive financial assistance in lieu of welfare payments, to which they are entitled by Welfare Department criteria, but cannot receive because of the standard three to four week lag between application for and receipt of welfare money. If this view is taken, the funds provided to BOSP clients are in a sense theirs "of right" to begin with. But this approach leads to two troubling questions.

One is to discern the rationale for providing these funds during this three to four week gap period to BOSP clients when all other applicants for welfare must wait. In effect, the criminal and incarceration histories of the BOSP clients are giving them a special priority status over other welfare applicants. This concern can be answered in at least two ways: one is to view the BOSP client as in need of financial assistance in lieu of welfare, regardless of the parallel needs of other non-client welfare applicants. Thus, the withholding of funds from some who have need for it does not justify withholding money from others who also need it. The other response to this concern is to assert that persons released from prison to the street without other programs to aid in their reintegration to society are in a peculiar position, having been removed from the mainstream of society not just to punish them but also to preserve the deterrent effect of the criminal justice system. Therefore, they have been incarcerated to some degree for reasons not directly related to their offenses, and having thus borne the burden of legitimizing the criminal justice system, should be provided by that system with a minimal amount of assistance in regaining a meaningful role in the general society. Part of the inmate's sentence, in other words, should not be to be plunged "cold turkey" from prison to the street.

If this latter view is taken, the question arises: how long the ex-offender should be eligible for financial aid and employment services? Once he has been placed in a job, and then quits or is fired, does the criminal justice system still have a special obligation to him? Or, is there some specific time period during which the hypothesized special disability of the ex-offender deserves special treatment? Obviously, there are no clear answers to these questions. It can only be maintained that if there is a special responsibility to former prison inmates, it is most pronounced during the period immediately after release. Under this view, how long is long enough for any individual client is a matter which might be left to the discretion of responsible on-the-spot community workers. The current four-week limit rule for BOSP may be an appropriate guideline, since it approximates the lag time in obtaining welfare, but discriminate extensions of service beyond this period or resumption of service after the client has lost a job might well be appropriate.

The second major problem raised by the welfare-analogy view of BOSP direct financial assistance is the justifiability of withholding money as a tool in client counseling. If the client is entitled to financial assistance, the burden on BOSP staff to justify withholding those funds is a heavy one. In practice, this may not be a serious problem, since BOSP only rarely withholds money from clients and only then in those

instances in which a man has consistently failed to keep referral appointments or to report to the BOSP office to receive his allotment. Under most circumstances, BOSP attempts to provide clients with whatever funds the community worker feels they need based on an admittedly subjective and particularized judgment.

A final issue raised by taking the welfare-analogy view of BOSP financial assistance is whether or not the present source of funding for the program is a proper one for such expenditures. As has been demonstrated, BOSP's direct financial assistance has a small effect (if any) on the incidence of criminal activity, so it is difficult to justify as a crime control measure. However, if the above discussion of a possible special obligation of the criminal justice system to prison releasees is persuasive, these expenditures can be viewed as an essential part of the administration of criminal justice.

COUNSELING

Counseling in BOSP is focused on a specific issue of client employability and financial independence. Attention is paid only to the current concrete situation of the client. He is supervised and directed only with regard to his contacts with BOSP, with job sources, and with other potential sources of financial support. The counselor deals with emotional problems only as they might directly affect the client's participation in BOSP as, for example, serious drug or alcohol abuse.

It may be helpful here to note the difference between therapy and counseling. Traditional therapy focuses on achieving insight into a client's feelings, and often involves an exploration of his past and its relation to the present. The goal of this type of intervention is to modify the client's motivation. On the other hand, counseling--and a *fortiori* counseling as practiced at BOSP--focuses on the client's actions with emphasis on altering his behavior in day-to-day life choice situations. BOSP's community workers are not therapists and do not attempt any sort of insight treatment. Rather, they focus specifically as an advocate and a counselor on helping clients gain financial independence and increase their employability. The mode of counseling used by BOSP could be described as "reality therapy": the focus is on the present situation, and the client is encouraged to be accountable for his own behavior. The counselor and client together develop objectives and goals for the client, assessing his strengths and weaknesses and his interests. The practical means by which he can gain financial independence are explained, and he is expected to pursue them.

Money is the major tool with which the counselor works to maintain the voluntary participation of clients. Financial aid is given only when the client has complied with the expectations established for him; it is withheld when the worker determines that the client has not fulfilled the program's requirements. In such an instance, the client is not dismissed from the program but rather is expected to comply with the program's

rules before cash grants will be resumed. Thus, counseling is inextricably interlocked with the distribution of grants.

The conditions under which the money is made available are made quite explicit to the client. From the beginning, the counselor explains the rules and limits of the program and attempts to establish a structure of mutual expectations. If the client meets the program's requirements, especially those requiring him to follow through with referrals and to keep his appointments at BOSP, the program responds by giving him the necessary cash grants. Frequently, specific appointments and activities are arranged for the client on a daily or near-daily basis. At each session, the community worker verifies the client's efforts before giving him the cash grant. This usually means that the worker calls an employer, a job referral agency, or a welfare agency--most often in the presence of the client--and confirms that the client has in fact kept his scheduled appointments. In the case of day labor, the client is required to present his pay stub as proof of work before he receives any additional BOSP money. This verification is an essential part of the limit setting function of the Project, the foundation supporting the structure of mutual expectations. Because his efforts are verified, it is clear to the client that his counselor will not be conned or manipulated and that he must fulfill the obligations required of him before he can receive financial aid.

In addition to verifying the client's efforts at obtaining a job or welfare, the community worker investigates and assesses the client's apparent attitude and interest in the job seeking process. Potential employers are asked whether the client merely attended the interview or whether he made an effort to present himself as employable and actively anxious to have a job. This kind of feedback, acquired from potential employers or from job referral agencies such as the Division of Employment Security, is important to the community worker in assessing the real effort being made by the client. While a half-hearted effort ordinarily does not mean the end of a client's financial aid, the community worker will encourage the client to take a more serious attitude.

Another part of the counselor's role is to act as an advocate when necessary in order to aid the client in gaining services from other agencies. For example, if the counselor feels that a drug or alcohol dependency is currently a problem for the client--and a large percentage of BOSP clients reportedly have extensive drug or alcohol histories--she will refer him to an appropriate treatment program, although she will not herself attempt to deal in any depth with the problem. Other than withholding money, BOSP has no authority to enforce its referrals to drug and alcohol treatment agencies, so many clients apparently choose not to follow through. The same approach is taken and the same result might obtain in the instances of clients displaying emotional problems requiring more intensive treatment than BOSP can provide.

Case management in a program as small and simple as BOSP is more difficult and complex than it might appear. Because money is the only tool with which a counselor works, and because it in itself constitutes part of the service provided by the program, it is not easy to insure that it is used in the best possible way to maximize the client's productivity. Sometimes, the worker must withhold the cash grant from a

needy client because he has failed to fulfill his responsibilities; in a sense, this defeats part of the purpose of the program, but it is necessary in order to maintain the credibility of the limit-setting process.

Few counselors and even fewer BOSP workers are accustomed to using money as such an integral part of a counseling relationship. MHHI has identified a pattern of change--a temporary drop in successful completions--whenever new BOSP workers begin. While part of this may be due to the disruptive effect of a staff turnover on client participation, it also seems to reflect initial discomfort on the part of new workers with BOSP's "carrot and stick" counseling methods.

Note

Information about BOSP's counseling techniques was gained by study staff through interviews with staff and MHHI administrators, through attendance at weekly review meetings in which each current case is discussed by the BOSP worker and the MHHI Director of Treatment, and through three client interviews. However, observation of counselor-client sessions and inspection of client files was not permitted by MHHI, and so it was not possible to assess more fully the substance or quality of these counselor-client interactions.

Client Interviews

Three current BOSP clients and one former client were interviewed by study staff. In addition, about a dozen of the Deer Island inmates interviewed had been involved in BOSP and were asked about that involvement. An attempt to contact Deer Island releasees after their release and program involvement was totally unsuccessful.

The four extensive interviews were conducted at the BOSP offices. The BOSP community worker, after having conducted the usual interview with a client, referred the client with his permission to be interviewed. It is unclear why the number of clients referred was so small, since study staff were available for several days. Thus, these four clients are not necessarily representative. Each interview is summarized briefly below.

Client #1 is an 18-year-old, single, black male who has served nine months at Deer Island. He is paroled to the custody of a drug program which frequently refers its clients to BOSP. Presently, he lives with his sister. He expressed satisfaction with BOSP, saying that "it gives you money without much hassle." His major criticism of the program was simply that he had not found a job. Now in his fourth week of program participation, he has had two interviews which he thought promising, but neither employer has contacted him. He suggests that he might have been more successful in getting a job had he been aided in placement before being discharged from Deer Island. Work release, he says, is an ineffective means of pre-release placement, since each inmate must either find his own job, which is difficult while incarcerated, or take a job located

by the institutional staff--which, he says, is not usually done until the inmate is approved for work release.

Client #1 states his major short-term goal as finding a job; in the long run, he wants "to get himself together" and to stay out of jail. He states simply that he came to BOSP for money and for a job. Although he has no job, he feels that he understands the BOSP program, and that the contact that he has had with the community worker has been adequate and helpful to him. "It gives me help in dealing with hassles. . . otherwise I might be back in jail."

Client #1 appeared articulate, competent, and motivated; he has not applied for welfare because he prefers to find a job.

Client #2 is a young, single, black male, involved in the same drug program as Client #1. He presents himself much differently, however, moving and talking very slowly and apparently experiencing some difficulty in maintaining a thought or answering a question in any depth. Thus, a brief interview cannot garner much information.

Because Client #2 is involved in the intensive day program of the drug treatment agency, he is not permitted to seek work. Thus, BOSP is providing financial assistance to him in support of the activities of the drug treatment program until he can find other means of financial support. Client #2 has had one previous contact with BOSP when he was on furlough; now, he has completed one week on release, coming to BOSP three times. He said the program was okay, the counselors okay.

Client #3 is presently a resident in an MHHI halfway house and is not currently involved with BOSP, although he was in the past. BOSP does pay for his bed space at the halfway house, however; apparently, Client #3 was referred to the halfway house by BOSP, who knew from past experience that he would benefit from the structured environment and intensive care provided.

A middle-aged, Irish, single male, Client #3 asked at the beginning of his interview whether the interviewer could "guess how long I've been in." He then reported 30 years in and out of Deer Island, mostly for theft. He cited one previous release, before BOSP's existence, when he was paroled to the Correctional Assistance Program, the inexpensive rooming house run by the YMCA. His major problem then was that he had no money. He was referred by the Parole Board to the Welfare Department, which could not help him because he had no permanent address. He was then referred to a small agency which provided financial aid to ex-offenders; the extent of the aid was seven dollars. Client #3 now feels that it was because he could not find other financial resources that he stole and eventually went back to Deer Island.

After another release and involvement with BOSP, Client #3 also stole and was returned to Deer Island again. However, he maintains he would have been returned much sooner if it had not been for BOSP. The current contact with BOSP began about a year ago, after Client #3 was discharged with approximately \$600 in his work release account. BOSP staff talked him

into depositing his money in the Credit Union run by MHHI; soon after, however, he withdrew all his savings and within a few days spent it. After this, BOSP provided him daily stipends and referred him to several job interviews. Following one, he obtained a job at a hamburger stand and worked there for two months before he was fired.

Client #3 speaks highly of BOSP, calling it "the only program that works." He contrasted it to education release, which he also thinks is a good program; BOSP, he said, helps ex-offenders after release, when the temporary release programs are useless. He praised BOSP staff for understanding and for not being "do-gooders" who are too easily conned. (He then apologized for his description of "do-gooders," fearing that the interviewer was one herself.) He clearly believes that BOSP is important not only for money and job referrals, but also for the client-counselor contact and emotional support it provides. Client #3 is also quite satisfied with his present living situation in the halfway house, and this may have colored his recollections about BOSP.

Client #4, a young, single, black male, was recently paroled after serving three months at Deer Island. Before release, he was involved with the Community Corrections Program of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center, and did not have any contact with BOSP. RMSC referred him to BOSP for financial assistance and job referrals (although RMSC has two full-time job developers). Client #4 has been involved with BOSP for about two weeks, and was planning to interview for a hotel job on the day he was contacted. He expected a welfare check in two weeks if he could not get the job.

Client #4 reported that he had never been involved in programs other than the Roxbury Multi-Service Center and BOSP. Asked to compare the programs, he pointed out that BOSP gives money in addition to helping clients get jobs, and that BOSP gives faster, more direct service. Since he has been discharged, Client #4 has seen his RMSC counselor once; he comes to BOSP three times a week. BOSP has helped him apply for welfare, and get job interviews directly, as well as referring him to DES.

In sum, the four clients interviewed spoke favorably of BOSP. Their general feelings seem to be that the Project provides direct services with a minimum of red tape. They did not have secure job prospects when interviewed, but did not attribute this to a lack of effort on BOSP's part, but rather a tight job market in general.

JOB PLACEMENT

The major strategic purpose to which the distribution of funds is put, and the focus of most of the counseling that occurs in the BOSP program, is the achievement of financial security for the client--primarily through job placement. The process of placement begins with the counselor's inquiry into the client's abilities, motivation, and interests. The counselor attempts to leaven the client's hopes with reality, telling him what he can reasonably expect to find in the way of work. If he has a

special skill, the client will be encouraged to seek further training to develop it, or to find an appropriate job in which to use it. Even if he has a skill, he will be discouraged from waiting for any particular job or kind of job, and encouraged to pursue other job leads or, in some cases, to take temporary day labor. Ironically, it is frequently harder to find a job for a skilled client than for an unskilled one.

Having gotten an idea of what the client can expect to find as a job, the counselor then begins to refer him to employers and to employment services. One of the primary responsibilities of the BOSP staff is maintaining contact with and seeking out new job placement resources. Most clients are referred to employment agencies such as the State Division of Employment Security. The present job market is not a good one, particularly for BOSP's largely underskilled, undereducated, and suspect ex-offender population. During the summer months, it is particularly difficult to find jobs as industries close down and the unskilled market is filled with students. The probable termination of the Law Offenders Service Project of DES will exacerbate BOSP's difficulty in placing its clients.

After a client takes a job or receives a welfare check, in most cases, he is not contacted further by BOSP. With neither the immediate need for money on the client's part nor the desire on BOSP's part to use its funds for double compensation, the cash nexus which had held the client to the program disappears. However, despite the limitations of motivation, program design, and staff resources, BOSP does have some informal follow-up contact with some of its clients. In addition to clients dropping in to talk, which does occur, the BOSP staff can keep up with some of their former clients through the Credit Union run by MHFI. Recently, increased emphasis has been placed on using the Credit Union as a means of budgeting, saving and earning a credit rating. As yet, however, clients have made only minimal use of the Union. The Brooke House Drop-In Center, a recreational facility which BOSP clients are encouraged to use, is another potential source of informal follow-up contacts; however, it is apparently used only rarely by BOSP clients.

More fundamentally, though, follow-up is not part of BOSP's basic program design. The Project is intended to provide very specific, short-term assistance and prolonged dependence on the program is considered beneficial to neither the client nor the program staff, which is small and, of necessity, preoccupied with its current clients.

Placement Follow-up Survey

In order to evaluate the success of BOSP's job and job training placements, study staff conducted a telephone follow-up survey of all successful BOSP "completions" for the first six months of 1974, some 29 men. The survey, conducted in August, 1974, contacted either the client, a member of his immediate family, or his employer in 22 of the 29 cases. The results of the survey are summarized in Table 3.

A number of potentially useful observations can be made as a result of this survey.

TABLE 3. PLACEMENTS BY BOSP DURING JANUARY - JUNE 1974

	MONTHS								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Trainee, Diesel Mech.	finished course (6 mo), got unrel. job (5+ mo)								} training placements
Trainee, Diesel Mech.	in course, looking for job								
Trainee, Radio Tech.	in course								
Trainee, OIC	never showed								
Trainee, OIC	never showed								} job placements, still working
Factory worker	[redacted]								
Dry cleaner	[redacted]								
Construction (union)	[redacted]								
Maintenance man	[redacted]								
Manufacturing worker	[redacted]								
Factory worker	[redacted]								
Clerk	[redacted]								
Clerk	quit or was fired								
Temporary laborer	quit								
Dry cleaner	quit								} job placements, quit
Dry cleaner	quit due to physical discomfort								
Bar attendant	quit								
Busboy	quit								
Junkyard worker	fired for absenteeism								} job placements, fired
Maintenance man	fired for absenteeism								
Hamburger stand worker	fired due to physical appearance								
Youth center worker	employer never heard of client								} job placements, never worked
Construction	apparently never worked, joined Navy (3+ mo)								
Special school aide	employer could not locate client w/o more info.								} no information
Decorator's helper	employer could not be located								
Car washer	employer could not be located								
Landscape worker	employer could not be located								
Printer's helper	employer could not be located								
	employer could not be located								

- Of the five training placements, only three began the training courses; of the two training placements looking for work, one is finishing a course which has never placed a graduate in a related job, and the other is completing a program which places 80 per cent of its graduates.
- Of the 18 job placements on which information could be obtained, seven are still working at the initial job as of August; six apparently quit; three were fired; and two apparently never worked.
- In percentage terms, 39 per cent of the job placements are still working, 33 per cent quit, and 28 per cent either were fired or never showed up.
- While BOSP usually places clients through intermediate agencies and thus employer contact directly with BOSP is unusual, a few employers cited sources of job reference which suggest that BOSP's role in placing some clients might be small. For example, one employer said that he hired the client on his brother's recommendation; another said the client was referred by his probation officer; and a third client placement was reported by both BOSP and the Community Corrections Program, both having dealt with that client.
- For the six placements on which no follow-up information could be obtained, the chief reason was apparently the incompleteness of the BOSP records; since the present community worker was not employed at the time these placements were made, she could not personally recall any details.

COSTS AND BENEFITS: A SUMMARY ANALYSIS

In an attempt to bring together and summarize the quantitative information available to index BOSP's effectiveness, a cost benefit analysis, summarized in Tables 4 through 8, has been performed. Table 4 is a summary of the cost and benefit comparisons; Table 5 gives details of the benefits calculations; Table 6 lists the necessary assumptions made; and Tables 7 and 8 display key data (from the information gathered by study staff on two years of BOSP operation) used in the calculations.

As those tables show, the analysis displays three sets of alternative assumptions--one, those assumptions which are most favorable to the conclusion of a maximum program effect; two, the most conservative assumptions, which lead to a minimum limit on the program's impact; and a third set of assumptions, labeled "choice," which reflect a sometimes logical and sometimes arbitrary selection of key assumptions.

The analysis calculates the benefits of BOSP as falling in three categories: a crime reduction effect, welfare savings, and the payment of

TABLE 4
BOSP COST-BENEFIT SUMMARY

Benefit	maximum program effect	minimum program effect	choice	choice @ 153 caseload	choice @ 200 caseload
I. Crime reduction effect	\$ 4,002	\$ 2,582	\$ 4,002	\$ 6,185	\$ 8,085
II. Welfare savings	78,645	8,597-	27,645	42,724	55,848
III. Direct cash payments	11,880	-0-	11,880	18,360	24,000
total benefit	<u>\$ 94,527</u>	<u>\$ 6,015-</u>	<u>\$ 43,527</u>	<u>\$ 67,269</u>	<u>\$ 87,933</u>
Cost					
1974 budget (adjusted for caseload)	<u>\$ 62,650</u>	<u>\$ 62,650</u>	<u>\$ 62,650</u>	<u>\$ 69,130</u>	<u>\$ 74,770</u>

cash grants to clients. The first of these, the crime reduction effect, is an attempt to measure the success of BOSP at what it has defined as its primary long-range goal, the reduction of recidivism. As can be observed, this area is the one in which BOSP's performance is weakest. The welfare savings element of the benefit analysis is an attempt to measure the impact of BOSP's placement of its clients in jobs and training programs by determining the effect of these placements on governmental welfare expenditures. While there are certainly other psychic and economic benefits of job placement, they are also certainly impossible to quantify. They may also be too small to measure, particularly in the current tight job market, in which the employment of relatively unskilled BOSP clients may serve in the larger economic picture only to increase unemployment among other groups. The usefulness of the third analytic category, the computation of direct cash payments to clients as benefits, turns on a judgment of whether or not those payments can be considered benefits in themselves, as supplements to public relief.

Crime Reduction Effect

As the assumptions used in the analysis (Table 6) make clear, the calculation of the dollar benefit of BOSP's effect on criminal activity is based on assumptions of (a) an effect on recidivism, despite the fact that no statistical significance can be attached to the difference between the predicted and observed rates for the program found by this study, and (b) a cost assigned to each offense which assumes that BOSP is not having a pervasive effect on criminal activity in the community, but rather a limited reduction only. Clearly, these dollar figures are not a complete representation of the effect of crime on a community, but they do approximate the marginal cost of one prevented offense and they do grant the assumption that BOSP is having a reliable small effect.

Welfare Savings

As Table 5 shows, the method of calculating welfare savings was to compare the proportion of BOSP clients on welfare before their involvement with an estimate of the proportion on welfare afterwards. The initial proportion of welfare dependents is taken from BOSP's 1973 final report, and presumably reflects the clients' self-reports. With regard to the post-program welfare dependency, alternative estimates of the proportion of clients who either end the program on welfare or who shortly become dependent on welfare are presented.

One choice of assumptions is particularly critical to the outcome of the analysis: the estimate of the proportion of "incomplete" terminations who are welfare dependent. Each of the three alternatives presented for this proportion has some logical force. They are summarized in Section II. B.2. of Table 5. The first estimate assumes that the incomplete termination population is the same as the complete termination population, except that BOSP does not have as much information about the incompletes. This seems almost certainly over-optimistic, since the incompletes--largely clients who simply disappear from the program--must

be more likely than the completes to be poor job risks. An alternative assumption here--the assumption of "choice"--is that the same proportion of the incompletes will go on relief as that proportion of the entire BOSP clientele who were on relief before their involvement with the program. Particularly if the incompletes are in some sense a higher risk category than the completes, and thus perhaps more likely to return to welfare than the completes, this seems a reasonable assumption. And there is evidence that incompletes include a significantly greater proportion of wrap-ups, who are significantly more likely to be re-arrested, so incompletes are almost certainly a higher risk group. Of course, it is possible that exposure to the BOSP program, however abortive, has had some effect on the incomplete clients and as a result they are in fact less likely to return to welfare than they otherwise would be, but there is no evidence of this.

It should be noted that the result of the first assumption advanced (reflected in Table 5, Section II.B.2.i.) is to assume a 27% welfare rate among incompletes and referrals out; the result of the assumption of II.B.2.ii. (the "choice" assumption) is to estimate a welfare rate of about 75%. A difference of 10% in one of these estimates--for example, 65% instead of 75% under the second assumption--would result in an increased dollar benefit to the program of approximately \$6,000 at the client flow level of August, 1973-July, 1974 (99), and more at higher caseload levels.

Direct Cash Payments

As noted in the section of this report discussing financial assistance, these payments can be viewed as filling a gap in the public assistance program, and thus as a benefit in the same way that welfare payments are held to be self-justifying benefits to the government. The judgment of whether or not these payments are in fact their own benefits is important to the final cost-benefit balance. If the judgment be made that these are payments in addition to what the government would otherwise be required to make, and that their additional expenditure is justified only as a means toward the end of either an ultimate reduction in welfare payments or a reduction in criminal activity, the effect on the dollar benefit total for the program is substantial. Only by exercising the most liberal assumptions about welfare savings could the dollar benefit total then exceed the cost of the program. Likewise, from a determination that, although these direct payments may be essentially benefits per se, they are not appropriate subjects for expenditure of crime control funds, the same ultimate result must obtain.

Caveat

It should be understood that this quantitative summary of the effects of the BOSP program is not conclusive. As discussed above, at least two critical assumptions--one as to the proportion of incompletes on welfare and the other as to the beneficial effect of direct cash payments--must be examined before the analysis can be understood. What this

TABLE 5

BOSP BENEFITS ANALYSIS

(footnotes refer to assumptions, table 6)

benefit	maximum program effect	minimum program effect	"choice"	source of data
	(percent of total clients)			
I. CRIME REDUCTION EFFECT^{8,9}				
A. Base expectancy rate for new charge against clients	45.6%	44.5%	45.6%	data analysis
B. Observed rate	42.5%	42.5%	42.5%	"
C. Reduction	3.1%	2.0%	3.1%	
(annual dollar totals)				
D. Savings (client flow = 99, cost of average D,I offense = \$1,304) ^{5,10}	\$ 4,002	\$ 2,582	\$ 4,002	
(percent of total clients)				
II. WELFARE SAVINGS				
A. On welfare before BOSP ¹	74.5%	74.5%	74.5%	BOSP 1973 report
B. On welfare after BOSP				
1. Completes				
(a) Welfare-only completes ²	17.2%	17.2%	17.2%	cohorts II & III
(b) Placement completes ¹²				
(i) if all placements stay off welfare	0.0%			
(ii) if no-shows, firings, and quits go on welfare		26.5%		cohorts, survey
(iii) if no-shows and firings go on welfare ³			14.2%	"
2. Incompletes and referrals				
(i) if same percent go on welfare as proportion of completes placed on welfare only	9.6%			"
(ii) if same percent go on welfare as overall pre-BOSP rate ⁴			26.7%	"
(ii) if all go on welfare		35.9%		cohorts

TABLE 5 - Continued

C. Net reduction in welfare	47.7%	-5.1%	16.4%	
(annual dollar totals)				
D. Gross savings (client flow = 99, avg. mo. on relief = 8, avg. mo. poly. payment = \$212.84) ^{5,6}	\$80,408	\$ 8,597-	\$27,645	
E. Adjustment to gross savings for clients receiving welfare until job or training check (assumes avg. 5, 8 wk. until first check) ^{5,6,7}	\$-1,763	\$-1,763	\$-1,763	cohorts, survey
F. Net savings	\$78,645	\$-8,597	\$27,645	
III. DIRECT CASH PAYMENTS				
A. If payments are a benefit ¹¹	\$11,880		\$11,880	1974 budget (adj.)
B. If payments are not a benefit.		-0-		

TABLE 6

Assumptions of Cost-Benefit Analysis

1. For the purposes of the welfare savings analysis, the percentage of BOSP clients who (apparently) reported having been on welfare before their incarceration, as reported in the BOSP 1973 Final Report, is taken to be an accurate statement of the proportion of the total clientele on welfare before their participation.
2. Clients who terminate the program in "complete" status with their only source of funds being welfare are assumed to continue to be supported by welfare for as long as the average welfare client remains on the rolls. This group constitutes approximately 27 per cent of the completes, compared to the 75 per cent of the entering client group who were on welfare before.
3. The "choice" column in the benefits analysis assumes that those clients who are placed in training programs or jobs but who never appear for those jobs or programs or who are fired from those jobs or programs will go on welfare, as a rule. These clients have not demonstrated any fondness for work, and it should be noted that BOSP clients should know (either from prior experience or from BOSP) how to apply for and receive welfare.
4. The "choice" line of analysis assumes that of the incomplete terminations roughly three-quarters (the same rate as were on welfare before BOSP involvement) will go on general relief after the end of program involvement. It may be that mere contact with the program for a month or so might have an impact on the incomplete termination cases, so that they do get jobs or go into training programs even though BOSP, for one reason or another, never finds out about it. However, it is probably fair to assume that the incomplete group represents those clients least tractable to BOSP treatment, and thus probably more likely, all other things being equal, to avoid work and seek out welfare. In addition, it would be somewhat disingenuous of BOSP to maintain that the incomplete clients are achieving the same success in job placement as the complete clients, particularly in view of the fact that it is because of BOSP's failure to follow up on the experience of incomplete clients that the analysis must proceed on such a speculative basis in the first place.
5. The annual client flow to the BOSP program is assumed to be the same as it was during the Cohort III (August, 1973, through July, 1974) period, 99.
6. With regard to the use of welfare by BOSP clients, it is assumed that the average BOSP client is a general relief client, since most of BOSP's clients are single, and general relief serves a group which is 94 per cent single. The average number of months

TABLE 6 - Continued

7. It is assumed that clients who are receiving welfare as a stop-gap until they can obtain their first paycheck or training stipend on the average remain on welfare for two weeks, at the average payment rate.
8. With regard to the impact of BOSP's effect on client recidivism, the analysis proceeds on the assumption that the small difference between the base expectancy and observed rates calculated for the Cohort II period are representative of a program treatment effect, rather than random sampling variation (a possibility which statistical analysis suggests may be the case), the effect of client self-selection into this voluntary program, or an effect of any other unmeasured variable.
9. It is assumed that the number of new court charges based on new alleged offenses during six months after discharge from Deer Island for BOSP clients would closely parallel the actual commission of crimes by those clients. In other words, the analysis assumes not that every charge represents a crime actually committed, but that in the aggregate any group of subjects has committed roughly as much crime as they have been charged with.
10. The cost figure assigned to each hypothetical foregone criminal offense is calculated as shown in the appendix item on the cost of an average Deer Island crime. The figure is calculated to reflect as closely as possible the distribution of offenses actually charged against inmates who are discharged from Deer Island and subsequently charged with a new offense based on a new incident within six months. The totals are calculated to include the costs of property damaged, personal injury, police, prosecution, court and correction activity, but not such items as loss of income to witnesses, or the cost of public relief payments to inmates' families (but note that most BOSP clients are single). Note also that this figure does not attempt to comprehend the broadest sweep of "the cost of crime"--as, for example, the decline in business activity in a particular area which might result from increased crime, the diversion of national income to the lock and security guard industries, and so forth. This limitation is appropriate for the purposes of this analysis, since any impact that BOSP has on criminal activity in general is not likely to impact significantly on these macro-level costs.

TABLE 6 - Continued

11. With regard to the direct cash payments made by BOSP, the "choice" benefit calculation is consistent with the assumption that the payments are benefits in themselves, the view most favorable to the program. A choice among the alternative positions--whether the payments are benefits in themselves or not--is presented for the individual judgment of the reader. For the purposes of computation of benefits, direct payments are estimated at \$120 per client. Thus, this analysis does not include temporary-release program expenditures.
12. In drawing conclusions from the follow-up survey of placements, it is assumed that BOSP is in fact responsible for all placements, despite the apparent intervention, which might well have occurred anyway, of other agents such as brothers, probation officers, and the Roxbury Multi-Service Center. It is assumed in effect that those clients placed in training programs who begin the program and complete at least a month of it will go on to obtain a job. One client followed up in the survey was no longer employed, but his employer could not specify whether he quit or was fired; he was considered in this study to have quit.
13. The 1974 Project budget is used as a base, with the amount budgeted for direct cash payments adjusted to the number of clients in the caseload (at \$120 per client). Thus, temporary release program expenditures are not included.

TABLE 7
BOSP TERMINATIONS AUGUST 1972 - JULY 1974
(cohorts II & III)

status	number	percent	comparable percent from BOSP 1973 final report
Incomplete	82	33.5	41.8
Referred out	6	2.4	3.6
Complete	157	64.1	54.5
(missing)	7		
client total	252	100.0	99.9

TABLE 8
BOSP "COMPLETE" TERMINATIONS, COHORTS II & III

Welfare	42	26.8	18.3
Job	50	31.8	43.3
Training	10	6.4	1.7
Welfare + job	25	15.9	20.0
Welfare + training	16	10.2	8.3
Job + training	14	8.9	3.3
Welfare + job + training	0	0.0	5.0
	157	100.0	99.9

analysis does do, hopefully, is to focus attention on the critical questions, the decision-makers' answers to which could be determinative of the ultimate value of the program.

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT AND RELATED ISSUES

Client Intake and Caseload Levels

One of the most serious problems facing BOSP is its relatively low present case load. For the Cohort III (August, 1973-July, 1974) period, the program reported a client throughput of 99, as contrasted with 153 for Cohort II. This shrinkage of the client population is one reason for the expansion of the program, as noted above, to include release program clients. The reasons for this decline in the size of the clientele include, primarily, the shrinking population at Deer Island, as well as the changing profile of that population, with more and more longer sentences, and the resultant marked decline in the discharge rate from the institution. In addition, however, BOSP staffers feel that they may be failing to make initial contact with even those few inmates who are being discharged. They attribute this to, again, more than one factor. Primary among them is the perceived failure of the Case Management staff at Deer Island to compile an accurate list of the inmates to be discharged each week for the BOSP worker to use when she makes her screening interview visits to the Island. In addition, even those inmates on the list sometimes cannot be located, are involved in a release program and thus off the Island, or are confined to the "plant," the disciplinary segregation area. In these cases, the worker still makes an effort to see that the inmate receives a copy of BOSP's program standards so that he will know of BOSP's availability.

It is striking that such relatively well-defined concerns on BOSP's part for some reason have not been addressed by BOSP and Case Management together. Surely, with some cooperation and coordinated planning, these agencies could insure that BOSP, even if it is not able personally to interview each upcoming dischargee, is assured that someone--perhaps the inmate's case manager--will introduce him to the program before he is released. A relatively small amount of advance preparation before each week's BOSP visit could certainly insure that the relevant inmates knew about the time, place and nature of the BOSP visit and, therefore, that no inmate is being excluded through a lack of information (although some may choose not to attend the interview for personal reasons). An additional step, which could be taken at little expense, would be to discuss with each inmate at his initial Case Management interview the existence, general design, and potential advantages to him of the BOSP program.

None of these changes is likely to increase BOSP's client inflow a great deal, since the number of discharges from Deer Island remains an outside limit. But the importance of increasing the size of BOSP's service population cannot be overemphasized. The program apparently has some excess capacity, as indicated by its performance during 1972-73; and if, for example, the annual client flow rate could be increased to approximately 200, the effect on the measurable benefits generated by the

program would be substantial. For example, with the "choice" assumptions of the cost-benefit analysis, an increase in the caseload to 200 would increase the total benefits of the program, assuming welfare savings and direct cash payments are legitimate benefits, to \$87,933. This figure would represent a 17.6 per cent rate of return on the total program cost.

How can the service population be increased? There are several alternatives. One is to allow BOSP to assume the caseloads of other less efficient community-based programs as those programs are discontinued. Any other possibilities for increasing BOSP's caseload, unfortunately, involve departures from the present BOSP model and their defined service population. For example, to expand BOSP's coverage to encompass dischargees from state correctional institutions might mean that BOSP would have the same effects on state dischargees as it does on county releasees; but whether this would actually be the case could only be determined by experience. Again, to permit BOSP to take on clients who are on probation would be a means of expanding their client population; however, those reasons which support the proposition that direct cash payments are per se beneficial do not necessarily apply to offenders (or alleged offenders, in the case of pre-trial diversion) who have not been incarcerated. Which, if any, of these possible means of expanding BOSP's client population are practical in the light of present funding and organizational constraints, as well as the available alternatives for service provision to ex-offenders, is beyond the scope of this study and must be left to policy makers with a more complete knowledge of other options.

At the risk of repetition, it bears emphasis here that the effect of any reasonable expansion in BOSP's service population will be to make the program's benefits exceed its cost only if it has been assumed, first, that welfare savings and the benefits of direct cash payments are appropriate expenditures for the funding agency and, second, that the percentage of BOSP incomplete terminations on welfare is at least no higher than the pre-BOSP welfare rate.

Client Participation

As noted previously, BOSP is an entirely voluntary program, designed primarily to serve wrap-ups, those releasees who are discharged at the termination of their entire sentence. In fact, some 41.8% of BOSP's clientele are parolees, a substantial proportion, although not as large as the 60% of all Deer Island dischargees (for the Cohort II period) who are paroled.

In terms of their participation in BOSP and their recidivism experience, parolees and wrap-ups are substantially different in several respects. In the first place, wrap-ups are significantly more likely to be re-charged with a new offense (by this study's definition of recidivism), according to an analysis of the release cohort for August, 1971 through July, 1973 (and significant at $p \leq .01$; this finding is presented in the data analysis section of this report). With reference to participation in BOSP, parolees are more likely to terminate participation in the BOSP program in a "complete" status than are wrap-ups. The data leading to this conclusion are drawn from the August, 1972 to July, 1973 cohort and are shown in

TABLE 9

Mode of Deer Island Release By BOSP Termination Status
For BOSP Clients, August, 1972-July, 1973

	<u>Parolees</u>	<u>Wrap-Ups</u>
Number in BOSP, Cohort II	64	89
Number "complete"	48	49
Percent "complete"	75.0	55.1

Contingency Table

	<u>Parolees</u>	<u>Wrap-Ups</u>	
Complete	48	49	97
Incomplete	16	40	56
	64	89	153

$\chi^2=6.38$ $df=1$ $p < .02$

Table 9. As the table shows, 25% of the parolee clientele failed to complete BOSP, while 44.9% of the wrap-ups were incomplete. This difference, it should be noted, lends additional weight to the assumption made in the course of the cost-benefit analysis that the incompletes are generally less tractable clients.

Several other observations can be made about the distinctions between BOSP completes and incompletes. For example, inmates released after serving a sentence for a crime against property are slightly more likely to complete the BOSP program, while those released from person offense incarcerations are more likely to be incompletes. The completes have a mean sentence length of 9.6 months compared to 7.9 for the incompletes; of course, this difference in sentence length is somewhat correlated to the difference in offense types, since property offenders have slightly longer sentences on the average. The apparently more hardened offenders in the BOSP clientele are more likely to be incomplete. To illustrate: the average incomplete termination was sentenced to incarceration for 34.5 months before his cohort incarceration, while the average complete was sentenced to only 26 months; the incomplete was sentenced to 54.6 months of probation, the complete, 40.8. Area of residence also appears to make a difference, with those from Boston, Roxbury, or Dorchester more likely to terminate the program in a complete status. Data also suggest that single clients and black clients are more likely to terminate as completes. A word of caution is in order with regard to all these comparisons, however: all the differences save that between parolees and wrap-ups are relatively small and, although they have not been tested, almost certainly not significant by standard statistical criteria. The mean values for a number of background variables broken down into complete and incomplete categories are displayed in Table 1, Columns 4 and 5.

The implications of the difference discerned between parole and wrap-up clients is unclear. It may be that wrap-ups, being those inmates not admitted to parole, are least willing to accept supervision and thus most likely to disappear from any program; on the other hand, it may also be that the status of being on parole encourages releasees to work more diligently toward their reintegration.

Client Retention

Another issue bearing on the parole or non-parole status of clients is the limited ability of BOSP to retain clients in the program. For the Cohort II and III two-year period, 64.1% of all BOSP clients terminated as "completes." BOSP staff have suggested that one explanation for this fairly high drop-out rate from the program is that the only tool which the program has to use to keep clients is the instrumental use of financial assistance. By threatening to withhold money, the counselor can coerce clients into greater degrees of activity; however, lengthy withholding of funds is the most certain way to ensure that a client will not return to the program. Thus, money is a very difficult tool to use to keep clients coming back. It has been suggested that, could BOSP be designated as a condition of parole for paroled clients, the program might have a greater chance of keeping clients in the program for a longer time. However, the

potential for this change is limited, since only 25% of the parolee clients fail to complete the program, as compared to about 45% of the wrap-ups. Thus, unless more clients were somehow placed on parole in the first place, this change--stipulating BOSP as a condition of parole--could affect at most 12.8% (25% of 51.0%, the overall proportion of parolees in the two-year data base) of the total client population. Nevertheless, the stipulation of BOSP as a parole condition, since it might have the desired effect on that sub-group of clientele (particularly if, as is reportedly the case, that group includes a high proportion of clients with drug or alcohol problems), should be sought before the parole board for a limited number of cases in order to determine what the possible impact of the change might be.

Follow-Up

Related to the discussion of program completion status is the issue of client follow-up. Apparently, BOSP staff members have from time to time attempted to maintain longer term contacts with certain clients. In some cases, former BOSP clients, desiring the attention and emotional support which the program offers, keep in contact with BOSP staff members on their own initiative. However, a great proportion of the BOSP clientele--almost certainly including all the "incompletes"--are not again seen after the termination of financial aid.

The fact that both the weekly status sheets and the information matrix of BOSP include spaces for notations about follow-up contact or "aftercare" suggests that the Project has at least contemplated making a serious effort to maintain somewhat longer term contacts.

One result of the program's lack of information on clients' experiences after their initial placement on welfare, in a job, or in a training program, or after their effective disappearance from BOSP, is that evaluation of the impact of the program on its clients is made quite difficult, because critical assumptions about subsequent experience (particularly of "incomplete" clients) must be made with, to say the least, incomplete information.

Whether increased follow-up by BOSP, even after the termination of financial assistance, would produce a greater impact on either the reduction in criminal activity or the reduction in welfare dependency which are both being sought is a debatable question. To embark on this sort of effort would certainly change the basic thrust and design of the BOSP model. The model as it is presently envisioned simply does not include longer term services; BOSP was designed to test the capabilities of a short-term immediate intervention financial assistance type of program.

Besides, it is not clear that BOSP could effectively maintain longer relationships with its clients, because, after the termination of financial aid, it is doubtful whether clients will see any additional benefit in returning to BOSP to talk to the community worker. This is a logical result of BOSP's tying its services so closely to the provision of financial assistance. Again, to change this approach would be to change the

basic BOSP model which the program was designed to test.

An advantage of increased longer term contact would be that BOSP could then have, hopefully, regular sources of information as to the current status of their clients and could act to help these clients get new jobs when their initial placements fail for one reason or another. This "recycling" of clients is troublesome for at least two reasons. For one, it raises the possibility that clients, feeling that BOSP will support them if they lose their jobs, may not make a serious effort to get and keep jobs. The second problem here is that of "drawing the line," that is, deciding when the special status of immediate ex-offenders which entitles them to special aid of the BOSP variety has dissipated. It is of course arguable that the job disabilities of ex-offenders never disappear, but one would be hard pressed to argue that the proper means of dealing with this phenomenon (absent a substantial impact on recidivism, anyway) is to provide repeated months of financial assistance and job placement help, which the unemployed in general cannot receive.

But the possibility of improving client service through increased follow-up need not be the dispositive issue here. If for no other reason than to permit adequate evaluation of this experimental program, increased effort should be devoted to following the progress of clients after their initial one-month involvement with BOSP. This program's success depends, as the cost-benefit comparisons bring home with some force, on its ability to place clients in jobs or in situations in which they have a steady source of income, and to see that the clients remain financially self-sufficient. It is the clear responsibility of a program which is an experiment in the application of a different treatment modality to provide the information necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of that treatment model (particularly if later evaluators cannot reconstruct the data). If the program does not pursue the information required, the final judgment on the effectiveness of the program may have to be made by drawing a negative inference from that failure. The quantitative estimates of success in achieving financial self-sufficiency for BOSP clients which are made elsewhere in this report attempt to tread a reasonable, if somewhat speculative, middle ground in estimating the effects of the program over the longer term, particularly on "incomplete" clients. Future evaluations might not be so accommodating, however. For this reason, BOSP should develop a meaningful capacity for longer term follow-up of its effect on its clients.

It should be noted here that if additional staff are required to follow-up client activities after initial BOSP involvement, and if those staff do not provide additional services to the clients, their cost is properly chargeable to program evaluation rather than operation, and thus excluded from the cost figure used in any cost-benefit analysis.

Release Programs

BOSP staff have reportedly received positive reactions from Deer Island administration staff members about increased inmate participation and decreased frustration along with a lower drop-out rate from the release programs. The work release officer at Deer Island speaks

positively of BOSP's involvement with his program. He says that the transition of funds works very smoothly, and he notes further that inmates appear to be satisfied with the money since "it relieves their minds during the first week."

The additional effect of BOSP's involvement in these release programs on the program's success in reducing the incidence of crime is questionable. As discussed supra (at p.39), the work release program, as presently operating at Deer Island, does not appear on analysis to have any impact at all on recidivism, even for a period during a part of which BOSP funds were being used. In addition, it has been reported that work releasees frequently quit their jobs soon after their permanent release, apparently because they are rather widely dissatisfied with the quality of the jobs obtained for them through work release and the levels of pay, as well as the limited possibilities for advancement.

Even in connection with the other release programs, it seems overly optimistic to assume that the addition of a financial stipend element to the program will have a significant impact on the criminal activities of the participants. The provision of financial aid to releasees, after all, is the crux of the BOSP program (although admittedly applied to permanent releasees as opposed to temporary day releasees), and there is little in this analysis to suggest that this approach has demonstrated much potential as a crime reduction program.

However, for the same reasons that BOSP's direct financial assistance to permanent releasees can be viewed as inherently beneficial, financial assistance to temporary releasees can likewise be seen as a positive good in itself--regardless of its impact on recidivism--and in fact a necessary part of such release programs. The same considerations which were discussed in connection with this determination with regard to the basic BOSP financial aid operation (supra) apply to release program financial aid as well; for example, the decision-maker must determine whether the clients receiving this aid are in a sufficiently special position to justify their being favored with money when others are not, and whether "law enforcement" funds are properly allocated for these programs.

BOSP staff members have raised one additional problem with the release programs, centering on education release in particular. They claim that "educational planning" is not a significant element of the program as administered from Deer Island (by the education project). Therefore, BOSP's contact with education releasees must center around these long-term plans. The study staff were unable fully to evaluate this contention, since they could observe neither the BOSP files of clients on education release nor the counseling sessions which dealt with them. It is, however, plausible that personnel at Deer Island, who are largely available during the day when day releasees are not at the institution, may have some difficulty in providing planning assistance to these releasees. If this is the case, it should be a relatively straightforward matter, involving cooperative planning between BOSP and Deer Island agencies, to allocate the responsibility for educational counseling of educational release clients. It may well be that BOSP, since it is able to meet with the client during the day, is the most appropriate agency to provide this service.

The Meetings Problem

BOSP operates with a very small staff--two people. Its services are narrowly and quite well-defined; its operations have not changed over time; it does not deal with inmates on Deer Island except to interview them once before discharge. In general, it has very little need to communicate on a day-to-day basis with the Penal Institutions Department or institution-based agencies. As a result, BOSP staff members resent the demands placed on them by Deer Island, such as attendance at a monthly program directors meeting and submission of monthly reports to the institution. With only two staff members, attendance at a meeting (particularly at Deer Island) or preparation of an additional monthly report can effectively reduce the manpower assigned to client service by 50 per cent for as long as it takes one person to complete the activity.

Being "over-meetinged" or "over-reported" is indeed a danger which a small program like BOSP must guard against. Observation of program activities by study staff during the period of this study, however, did not indicate that the demands placed on BOSP at present are unreasonable, although for the period during which BOSP operated with only one staff member, that staff person certainly was kept very busy--too busy. With two workers, though, and a reasonable degree of cooperation with Deer Island's administration (particularly with regard to the format of the monthly report), BOSP should be able to avoid this problem of over-administration. Of course, supervision of the BOSP community workers by MHHI personnel (described supra) is also time consuming--but it is necessary. Likewise, periodic reporting to and meeting with funding agencies, if not overdone, is also necessary. Of course, those agencies should take care to ensure that they do not overburden a two-person program with excessive administrative demands.

Inter-Agency Contacts

This section will briefly catalogue the principal contacts which BOSP has with other related agencies.

Deer Island Prison, of course, is the principal source of client intake for BOSP, and BOSP's on-Island activities have been discussed at several points in this report. In addition, BOSP accepts referrals from other agencies working with Deer Island ex-offenders. Primary among them are the Roxbury Multi-Service Center and the Self-Development Group.

RMSC, whose community corrections program is analyzed extensively in this report, serves its clients both before and after release, providing them with personal and job counseling and in some cases minimal financial assistance. RMSC often refers clients to BOSP for assistance with financial aid and further job referrals; for example, during the Cohort II year, 27 of CCP's 64 clients (42.2 per cent) were referred to BOSP. Of this group, 15 (10 per cent of BOSP's clientele and 23 per cent of CCP's) received financial aid from both agencies, although probably not at the same time. There is nothing to indicate that any of these clients received double compensation, but the extent of the overlap does show clearly the

need for communication between the two programs. By all indications, this communication does occur and is adequate for the purposes of each agency. From time to time, BOSP has referred appropriate clients to RMSC in a case in which that agency might better be able to provide more intensive and longer term counseling.

In general, BOSP is willing to use its financial and counseling resources in a way that conforms to the program design of a referring agency. For example, the Center for Attitude Change, one of the drug programs with which BOSP has a significant amount of referral contact, prohibits employment or welfare collection during the first month of its intensive day treatment program. So, although work and public assistance are ordinarily requirements that accompany BOSP's cash grants, the program has in this case adapted its service to the other program and provides only financial assistance to CAC clients.

At the other conceptual end of the BOSP treatment process, the agency depends heavily on other social service agents to assist in job placement and other aspects of client reintegration. One of the most frequently used job referral agencies is the Massachusetts Department of Employment Security, and in particular the Law Offenders Services Project of DES. Unfortunately, this specialized program is apparently at the end of its funding, thus eliminating a very valuable source of job development for BOSP.

Another agency almost always used is, of course, the Department of Public Welfare. Each client is advised to apply for welfare, if need be assisted in his application, and when necessary represented by BOSP in negotiations with the Welfare Department. BOSP also calls DPW to ensure that clients have indeed applied for welfare.

In its search for housing, BOSP most frequently turns to the Correctional Assistance Program of the Boston YMCA, located near the BOSP offices, where rooms can be rented for \$28 a week. On occasion, BOSP has even accepted appropriate referrals from CAP.

A special relationship between BOSP and Project Overcome, a post-release drug-oriented residential program run by MHHI, was developed in March, 1972. The plan was that BOSP, using Project Overcome funds, would take on Overcome clients during their first month of involvement, which it had been determined was an extremely vulnerable time during which many clients dropped out from Project Overcome. By distributing money to new Overcome residents immediately upon entry in the program, and maintaining contact with them in the same manner that BOSP deals with its other clients, it was hypothesized that BOSP's double coverage of these clients during this period would encourage them not to drop out. Until recently, however, the Project Overcome counselors apparently were not sending their clients to BOSP for some reason. BOSP and MHHI staff anticipate, however, the revival of this program as another BOSP joint venture.

Relations With Funding Agencies

As with the other projects surveyed in this study, BOSP reported frustrating delays and difficulties in the completion of grant documents and contracts with their funding agency, the Mayor's Safe Streets Act Advisory Committee. After BOSP's original contract expired in June, 1973, for example, it was not formally replaced with another until the end of November. During this time, MHHI reports, BOSP was almost forced to close. Fortunately, however, these fiscal difficulties, while frustrating to MHHI, the parent agency, have not seemed to affect BOSP's operation significantly.

As noted in other program analyses in this report, it is difficult to pin down the reasons for these chronic delays and confusions in funding arrangements. Happily, though, as BOSP and other agencies reported, the situation appears to be improving significantly. Nevertheless, it still appears that the process is far from a perfect one. As MSSAAC certainly realizes, every effort should be bent to eliminating these chronic delays, as they only introduce needless time delays, personal resource misallocations, and animosity.

THE CLASSIFICATION PROJECT AT CHARLES STREET JAIL

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The Classification Project at the Suffolk County (Charles Street) Jail began operation in June, 1973, under the administration of the Suffolk County Sheriff and with the support of a grant through the Mayor's Safe Streets Act Advisory Committee. The Project has a staff of 11 and an annual budget of approximately \$145,000. Its two basic goals are (1) to provide basic contact services to the inmates and (2) to (thereby) reduce the level of tension in the institution.

A third major goal of the Project, although unstated in any document, appears to be the reduction of the size of the jail population by diversion of inmates from the Jail to community-based programs whenever possible, or by assisting the inmates in raising bail so that they can be released. In interviews, this goal appeared to be quite important, and not only because of its relation to the long-term goal of tension reduction within the institution. Thus, the motivations behind this goal, like the others, are both humanistic and practical.

The name of this project is misleading. No one is, as a matter of course, classified by the Project staff. In fact, there is no guarantee that each inmate in the institution will even come into contact with the Project, since it is run on a voluntary participation basis.

The services which the Classification Project provides for inmates fall into three broad categories--counseling, mental

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health aid, and legal help.

The first category includes general counseling and practical assistance. This means, among other things, making telephone calls for the inmate. The counselors of the Classification Project also attempt to deal with the inmate's problems, whatever they may be, by referral to other agencies, such as drug treatment or job development agencies in his community. When the inmate's problems appear to be primarily emotional in nature and beyond the capability of the counselor, he is referred to the mental health unit of the Classification Project.

The mental health services unit of the Project comprises the second broad type of service which is delivered to inmates. The mental health staff acquires clients by referral from the counselors, by voluntary appearance by the inmates, or in some cases by referral from officers. They then attempt to deal with the mental health problems of the inmate through counseling, such therapy as may be appropriate, or in extreme cases transfer to other facilities.

The Classification Project also provides certain "legal education and advocacy" services to inmates. These primary consist of explaining court processes to the inmate and filing due process petitions to advance the consideration of inmates' cases in court.

In addition to these basic functions, the staff of the Classification Project fill other administrative needs of the institution. For example, the community-based service programs which deal with clients in jail coordinate their access to inmates through the Classification Project. From time to time, background reports on inmates are produced by Classification staff at the request of a judge. In addition, Classification organizes and administers the first orientation interview which each inmate (with some exceptions) receives upon initial commitment to the Jail. One Classification staff member also takes applications for sentenced-inmate furloughs and presents them to the Furlough Board. Sometimes staff members serve on internal disciplinary boards.

There are a number of ancillary activities which the Classification Project has also been committed to performing, but for one reason or another has never achieved to any significant degree. These include: staff training in basic mental health techniques for the officers in the institution;

assessment of potential custodial employees for their psychological suitability; improvement of information collection and analysis within the Jail; and psychological testing of the inmates to determine their capacities for education or employment, or their psychological needs.

Stated Goals and Objectives: A Preview and Summary

The 1973 grant renewal application for the Classification Project lists twelve "goals and objectives," in fact a mixture of goals, objectives, and functions. They are:

Goals and objectives for the institution

1. Assistance in smoother functioning of the Jail by screening out men who should not be here, identifying and detoxifying drug and alcohol addicts, preventing psychiatric symptoms whenever possible, dealing with crisis situations as they arise, and consulting with Jail staff whenever requested.
2. Establishment of a range of realistic human services in the Jail.
3. Reduction of tension in the Jail through solving problems that are irritants and consulting in human relations.
4. Improving the flow of information in the Jail and gathering data for Jail planning.

Goals and objectives for Jail residents

1. Providing information to residents so that they can make decisions about how to conduct themselves in jail and in the criminal justice process.
2. Referral of residents to appropriate resources in the Jail and community, including advocacy when necessary.
3. Providing assistance to residents in crisis; and providing the opportunity for counseling in personal growth and lifestyle change for those who want it.
4. Assistance to residents in maintaining maximum possible contact with the community.

Goals and objectives for the criminal justice system

1. Provision of up-to-date information about Jail residents to the courts for use in making diversion and sentencing decisions.
2. Linking of various components of the criminal justice system--police (rarely), courts, prosecution and defense counsel, corrections and parole--as they affect individuals.
3. Collection of appropriate data about the flow of men through the system for evaluation and planning.
4. Demonstration of the feasibility of program construction that meets the needs and attains the objectives listed above; consultation to other jails striving to meet similar needs and attain similar goals.

It may be helpful to consider the Project operations relating to each of these objectives in turn, in order both to introduce the reader to the Project and its functions and to give a summary report.

"Assistance in smoother functioning of the Jail by screening out men who should not be here, identifying and detoxifying drug and alcohol addicts, preventing psychiatric symptoms whenever possible, dealing with crisis situations as they arise, and consulting with Jail staff whenever requested."

This objective is a mixture of the several and various contact services provided to inmates in the Jail--plus a general reference to institutional consultation. Successfully accomplished, each of them should have the effect of "assisting in smoother functioning of the Jail."

The objective of screening out inmates who should not be in the Jail is extremely limited, since the Classification Project can have little direct impact on an inmate's detention status. By helping the inmate get in contact with bail sources outside the institution, the Bail Appeal Project, or other agencies likely to aid him in hastening his release (perhaps by accepting him as a pre-trial diversion client), the Project does facilitate the removal of those men who can achieve release through one of these means. Operationally, Classification does not attempt to distinguish between men who "should not be here" and those who should, but merely assists all the inmates in their efforts to get out.

There are two minor exceptions to the above statement, each of which concerns a specific, limited subset of the Jail population. They are: the ability of the psychiatrist in the mental health unit to initiate transfers for severely disordered inmates to Bridgewater or other mental health institutions; and the contribution which Classification staff members make to the furlough decision for sentenced inmates.

The Classification Project does identify and aid in the detoxification of drug addicts, as described in the mental health unit discussion below. They have met with significant success in this endeavor, although

(as noted in the discussion) further improvements could be made. The Project also functions as the central liaison agent for the numerous community-based addiction treatment programs, scheduling their visits to the institution and referring inmates to them. Some 163 inmates were referred to drug addiction treatment programs during the first half of 1974, according to the Classification Project's quarterly reports.

Alcoholics, of whom there are relatively few in the Jail, may be counseled by the psychiatric workers of the Classification Project or referred to alcoholism control programs. During the second quarter of 1974, no more than four inmates were referred to alcoholism treatment programs.

The work of the mental health unit of the Classification Project includes both informal and more structured therapy, designed to deal with chronic psychiatric problems in inmates and to reduce the anxiety brought on by crisis situations as well. This function is described in more detail below.

Consulting with Jail staff is an activity which undoubtedly occurs, since the Classification Project is located within and dependent upon the Charles Street Jail. In particular, Project staff discuss the emotional and personal problems of individual inmates with correction officers if special "handling" seems appropriate; two-thirds of the officers surveyed (albeit a small and possibly biased group) agreed, however, that this happens "almost never." In the context of the goals statement, however, "consultation" refers to two kinds of assistance described elsewhere in the grant application. One, rather generally defined, refers to suggestions for the "general improvement of mental health in the jail." In practice, this kind of suggestion has been limited to ideas for further development of the Classification Project (e.g., methadone detoxification). The other kind of consultation implied is pre-employment screening of applicants for custodial employment and tier officer assignment in the Jail. There is no indication that the latter kind of consultation has occurred.

"Establishment of a range of realistic human services in the Jail."

This is a statement of one of the long-range goals of the Classification Project, as noted above.

"Reduction of tension in the Jail through solving problems that are irritants and consulting in human relations."

This is a restatement of the second primary goal of the Classification Project, along with two of the general intermediate objectives intended to attain this goal. One of the intermediate objectives, dealing with problems of the inmates, has been, in general, accomplished; the other, consultation, has not.

"Improving the flow of information in the Jail and gathering data for Jail planning."

This objective is a reference to the "correctional improvement program" element of the Classification Project proposed in the grant renewal application. The plan therein was to develop a composite statistical data base on the Charles Street Jail population, in order to supply the information necessary for future planning. This has not been done, probably because the additional staff members requested to accomplish this program have not materialized.

"Providing information to residents so that they can make decisions about how to conduct themselves in jail and in the criminal justice process."

The information dissemination function of the Classification Project involves primarily three of its major activities: the orientation session, initial interviews, and the legal education and advocacy counseling. Each of these is a valuable service to the inmates. Each is discussed *infra*.

"Referral of residents to appropriate resources in the Jail and Community, including advocacy when necessary."

The advocacy and counseling functions of the Classification Project are designed, among other things, to achieve appropriate referrals of inmates to service agencies. As noted in the discussion of advocacy and counseling, numerous referrals and substantial practical assistance in the nature of "advocacy" is accomplished.

"Providing assistance to residents in crisis; and providing the opportunity for counseling in personal growth and lifestyle change for those who want it."

The objective here is directly to create change in inmates. The means of doing this include the activities of the mental health unit, the *ad hoc* counseling efforts of the front-line Classification counselors, and the group counseling sessions which are held in the Project. While the success of such activities is almost always impossible to gauge, it appears that attitude intervention as attempted by the Classification Project is of the same general order as most such counseling.

"Assistance to residents in maintaining maximum possible contact with the community."

The "advocacy" and general practical assistance offered by the Classification counselors has the effect of maintaining the inmates' ties to the outside, inasmuch as possible. This is clearly an essential function.

"Provision of up-to-date information about Jail residents to the courts for use in making diversion and sentencing decisions."

The grant renewal application plans for the provision of pre-sentence reports on request to Suffolk County judges, in order to aid them in making sentences and granting pre-trial diversion. As with the correctional improvements component of the Project, the lack of anticipated additional staff has apparently hampered this effort. During the first six months of 1974, only one pre-sentence report was prepared; however, some 79 mental health and drug evaluations were submitted by the mental health unit of the Project.

"Linking of various components of the criminal justice system--police (rarely), courts, prosecution and defense counsel, corrections and parole --as they affect individuals."

In Classification Project terminology, component linkage apparently means the willing intervention of Classification counselors with other criminal justice agencies, when such contacts appear to be necessary for the inmate to deal with his immediate problems. This occurs in the course of inmate counseling, advocacy, and legal advocacy.

"Collection of appropriate data about the flow of men through the system for evaluation and planning."

This objective seems redundant with the fourth one in this list, above.

"Demonstration of the feasibility of program construction that meets the needs and attains the objectives listed above; consultation to other jails striving to meet similar needs and attain similar goals."

The thrust of this statement is to set up as an objective of the program the communication of transferable learning to other jails. Along this line, there has been communication between Classification and parallel programs in Middlesex County and New York City.

The Reduction of Tension

As noted in the introduction, the Classification Project has two discernable broad long-range goals. One, the provision of a range of human services to inmates in the Jail, can be examined in some detail and judged piece by piece. The bulk of this report does that.

The other major goal, one among numerous goals in the written grant application and other documents but primary among the articulated goals of staff members, is the reduction of tension within the institution. It is difficult to evaluate the extent to which this Project or any causal factor has resulted in a reduction of tension within Charles Street Jail,

because of a lack of a "base line" for comparison; but there are scattered indications that the Classification Project, in concert with a number of other changes, has effectively reduced the level of tension among inmates in the institution. For example, jail correction officers were asked in the survey conducted by this study whether the inmates had changed during their tenure. Of the 18 respondents, 8 reported that the prisoners had gotten better behaved, less tense, or less hostile during their experience; only one officer reported things having gotten worse, and he had been at the Jail for over 10 years. One officer in informal conversation with a study staff member paid high compliment to the Classification Project when he opined that the November, 1972, jail riot could have been averted had the Project then been functioning at Charles Street Jail.

The relative contribution of Classification to this reduction is impossible to estimate, since the effects of such factors as the extensive physical repairs which have been made to the building, the marked reduction in the population (the "count"), the accomplishments of the Bail Appeal Project, the liberalization of visitor privileges, and similar innovations made both as a result of the Garrity federal court decision and on the initiative of the Sheriff are impossible to factor separately.

OPERATIONS

Physical Operations

The literal physical operation of the Classification Project consists mostly of meeting with inmates in the Project offices.

There are several ways in which inmates come into contact with the Project. One, the initial orientation session for all new inmates conducted by the Classification Project, is unique in that it routinely involves all inmates whether or not anyone perceives them to have a particular need for Classification services. The other means of client intake to the Project are all referrals of individuals who appear to someone to have a problem. The sources of these referrals are the inmate himself, requesting consultation at orientation, at screening (q.v.), or through a tier officer; other inmates, who sometimes ask counselors to see fellow prisoners; officers, who may observe tense or abnormal behavior in an inmate*; specifically, the booking officer, who sees all new commitments to the Jail and fills out a "mental health screen" card on each; a staff member of the Bail Appeal Project; a member of the Jail medical staff; an inmate's attorney; the court hearing an inmate's case; or a Probation or Parole Officer.

Most of these sources of client referral provide some advance indication of the nature of the inmate's problem. When possible, that information is used to channel the inmate to the most appropriate staff member. Inmates

*83% of the officers surveyed reported having referred inmates to the Project.

whose problems are primarily emotional are seen by the mental health sub-unit of the Project--the mental health counselor, psychiatric nurse, or consulting psychiatrists. Spanish-speaking clients are seen by the one bilingual counselor. Prisoners who seem to need explanation of the court processing of their cases or perhaps a new petition filed are directed to the legal counselor.

Only when the inmate appears to be in an extremely agitated emotional state will he be seen against his will; otherwise, the Classification Project is run on an entirely voluntary basis. This policy is seen by Classification as implicit in the detention inmate's legal status. He has not been convicted of a crime and is ostensibly being detained only to assure his appearance at trial; so, arguably, the only incursions on his individual liberty justified in that pursuit are those necessary to keep him confined and safe.

In most cases, the inmates attain access to the Classification Project's offices through a pass system. As the system presently operates, inmates are given slips of paper which specify times during which they are permitted to visit the Classification offices. This mechanism, which represents the latest in an evolutionary series of pass systems, still apparently does not prevent inmates from clustering around the offices of the Project. This tendency of the inmates to congregate at the Classification Project may be a substantial factor in the officers' perception of the Classification Project as a "security risk."

The perception of the Project as a security risk is exacerbated by the physical location of the offices, which are rather remote from the tiers. The office space, formerly occupied by the Jail hospital, is certainly adequate for the Project's purposes--even though four of the offices are in unused cells--but the location does present a problem of controlling inmate travel and maintaining accountability to the officers, who are in turn responsible for security. The chief security risk here is probably not escape but hostile actions by inmates directed toward Project staff or each other in the offices.

A location adjacent to the population flats would allay the legitimate fears of the custody staff and make them less uneasy about the Project, decrease the risk to Project staff, and make the whole Project more accessible to the clients, probably in both actual and psychological terms. Unfortunately, no such space appears to be available at present. Any planning for future construction or remodeling should take these considerations into account, however. In the interim, stationing of a correction officer in the office during consultation hours should be considered.

Access to Inmates

Inmates may visit the offices of the Classification Project for some four and a half hours each day, between the hours of 9:00 and 10:45 a.m. and between noon and 3:45 p.m. The noon to 1:00 period is a recent extension granted the Classification Project by the administration of the Jail.

Despite this concession, the amount of time each day during which the Classification Project's counselors may deal directly with inmates--and this is the most critical part of their function--is severely limited. Even though the Classification Project staff members may go from their offices to the population cells in the Jail during other periods, this is seldom done. The staff members feel that the high noise level on the tiers, the eagerness of inmates in adjoining cells to join the conversation and demand attention from the counselors, and the lack of immediate access to files and telephones on the tiers makes this form of inmate contact unproductive except for emergency situations. In a very few emergency situations, inmates have been brought from their cells during normal lock-up hours to speak with counselors, attorneys, or doctors.

In general, however, it appears that neither the inmates nor the counselors are able to make productive use of much of the work day. If there were a strong and meaningful program of case conferences or staff training within the Project, the remainder of the counselor's days might be better occupied. Regardless of the mode of operation of the Project, it would probably still be true that increased inmate contact during the day would be one of the single most significant improvements which the Classification Project could make in its operation.

The obstacles to increased inmate contact are serious. The present meal schedule, which accounts for much of the non-contact time, is arranged so that day shift correction officers can supervise all three meals; this means that the other two shifts of officers need only oversee lock-up hours and can thus be manned by skeleton crews. In past union negotiations, the Sheriff reportedly suggested longer work days and a shortened work week for correction officers so that meals for the inmates could be scheduled at more normal times. An additional benefit of this change would be to enable the time of the Classification Project counselors to be more productively used in increased inmate contact.

Orientation Sessions

An important function of the Classification Project at Charles Street Jail is to manage the orientation session presented for new inmates at the Jail. These sessions are held at approximately 9 a.m. every week day and include presentations by a member of the Classification Project staff, an inmate, and an officer. The presentations are coordinated by the Classification Project and occur in their meeting area. Project staff are assigned to orientation on a rotating schedule.

Normally, an inmate, a correctional officer, and a member of the Classification Project staff each speak at the orientation session, but some meetings have been held without inmate representatives. While the major role at the session is played by the Classification Project staff member, the inmate and officer both speak briefly to the new inmates. At a recent session, the correction officer speaking explained the officer-inmate relationship as follows: "Everyone (guards) here is young. You treat them fairly, they'll give you a square deal, they'll treat you fairly, they'll bend over backwards to help you out. If you need a dime for an

important phone call, ask the tier officers. You fuck them (guards), you'll end up in solitary. It's as simple as that."

The Classification Project staff member followed this talk with a straightforward presentation of the services available to inmates at the Jail, laying particular stress on the importance of appealing one's bail immediately through the Bail Appeal Project if possible. The staff member then mentioned at least the following as services available: within the Classification Project, legal information, personal counseling, advocacy, and outside information; the medical clinic; drug rehabilitation groups; the education program (leading to the GED certificate); the job placement representatives of the Veterans Administration and the State Division of Employment Security. The staff member then went on to emphasize the voluntary nature of participation in each of these activities.

After the introductory talks, inmates are reminded of the existence and function of the Classification Project and asked to remain in the Project offices if they feel that they need to take advantage of the services of the Project. Those inmates who remain after the orientation session fill out "screening slips" indicating the nature of their perceived problem. In some cases, immediate attention to the inmate's problems results, but it is more often the case that the inmate is called back during regular consultation hours to speak with a counselor.

Attendance at the orientation session is voluntary on the part of the inmates. Those who have been to Charles Street Jail before or who are simply uninterested in attending are not coerced. Some new inmates probably think they will be bailed out shortly and thus do not see a need. Some, having been committed over a weekend, may feel that they have learned what they need to know by word-of-mouth. In addition, it is possible that officers might not inform every new inmate of the opportunity to attend orientation sessions, either because the officer thinks the inmate does not need orientation or simply due to neglect.

The net result is that, of the Jail population as of August, 1974, 22% reported never having had an orientation interview, and an additional 5% could not remember whether they had had one or not.

Of those who attended the orientation session, 65% could remember who the speakers were, and 51.4% found the orientation interview helpful. Of those who were not pleased with the orientation interview, approximately 45% said that they already knew what they were told at the interview; thus, perhaps two-thirds of those who felt they had anything to learn were by their perception helped by the orientation interview. Within the generally negative context of the institution and in view of the other generally negative responses which the survey elicited, this is a fair rating.

Since most of those who attend the orientation sessions do find them helpful and many later go on to use other services of the Classification Project and by a substantial majority find them helpful, it is important to emphasize the orientation sessions so that as many inmates as possible are given this introduction to the institution and to the Classification Project.

While within the context of a detention institution, wherein none of the inmates have been convicted, one is in general reluctant to mandate participation in activities, certain and numerous specific requirements and standards of conduct are enforced upon the inmates. Attendance at this orientation session will benefit the average inmate; broad attendance will benefit the inmates in the aggregate by eventually reducing the population, alleviating tension in the Jail, and so forth. Thus, it makes sense to make orientation mandatory.

It also makes sense to re-examine the scheduling of the sessions to see if the immediacy and usefulness of the orientation might be enhanced. No orientation sessions occur over weekends, when significant numbers of inmates are committed to the Jail. It is not clear whether, in view of the officer staffing patterns on weekends, weekend orientation sessions would be possible. If they were, a single orientation session each weekend should suffice to make contact with nearly all of the inmates who were brought into the institution within twenty-four hours of their commitment. The assignment of Classification staff could be rotated as it now is for the weekday orientation sessions.

It has been suggested by members of the Classification staff that the hour at which orientation sessions are held should be changed. The rationale for this proposed change is that most commitments to the institution come in the afternoon and early evening hours, and thus the orientation session could reach the greatest number of inmates most quickly after their commitment if it were to plan its orientation sessions for, perhaps, 6:00 p.m. Whether conducting an orientation session for inmates as soon as possible after their commitment is desirable or whether it might be better to wait until the morning after their initial commitment is arguable. What is clearly important is maximizing the proportion of inmates who attend orientation sessions. In order to do this, Classification Project staff should consider experimenting with different hours for the session, and settling upon one which attracts the greatest number of inmates.

Screening

The Project's intake procedure is simple. During weekday morning exercise periods, a Project staff member sits or stands among the main Jail population for 30 to 45 minutes with a handful of "screening slips," recording the name of each inmate who would like to see a counselor, the general nature of his problem, and the name of the counselor (if any) the inmate would like to see. Again, the intake process is a voluntary one, depending on the inmates who come forward with their concerns and approach the Project for help. The staff member who is performing the "screening" does not introduce himself to inmates but is announced to the inmates by an officer using a bullhorn.

Residents of the Jail annex, a somewhat lower security area of the Jail initially constructed for women inmates, who desire Project assistance may, during an outdoor exercise period, visit the main Jail to see the screener. On days without outdoor exercise, the screener visits the annex

briefly during the morning exercise time. The responsibility for screening, like orientation, rotates among the Classification staff.

Generally, the screening staff member accepts requests for service from most inmates who come forward. Some inmates are "screened out"--not seen by counselors--if they present requests to make unnecessary telephone calls when pay telephones are available, or repeated non-specific requests designed simply to gain access to Project offices. If the nature of an inmate's request makes it desirable for him to be seen by a particular staff member, the screener will direct the slip to the appropriate counselor.

Initial Interviews

Although there is no set format for an initial interview by a Classification counselor, observation of several counselor-client interviews suggests a number of questions that are commonly raised at initial interviews. The questions are generally asked and answered, and the interview concluded before any of the information is written down on the initial interview form. It is not infrequent that the form is not used at all.

To begin with the counselor inquires into the "vital statistics" of the inmate (if this information has not yet been obtained from a "booking card"): his age, the charge for which he is detained, his bail, the court in which he was arraigned, his trial date. The counselor then inquires about the progress of the inmate's case, asking who the inmate's attorney is, how often the inmate has spoken with him, when he last spoke to his attorney, and in general how the inmate sees his prospects for success in court. Further legal complications are then explored: whether or not the inmate has a warrant or default outstanding, whether or not parole or probation revocation is likely, the general extent of the inmate's criminal record. The counselor also inquires into the inmate's possibilities for release through making bail or achieving a bail reduction on appeal. Practical problems encountered by the client while in jail in his relationships with other inmates or guards are also explored.

Any problems with the inmate's family or home situation while he is in jail are sought out. For example, the counselor asks about visits that the inmate has had since he has been in, and whether or not the inmate's family is in particular financial difficulty because of his incarceration. If the inmate was in fact the sole source of income for his family, the counselor may attempt to contact the Welfare Department to elicit some financial support for the family. In addition, the counselor may contact the inmate's employer, if necessary. Family or friends might be contacted about providing clothes, money, or other personal essentials to the inmate for the duration of his incarceration. If the inmate has a medical problem, the counselor will intervene with the Jail medical clinic to obtain the necessary treatment or prescriptions.

Inquiries are also made into the inmate's drug use experience. If the inmate has used drugs or alcohol to excess, his past, present, and potential participation in treatment programs is explored. Appropriate medication can be prescribed by the consulting psychiatrist or Jail

doctor for hard drug addicts experiencing withdrawal.

In combination with the above inquiries, the counselor attempts to gauge the inmate's mental condition by observation and by questions such as: "Are you nervous?"; "Have you been able to sleep since you've been here at the Jail?"; "Have you ever been committed to a mental institution?"; and "Have you ever seen a psychiatrist or a clinical psychologist?"

ACTIVITIES

Counseling and Advocacy

Other than the "mental health" counseling, which is directed specifically at dealing with abnormal emotional problems of inmates, most of the counseling which takes place appears in the Classification Project to be of a fairly mundane variety. Much of it might be called inmate assistance or advocacy rather than counseling. This type of activity includes such things as finding out when the inmate's next court appearance is; calling Mass Defenders to find out who his lawyer is; contacting his Probation or Parole Officer to let him know that the client has been rearrested; calling his friends and family to get them to raise funds for the inmate's bail; calling his employer and trying to keep the client from losing his job; making sure that the inmate can get needed medical care; and numerous other varieties of practical intervention of a similar nature. This activity in support of the men at Charles Street Jail is clearly essential, for more than one reason.

It addresses the critical primary concerns of the incarcerated defendant, relating immediately to his detention and how he can end it, and to his court case. Basic humanitarianism supports the provision of an effective conduit for communications with the outside. In a sense, the Classification Project is one way of alleviating the conditions of confinement in the Jail which the Garrity decision found unconstitutional. And it is at least arguable that guaranteeing such basic services to inmates may enable some to help themselves change their lives in some way that will reduce their likelihood of rearrest.

On another level than this practical inmate assistance, Classification counseling may involve reassurance and advice, or simply the provision of a sympathetic listener, for a tense inmate. The experience of being arrested and charged with a crime leaves one feeling bitter and helpless, even if it has happened before. And this feeling leads to generalized anxiety and a certain amount of (perhaps justifiable) paranoia. Just having someone other than the jailkeepers sit down with the inmate, listen to his problems, and offer some words of encouragement or comment, can be a valuable activity.

In addition to talking out the inmate's concerns, the counselor can, if he is trained and capable, make a judgment about the inmate's need for more intensive therapeutic consultation. Here, training and ongoing

supervision of the counselors are essential. They cannot perform this screening function unless they know how to identify symptoms.

Another aspect of the counseling function of the Classification Project is the marshalling of other available services for the inmate. Commonly, this means "referral"--making the connection between the inmate with a particular need and an outside program which can meet that need. To do this, the counselor needs an understanding of the inmate's problems, some idea of the past history of treatment efforts with this individual, and a knowledge of the resources available. To develop this history, he may call all the agencies with which the inmate reports having had contact and talk to staff members who have seen the inmate. He should try to find out what was done for the man, how the services were received, and what assessment of the inmate's problems was made. Knowing about the available resources in the community as well as in the Jail (and other institutions to which the inmate might be sent) requires some continuing means of monitoring local service agency developments. Here again, the role of the staff supervisor or trainer is critical. He must bring together as much information as he can about the programs available, their ground rules and eligibility criteria, and, if possible, judgments about their efficacy with different types of clients.

Classification counselors use a relatively wide variety of referral resources, as evidenced by the exhaustive listings endemic of their quarterly reports. By acting as the coordinating agent for all these treatment programs at Charles Street Jail, the Project can keep informed about their operations. In addition, as the grant renewal application for 1973 alludes, the Project ought to attempt to make some evaluation in a regular manner, however crude, of the usefulness of each of the relevant programs. It will do no good to place an inmate in an "empty" program; and as the central agent for program access to inmates at the Jail, the Classification Project should be obligated to conduct some minimal amount of program review. The degree to which this is now done was not determined by evaluation staff.

In general, the assistance or comfort which a counselor can provide to an inmate varies. In one case, an inmate complained about the extended lock-up periods at Charles Street and was told, "This is the way we do it at Charles Street Jail and since you're here, you'll have to follow these rules."

A recurrent complaint of inmates, about which the Classification counselors can do little, centers around their relationships with officers. Reports from inmates, confirmed by others, indicated that beatings of inmates by officers do occur from time to time. The Classification Project staff feel constrained in intervening after a beating or a fight between officers and inmates for fear of losing the cooperation which they now receive from the officers of the Jail. The responses of the officers at Charles Street to the study questionnaire confirm implicitly that fights or disturbances between inmates and officers do occur and explicitly that the Classification Project staff do not attempt to intervene. In response to the question, "After fights between officers and inmates, has the Classification Project staff ever tried to interfere?" 18 officers

responded "no," 2 "yes," while only 5 did not respond. Thus, 80% of the officers implicitly admitted that fights and disturbances occur, and 90% of those stated that Classification did not attempt to interfere.

The inmate survey conducted in conjunction with this study asked several questions about client perceptions of the usefulness of counseling services. When asked for an overall impression of this Project, 46.9% were generally positive and 13.6% negative. A large group did not offer an opinion. This reluctance to speak is reflected in responses to other questions on the survey as well, and appears to be a generalized characteristic of the inmate population at Charles Street. Of those respondents who reported using the Project's services (48), four-fifths said that the Project had been helpful to them, and 14% claimed to have gotten no help. Less than a tenth of those responding to another question showed a distrust of Classification counselors, and yet each of the distrustful also reported that the program had been helpful.

The survey also measured the level of Project use and found that almost half of those questioned spend a rather short time (a half hour or less) each week at the Project. The next largest group, however, some 18.9%, claimed to spend more than two hours a week at Classification. Of those spending more than two hours a week, half reported drug problems, a fifth an alcohol problem, and a tenth another medical problem.

In general, the responses to the inmate survey give a picture in which many inmates are non-responsive--apparently either not in need of the Project's services, not satisfied with it or simply uninterested. Those inmates who have had contact with Classification generally seem to feel better for it.

Legal Education and Counseling

All Classification staff members, except the physicians and nurses, perform "due process education," a great deal of which consists of explaining the machinations of the criminal justice system to inmates. What does it mean to be arrested? Charged? Arraigned? Indicted, or bound over, or "jurisdiction declined"? How long will it take if I go to trial? How can I get my bail reduced? How do you clear up an outstanding warrant? A parole or probation violation? When can I appeal? What are my rights to petition? All these questions can be answered for the inmate by Classification.

One staff member, the Counselor/Legal Consultant, has a special responsibility for legal counseling and advocacy and operates essentially as a separate sub-unit of the Project. The present holder of this position has a law degree, although he is not a practicing lawyer.

The chief responsibility of the legal counselor is to help inmates file due process petitions to advance the consideration of their cases in court. These fairly routine applications, which can be made without a court appearance or the intervention of counsel, typically include:

- . petitions for prompt trial or disposition
- . petitions to reduce the bail set to a lower amount, release on recognizance, or some sort of supervised release (court hearings on these petitions are handled by Bail Appeal)
- . petitions for release
- . petitions for the production of official records
- . petitions to request a drug addiction examination
- . motions to withdraw an appeal
- . habeas corpus petitions to remove the case to Superior Court
- . habeas to remove defaults
- . habeas to appoint or change counsel
- . habeas to change the place of incarceration

The Classification Project legal counselor has developed forms for most of these purposes.

While the legal counselor may suggest and even try to arrange pre-trial diversion to, for example, a drug treatment program, he avoids getting involved in the personal and emotional problems of the inmates in the way the personal counselors do. He also refrains from dealing with the specific facts of the inmate's case or the strategies that the defense might pursue, leaving these to the inmate and his in-court attorney.

In general, the legal counselor must tread a fine line between the Bail Appeal Project and the inmates' in-court lawyers to avoid encroaching on one of the others' responsibilities. Apparently, he has been able to do this. Presumably, one of the chief reasons for the Classification counselor's acceptability to the other legal agencies is their own perception of themselves as limited to certain activities, either because of large case-loads (e.g., the public defender agencies) or because of their limited mandate (the Bail Appeal Project). Apparently, much of what the legal counselor does simply would not be done were he not available.

In practice, then, a workable division of responsibilities seems to have been achieved between Classification, Bail Appeal, and Mass Defenders. This does not mean that the present arrangement is optimal, however. There is certainly some duplication of effort and overlapping of services between Classification and Bail Appeal--viz. the fact that Bail Appeal handles the same sorts of petitions as Classification for inmates who happen to come to them first. There is also a significant amount of enforced idle time on the part of the Bail Appeal attorneys due to the manner in which the courts schedule bail appeals. And there may be time delays inflicted on inmates as they are referred back and forth between the agencies.

It does not appear to be a practical response to this misallocation of legal resources to propose a single legal service organization. The only one of the three agencies involved who could logically fill that consolidated role is the public defender agency; but to merge the jail-based services into Mass Defenders would sacrifice the special institutional responsibility which has directed the efforts of these programs. They are jail-based, jail-oriented, and jail-responsible. They are always available to the inmates. Their record, from the Jail's point of view, is good. Were the legal services within the Jail to be provided by Mass Defenders, the same level of commitment could not be guaranteed--not because Mass Defenders do not have the interests of their clients at heart, but rather because they have so many more clients to serve and so many more different demands on their time.

What does make sense is to combine in some fashion the legal services component of the Classification Project with the Bail Appeal Project. In the first place, this would obviate the potential for friction between the projects because of overlapping services. It would eliminate the duplication of effort and time delay incumbent in the present system. And it would permit a more efficient use of the time of the Bail Appeal attorneys. It is likely that the same range of services could then be delivered to the inmates with a reduction in the total legal services staff at the Jail.

The smoothest means of transition to a unified delivery of legal services within the Jail is probably to transfer the Classification legal counselor to the Bail Appeal staff, have him continue to provide the same services he now does, and permit Bail Appeal management over a few months' time to develop a new division of responsibilities within their staff. In all likelihood, the total staff could then be reduced by one, perhaps with the next natural termination.

Mental Health Services

The mental health unit of the Classification Project is staffed by two psychiatrists who are available part-time, one full-time psychiatric nurse, and a mental health counselor. The Project primarily provides services by interviews or short-term "crisis intervention" therapy. Medication is used in appropriate cases, particularly addict detoxification.

The task of the mental health workers in most cases is to reduce the depression and situational anxiety felt by the inmate upon his incarceration. In most cases, this anxiety appears to be diminished and the inmate's feelings of panic reduced by the mental health personnel. In some cases, however, inmates are in fact emotionally disordered and, although the consulting psychiatrists attempt to treat these inmates inasmuch as possible, psycho-pharmacological therapy and in some instances transfer to other institutions may be required. During the first half of 1974, 18 transfers to Bridgewater were recommended.

Operations. Some 15 to 20 prisoners, approximately 10% of the confined population, are seen each day by mental health workers. Usually, the exercise periods are used for this contact, but in emergency situations inmates can be called from their cells to confer with the psychiatrists or

mental health workers. In emergencies, the psychiatric nurse or psychiatrist may also go to an inmate's cell.

The most common means of intake for the mental health unit is by self-referral or by referral from Classification counselors or correction officers, followed by an office session. The other-referrals usually involve the completion of a "mental health screen" card, in addition to which one of these cards is completed for every new commitment to the Jail by the booking officer. The card notes the guard's observation of the inmate's behavior ("depressed, anxious, hostile, angry, confused, displaying strange behavior") and asks the inmate to answer the following questions:

- . Have you ever had any psychiatric treatment in the past?
- . Do you use drugs other than prescribed medication?
- . Have you ever been arrested for drunkenness?
- . Have you ever been arrested on a drug charge?
- . Have you ever attempted suicide?
- . Have you ever taken an overdose?
- . Do you ever get depressed for long periods of time?

Upon receipt of a card indicating a need for attention, the mental health counselor or psychiatric nurse interviews the inmate, and if more intensive intervention is required refers him to the psychiatric nurse or psychiatrist. This same process applies to inmates who are perceived to have a drug or alcohol problem.

Addiction Treatment. Classification staff members have estimated that about half the inmates in the Jail have drug problems. The general range of this estimate appears to be confirmed by the fact that 41% of the inmates surveyed for this study admitted a problem with drugs or alcohol.

Prior to the initiation of the Classification Project, the institutional medical staff prescribed medication for inmates undergoing drug withdrawal, but the medication used consisted only of conventional sedatives. With the initiation of the mental health unit of the Classification Project, the psychiatrists (one of whom is a specialist in addiction) are referred any non-routine cases of addict withdrawal and have worked out a revised treatment protocol for all addiction cases. Apparently, the Classification Project consulting psychiatrists are somewhat more liberal in their use of psychotropic medication. However, methadone, potentially a useful detoxification-aiding agent, is not available in Charles Street Jail. The Classification Project applied for a methadone dispensation license in 1973, but was denied, reportedly on technicalities. A 1974 re-application has been tentatively approved, conditioned on the Project's obtaining a safe for drug storage. Dispensation of methadone will apparently be managed by the present complement of psychiatric staff, with the nurse playing a key role.

In addition to detoxification, Classification also attempts to refer drug users to other treatment programs when appropriate. Several programs are regular visitors to the Jail, where their interview sessions are coordinated by Classification. Other programs are used as placements for pre-trial diversion when possible.

As of the beginning of 1974, every inmate committed to Charles Street Jail has been required, after ten days, to give a urine sample, which is tested for drug traces. The drugs used are identified, and this information is used by the Classification psychiatrists to determine the appropriate treatment, if any.

Staff Training and Responsibility. The overall Classification Project has weekly staff meetings which deal primarily with internal operations, and a meeting every other week for education and training. Within the mental health unit there is no structured formal supervision of the counselor or the psychiatric nurse, nor is there any formal supervision of the other counselors in the Classification Project with regard to their mental health referral and counseling functions.

Regular seminars and case conferences, at least within the mental health unit of the Classification Project, would add significantly to the professionalism and capabilities of Project staff. Present procedures do not provide for review of cases, nor for a great deal of training of the counselors who will be dealing with the inmates. The result is that inexperienced counselors in particular may find themselves unsure of what to do in particular situations and unable to obtain on a structured regular basis supervision from qualified professionals as to how to handle difficult cases.

Psychiatrists are present for portions of three days each week and accessible for telephone consultation at other times. Whether an increase in psychiatric coverage would be required to improve staff training is unclear, but it does appear that the present extent of psychiatric coverage is sufficient for patient care in the institution. The psychiatric care which can usefully be provided within a short-term facility such as Charles Street Jail, from which clients leave for court appearances or are released on bail or to other institutions with frequency, is very limited.

Summary. The Classification Project is not primarily a mental health project. The mental health sub-unit of the Project operates by referral from the "front line" counselors. Their training and their operational role as mental health counselors is limited.

Nor should the Classification Project be primarily a mental health project. Only a small minority of the inmates in the institution have chronic emotional problems; most are merely upset, as anyone else might be, at being incarcerated and concerned with the practical problems of raising bail and fighting their prosecution in the courts. In any event, it makes little sense to attempt to mount a full-scale mental health therapy effort within the context of a jail, from which (patients) inmates are discharged regularly and frequently and without advance notice.

Other Project Activities

In addition to the primary activities of the Classification Project --advocacy counseling, legal services, and mental health care--the Project defined for itself in its 1974 plan several ancillary activities which it hoped to take up in order to assist the Jail administration and the courts as well as acting directly for the benefit of specific inmates.

The "correctional improvement program" of the Project includes the following components, according to the 1974 grant application:

- . data collection for future planning
- . psychological screening of custodial employment applicants
- . furlough policy and administration for sentenced residents
- . program consultation upon request

The "judicial information program" adds:

- . presentence reports

And under the mental health services heading are included:

- . training of jail staff
- . provision of information to courts

Each of these is considered briefly below.

Data collection and analysis is a clear need in the Jail. Sample studies are the only presently available sources of aggregate demographic, charge, length of stay, and disposition data; and samples, frequently designed to serve particular limited purposes (e.g., the Bail Appeal Project's followup of appealed cases), cannot provide the ready base of information which planners and policy makers should have. Unfortunately, delay in the approval of the 1974 grant and contract for the Classification Project has prevented hiring of the additional staff member intended to do the bulk of the data collection work. Therefore, this planned Project activity has not taken place. It is important that someone, whether it be Classification or not, undertake this effort.

Psychological screening of custodial applicants, including particularly tier officers, could be a useful endeavor. Some threshold questions must be answered before the practice is initiated: What personality characteristics are to be screened in or out?; Why?; What tests will be used?; Are they fair and reliable?; Will those "screened out" be denied employment?; If so, has the Jail administration agreed to do that?; Do Civil Service or other laws constrain? The Classification Project should address each of these questions. To date, they have not, and apparently no screening has taken place. The delay in hiring staff may be an explanation; and yet, the "mental health screener" position is one of those now filled.

Assistance in furlough administration for sentenced inmates presently consists of the preparation of the necessary forms and the presentation of each inmate's case by the legal counselor, and the voting participation of the Project Director on the three-man furlough board. Classification's involvement with furloughs is apparently quite valuable; however, the presence of a staff member on the decision-making board does raise an issue of potential conflict of interest with the inmate advocacy function to the Project. As long as the personnel in these two functions are clearly operating independently, and as long as the Project Director does not vote on requests of clients on his own caseload, however, this problem of conflict is probably outweighed by the administrative benefits of Classification's involvement.

"Program consultation" means the communication of transferable learning from the Classification Project to similar personnel at other institutions. In view of the common lack of horizontal communication between local criminal justice (and particularly correctional) agencies, this is a particularly desirable objective. It has begun to be achieved through visits to other institutions.

Presentence reports, to be provided upon judicial request, are intended to supplement reports now prepared by the Office of Probation, and to be prepared in cooperation with that Office. Classification does accumulate a significant amount of potentially meaningful information on its clients; to the extent that reporting of that information to others can be accomplished without corrupting the quasi-professional counselor-client relationship the Project strives for, Classification could perform a valuable function. Potential users of such information include not only the courts but other facilities to which Charles Street inmates may later be committed. Unfortunately, the delay in filling the "court liaison" position has apparently kept the initial step in this reporting process, the presentence reports, from coming to fruition. Only one judicial report was prepared in the first six months of 1974.

Training of Jail staff by the mental health unit of the Project was intended to encompass a series of lectures and discussions for the institutional staff who deal with inmates. Well planned and executed, these sessions could bring a major improvement in the Project's relations with the custody staff; ensure that Classification could reach all the inmates who need attention, by bringing the officers more toward a convergence of goals with the Project; ease the workload of the Project by enabling officers to handle minor difficulties without referral; possibly, cement better relations with the custody staff by bringing an officer onto the Classification staff eventually; and generally improve the psychological climate of the Jail, in which inmate-officer confrontations do reportedly occur. Unfortunately, this program has not gotten started, reportedly because the present staffing schedules and overtime provisions for the officers do not permit them the time to attend such sessions. The cooperation of the Sheriff and the officers' union could and should be sought to enable this program to go forward--again, providing that it is well planned and carried out.

The provision of information to the courts by the mental health unit occurs when it is requested by the court or when the psychiatrist feels

that it is necessary to a full understanding of the defendant or when a transfer to another institution seems appropriate. This practice is valuable in the same ways the proposed presentence reports (discussed above) would be. Some 79 mental health and drug use reports were submitted during the first half of 1974.

For the purposes of the presentence reports and possibly the pre-employment screening of custodial staff, the Classification Project has ordered (apparently at its inception, by its first director) and obtained the following tests for personality characteristics, educational aptitude and achievement, and physical dexterity: the ETS Sequential Test of Educational Progress, a pencil maze test, the Purdue Hand Precision Test, a Hole Type Steadiness Tester, the O'Connor Finger Dexterity Test, Dvorine Pseudo-Isochromatic Plates, Model A Polygraph, electric stop clock, Primary Mental Abilities tests (grades 4-12), Vocational Planning Inventory, Kuder Preference Record, job experience kits, occupational exploration kit, Edwards Personality Inventory, Western Personality Inventory, alcoholism test, Rogers' Personal Adjustment Inventory, the HUTT test, the neuroticism scale, the Rorschach test kit, Thematic Apperception Test, Rhode Sentence Completion Test, the emergency psychotherapy kit, the Wonderlic Personnel Test, the Concept Formation Test, the Social Intelligence Test, The Culture Fair IQ test, the Psychotic Reaction Profile, The Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale, the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, the MMPI (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory), Strong Vocational Interest blanks, a quick-scoring neuroticism scale questionnaire, and an IPAT Anxiety Scale.

The Project's reports indicate that one inmate was subjected to these tests during the first six months of 1974. Presumably, this is the same inmate on whom the single presentence report was prepared.

Apparently, none of this battery of tests has ever been used as a counseling or referral aid or to assess potential employees. This should not be surprising. The use of sophisticated tests such as these is impractical at best in a detention setting in which inmates--clients--may leave the institution temporarily or permanently on a moment's notice and generally stay for only relatively short periods of time, during which they are preoccupied with the process of their criminal prosecution.

Few, if any, of the staff of the Classification Project have the training or experience which would seem requisite to the use of such sophisticated psycho-diagnostic paraphernalia. It is clear that there is not a range of treatment programs available to inmates within the Charles Street Jail (or at Deer Island, or perhaps at any other relevant institution) to require the use of these tests.

MANAGEMENT

Project Supervision

The Classification Project at the Charles Street Jail is not managed in a hierarchical fashion. Decisions about Project policies are ordinarily made collectively. Client-centered discussions between staff are held primarily on an informal basis, although there are regular staff meetings for administrative and training purposes.

However administrative policy decisions are made, the handling of individual client cases must be subjected to a stricter degree of supervision and control by Project administrators. Not all the members of the Classification staff are counseling professionals. Even if they were, supervision and case consultation among professionals--the recognized social work counseling model--would be desirable. But since so many of the Classification staff members are not trained counselors, and since the "front line" counselors are called upon to make pre-diagnoses of mental disturbances and attempt lay counseling of anxious inmates, it is especially critical that some case-oriented supervision be maintained over these counselors. The benefits of increased counseling to the advocate counselors are twofold: accountability for client handling is maintained, so that consistency is achieved in dealing with different types of client cases and no inmate is permitted to be ignored or mishandled (in the judgment of the professional supervisor); and the counselors through the case conference process are trained in the counseling process.

The improvement of the professional supervision provided for the members of the mental health component of the Project is even more crucial, as the discussion of that unit earlier in this report suggested. There is a potential, though not a necessary, relationship between the supervisory needs of the counselors and the mental health staff; while a professionally trained psychiatrist or clinical psychologist could provide substantive case supervision to all staff, he might also divide supervisory responsibility with an experienced lay counselor, with the latter handling the front-line counselors and consulting with the mental health professional as appropriate.

As the discussion of the legal information and advocacy element of the Project has noted, the legal counselor now operates largely without professional supervision. While this kind of oversight is not so critical for legal services as it is for counseling, it is worth noting here that the proposed merger of Classification legal services into the present Bail Appeal Project would provide for improved professional supervision and accountability in this area of inmate service.

Related to the issue of supervision is that of staff training. In fact, case-by-case supervision is a form of training, and an important and effective one. But it should be supplemented by more traditional instructional sessions as well. The Classification Project presently convenes staff meetings for training purposes at irregular intervals. The Project also has a library of 50 or so books on counseling and related

issues, available to all the staff. The Project should emphasize staff instruction and discussion sessions, in addition to establishing a formal case supervision structure.

A final issue relating to Project management and supervision is what one observer termed the "boundary relationships" problem. By this he was referring to the dealings of the Classification Project with external administrative agencies. While the Project maintains useful contacts with the service agencies that can provide assistance to clients, there is some friction with administrative units. Much of this may be due to substantive and unavoidable differences; some of it is probably attributable to the other agencies; and some of it is petty, unnecessary, and better avoided by everyone involved. Examples of each of these varieties could be cited, but would serve no useful purpose here. It should suffice to say that all those involved in these administrative dealings should deal with each other with alacrity, clarity, and an attention solely to substance.

Information Handling

The information handling system used by the Classification Project through July, 1974--the first year of the Project's operation--consists of one major file and a number of other instrumental forms. The major file is a chronological collection of inmate contact records, usually a file folder full for each working day.

The primary form used in this major file is the Interview Record. On this sheet is recorded for each inmate contact what the problem presented was, what action was taken, what calls were made or letters dispatched, and what the outcome of these actions appeared to be. In addition, the form records a categorization of the session as either "mental health," "release preparation," "psychological tests," "advocacy counseling," and "judicial report." The source of the inmate referral is also reported.

At the end of each reporting period, the inmate contact records in the chronological file are rather laboriously summarized and tabulated from the summaries in order to prepare the required reports.

In addition to the overall Project file, each counselor maintains records with regard to the clients he has seen (but note that an inmate might request interviews with each of the staff members in turn). This file includes the initial Classification interview form. This form collects all the basic information which the Project is likely to need in the course of the inmate's incarceration. Ordinarily, individual counselors add to this record with their own notes on their contacts with the client. Unfortunately, there is no one up-to-date client index file in which staff members can find out easily whether a client has been interviewed before; if so, by whom; or what happened to him then--whether yesterday or last week or the last time he was incarcerated.

A number of instrumental miscellaneous forms are also used by the Classification Project in the course of its operations, including:

- . screening slips. These quarter-page slips of paper are used to record an inmate's request for an interview. They include the inmate's name and room number, the date of his request, and a short description of his problem, along with the name of the counselor whom he has requested. On the bottom of the screening slip is noted the time at which the inmate is seen in response to this request. The screening slips are saved and counted at the end of each reporting period.
- . the Bail Fund Data Collection sheet. This form is used to account for the funds of the Bail Funds externally raised and administered by the Classification Project. These funds are used to meet small bail amounts for some clients.
- . the orientation list. This is prepared by a correction officer every week day. It lists all those inmates who have come into the institution for the first time since the last orientation session, and it is used to assemble the inmates for orientations. Remands from court appearances and transfers back to the Jail are excluded from the list. At orientation, notations are made on the list as to which inmates are present, which are in court or bailed out, and which declined to attend.
- . legal petitions and writs. As noted in the discussion of legal information and advocacy, numerous forms have been developed by the Classification Project for routine court applications.
- . the mental health screening card. This card is used routinely by the Jail booking officer and from time to time by others to record observations about inmates for report to the mental health unit of the Classification Project. It is described above in the discussion of the mental health unit's operations.

The present file system of the Classification Project has a number of shortcomings. Primary among them is a lack of a client indexed file in which counselors can obtain information about inmates and their prior contacts with the Classification Project, services provided to them, problems discerned, and plans made. This is a serious flaw. It means that each counselor must begin anew with each inmate if he was not the last counselor to have seen the inmate previously. It greatly increases the possibility of inmate manipulation of counselors. It makes it extremely difficult for the Project to provide information about specific inmates to the consulting psychiatrists, the Jail administration, a judge requesting a report, or anyone else, without laborious reconstruction of what should be the inmate's personal file.

It must be noted that the Project Director recognizes the need for a client-indexed file and intends the chronological file of interview records to be only a transitional file which should be rearranged into a client file by a secretary after he has prepared summary tally sheets.

The problem with this is that there is no secretary and so, in practice, no client file.

Secondly, the collection of background information about inmates from the Jail records is only haphazardly performed. When a staff member has occasion to need information from the master Jail file, he must leave the inmate in his office and descend two floors to the Jail files in order to obtain the inmate's "booking sheet." Once he has gotten the booking sheet, he ordinarily photocopies it, even though the information which Classification normally requires from the booking sheet is somewhat limited. This case-by-case process of institutional data collection could be avoided if some information were collected on each inmate at his initial commitment, as part of the same process that produces the orientation list.

Thirdly, the process of preparing reports is unnecessarily complicated by the filing system. An intermediate collection of summary tally sheets must be prepared from the chronological record in order to permit classification and tabulation of the activities performed for inmates during the period. This involves looking through perhaps sixty fat file folders of full page interview records. From each record, however, only a limited number of items of information are taken.

A new file system which would alleviate these problems might work as follows:

- . A single major file system of folders for each client, indexed by client's last names, would serve as the basic Project file.
- . Printed on each folder or on a "face sheet" to be attached to the front of each folder would be a basic inmate contact summary form. On this form would be recorded, primarily by means of checking boxes, the information which is now tabulated on the intermediate tally sheets used in the preparation of quarterly report data.
- . On the folder or face sheet, or on an additional pedigree information sheet, basic information about the inmate would be recorded when the orientation list is made up which first includes his name. Thus, each orientation session would begin with the background information from the institutional records on each inmate in hand.
- . The initial interview form, probably in the same format as now used, would constitute the first entry in a client's file after the information from the booking card.
- . Inmate interview or contact record forms, as now used, could still be maintained, with each one placed in the appropriate client's file.
- . As each inmate contact record is placed in the inmate's folder, a series of check-offs on the front of the folder or the face

sheet would be made in order to summarize the nature of the contact being filed.

This major client indexed file would be divided into two sub-sections: active and inactive. Clients who are being seen during the current reporting period would have their file placed under "active." At the end of each reporting period, the files in the active section would represent all of the inmates who had been seen during that reporting period. From these files, the information necessary to summarize the reporting period's activity could be compiled. After this is done, the active file folders would be re-filed in the inactive section. Then, as each inmate was seen for the first time in the new reporting period, his file would be taken from the inactive and placed in the active section. When the client's file is placed in the active section, a new face sheet would be begun--or a new folder (if the face sheet information was printed on the folder)--and every inmate contact during the new reporting period recorded on the new face sheet.

A staff member who wishes to maintain an individual client's file at his desk could do so by completing a dummy folder with the inmate's name and filing it in the proper section of the file with a notation to the effect that the actual file of that client was being kept by the named counselor.

The Classification Project has independently framed plans for a revised filing system which would, as noted above, create a client file and thus solve the chief information problem the Project seems to have. Since it includes a daily tally sheet completion and refiling operation, instead of the above-suggested system which would only require counseling staff involvement on a day-to-day basis and simple clerical attention at the end of each reporting system, Classification's proposed file system revision cannot be made until a secretary is available.

Quarterly Report

As with all the other programs subject to this study, the Classification Project was requested to make certain modifications in the format of its quarterly report to the Project sponsors. The general quarterly report format (reproduced in the appendix) was, on the whole, adhered to in the preparation of the Classification Project's quarterly report, which appears in the appendix. Procedures for the preparation of the report in the new format were developed by study staff along with members of the Classification staff; however, the manner in which the new quarterly report was finally prepared excluded study staff from assistance, other than the alphabetization of certain Project records.

The new report does follow the new format. In some aspects, however, it is incomplete (as the report notes). In some other areas, the latest report follows earlier ones in providing a wealth of almost certainly unnecessary data.

Staffing

The Classification Project operates with a total annual budget of approximately \$145,000, an increase over the annual rate of \$100,000 which was in effect for the latter half of 1973. The present budget provides for eleven full-time positions plus two consulting (part-time) psychiatrists. The full-time positions are as follows:

Project Director
Senior Counselor/Coordinator
Counselor/Legal Consultant
Counselors (2)
Psychiatric Nurse
Court Liaison
Administrative Assistant
Mental Health Screener
Interviewer for Data Collection
Secretary

The court liaison and data collection interviewer positions are new, and as yet unfilled, as is one of the clerical positions. The study staff were thus unable to assess the usefulness of these new positions in operation. Clearly, though, improved data collection and analysis is needed in the Jail, and the data position might be a useful step in this direction. On the other hand, to the extent that the additional clerical person is intended to assist primarily in file maintenance and report preparation, the recommendations for change in the filing system discussed supra may make that position unnecessary.

The Administrative Assistant is obviously necessary; observation indicates that in some ways she has become the critical employee in maintaining the day-to-day operations of the Project.

The remaining positions include those six to seven who have regular inmate contact. This includes the Director, who carries a small client caseload, three general counselors, one legal counselor, and two mental health persons.

Caseloads among the Classification counselors vary. The primary reason for this is that the counselors have achieved a certain degree of subject matter specialization. One, as noted above, handles legal writs and related matters. Another deals with mental health problems, while the psychiatric nurse handles the more serious psychiatric problems. The one Spanish-speaking counselor carries all the Spanish-speaking clientele on his caseload, and, in addition, acts as a general purpose interpreter for the institution--probably a half-time job in itself. The Project Director maintains only a very limited caseload, and the remaining counselor deals with inmates who fall within none of the previous categories. During one typical afternoon during the course of this study, one counselor spoke with nine inmates during the afternoon office hours while another one did not see any inmates.

With regard to the "front-line" counseling function of the Project,

several techniques can be used to estimate staffing requirements. One extrapolates from the quarterly report of the Project, and the other two are based on the results of the inmate survey conducted by the study staff. The results of these analyses, presented here in tabular form, range from one less than to one-half more than the present number of counselors. The only qualification to these results is that, were the hours of inmate contact to be increased as suggested in this report, the Project would then be able to provide either more intensive support to inmates with the same staff or the same level of support with a smaller staff.

It should be noted that the second and third techniques for evaluating staff requirements include within the estimated requirements time spent by the consulting psychiatrists, approximately two days a week taken together or four-tenths of a full-time staff member. Adding this additional staff requirement to the result of the first technique brings the results of these estimating tables into closer convergence.

TABLE 1

Counselor Staffing Requirements for Classification Project

Technique 1. From activities reported and implied in Quarterly Report
(assumes present population and present interview schedule).

<u>Type of Service</u>	<u>Incidence</u>	<u>Staffing Basis</u>	<u>Staff Required</u>
orientation sessions	1/day	no additional staff required	0.0
screening sessions	3/4 hour 250 days/yr.	229 4.5 hour days/yr./staff	0.182
legal information	164/qtr.	legal counselor	1.000
writs other than bail	106/qtr.		
bail petitions	106/qtr.		
Spanish interviews	166/6 mo.	4/day	0.362
Spanish interpretation	--	approx. 1/2 time job	0.500
mental health interviews	1662/6 mo.	8/day	1.814
"group meetings"	10/qtr.	1/2 day each	0.087
mental health/ drug evaluations	79/6 mo.	1/2 day each	0.345
release preparation interviews	82/qtr.	8/day	0.179
psychological testing	1/6 mo.	1 day each	0.009
total counseling staff required (including 15% personal/supervision time)			<u>5.148</u>
physicians' interviews	209/qtr.	1/2 hr. each	8.36hr./wk.
physicians' consultations	438/6 mo.	1/2 hr. each	8.76hr./wk.
physicians hours/week required			<u>17.120</u>

TABLE 1 - Continued

Technique 2. From service use as reported in inmate survey.

Service	Inmates Reporting Use	Adjusted for Sample Size and Multiple Use	Estimated Caseload/Staff	Staff Req.
legal/advocacy	15	50.8		
personal counseling	3	10.0		
drug counseling	2	6.7		
mental health	5	16.6		
job services	2	6.7		
phone calls	4	13.3		
two services	13	--		
more than two	4	--		
none/n.a.	<u>46</u>	<u>68.5</u>		
	<u>94</u>	<u>172.6</u>		
total users		<u>104.1</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>6.9</u>

Note: Caseload estimate based on 3 interviews per week, averaging 1/2 hour each, during the 22.5 hours available for inmate consultation.

Technique 3. From time spent with Classification staff as reported in inmate survey.

Hours/Week	Inmates Reporting	Adjusted for Sample Size	Total hrs./wk.
.5 or less	25	37.2	18.6
1	4	6.0	6.0
2	7	10.4	20.8
over 2	10	14.9	59.6
don't know	7	10.4	12.8
none/n.a.	<u>41</u>	<u>61.1</u>	--
	<u>94</u>	<u>140.0</u>	<u>117.8</u>

Staff required (22.5 contact hours/week, 229 days/year average worked, 15% personal and supervisory time) 6.8

BAIL APPEAL PROJECT

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The Bail Appeal Project at the Charles Street Jail is operated under the auspices of the Sheriff of Suffolk County, with grant funds provided through the Mayor's Safe Streets Act Advisory Committee. The Project's chief responsibility is to serve as counsel to inmates in the Jail in taking appeals of their bails to Superior Court. By doing this, the Project hopes to achieve the goals of:

- . reducing the population at the Jail, and thereby alleviating tension and crowded conditions in the institution;
- . guaranteeing each inmate his right to a bail appeal in Superior Court, as provided by the Massachusetts Bail Reform Acts of 1968 and 1971 (M.G.L. 218 § 26 and M.G.L. 276 § 58); and
- . providing a mechanism through which the substantial inequities of the bail setting process in Massachusetts District Courts may be redressed in individual cases.

Additional impetus was given the Project's objective of reducing the Jail population with a 1972 Federal District Court decision by Judge W. Arthur Garrity requiring, *inter alia*, that the population of the Jail be reduced to a single cell occupancy level.

Prior to the initiation of the Bail Appeal Project, defendants had a right to a bail appeal in Superior Court, but seldom exercised it, apparently because they were uninformed of their rights.

ANALYSIS OF OPERATIONS

In general, the operations of the Bail Appeal Project at Charles Street Jail are dictated by the practical workings of the jail and court system.

Intake

Defendants committed to the Charles Street Jail may become aware of the Bail Appeal Project and their right to prosecute a bail appeal in one of several ways.

The District Court Judge who first hears a defendant's case and sets bail should inform him of his right to appeal that decision to Superior Court, and make a bail petition form available to him at that time. The defendant's in-court attorney clearly also has an obligation to inform him of his right to appeal the amount of his bail.

On admission to the jail, the booking officer should inform the inmate of BAP's availability; or the defendant might read one of the signs in the booking room (in both English and Spanish) informing him of his rights. But the most common means of introduction to the program, according to the inmate survey conducted in conjunction with this study, is the initial jail orientation session conducted by the Classification Project (and described in some detail in the section of this report dealing with that project).

Some 35 per cent of the respondents to the survey indicated that they had learned about the Project through the orientation sessions. The next largest group reported having heard of BAP by word-of-mouth, and some 10.8 per cent of those interviewed reported being unaware of the Bail Appeal Project. Since 90 per cent of those who were unaware of the Project were held in jail for failure to meet bail, their ignorance is clearly an important problem which should be rectified. As the discussion of the orientation session (supra) suggests, making that meeting mandatory for new commitments to the Jail would be one way to insure that every inmate knows of his right to a bail appeal.

The Bail Appeal Project itself does not initiate contact with inmates. The inmates who want to pursue bail appeals in most cases fill out blank petitions requesting a bail appeal, available to inmates in the booking room, on the tiers, and through the Classification Project. Classification staff frequently assist inmates in the completion of these forms before forwarding them to the Bail Appeal Project.

Screening

After receiving a petition from an inmate, staff of the Bail Appeal Project proceed to an initial investigation of the petitioner's situation before beginning to prepare an appeal. In particular, the Bail Appeal Project staff must:

- . determine whether or not the petitioner has retained private counsel. If he does, the Project does not represent the client.
- . inquire whether there are outstanding warrants for the inmate. If there are, a bail appeal without "clearing" the warrants would be pointless, since the defendant's success at meeting bail would lead only to his re-arrest on the warrant. For petitioners who do have warrants outstanding, the Bail Appeal Project will ordinarily attempt, through the filing of a habeas corpus petition, to remove the warrants. This, it might be noted, is one legal service which both the Bail Appeal Project and the Classification Project will provide when necessary.

- . call the court which committed the inmate and request the judge's statement of his reasons for setting bail (required under law), the criminal complaint in the case, and the defendant's criminal record. Project staff also find out when the defendant is scheduled to return to court, which court, and what action is planned for that appearance.

- . look up in the Jail's central file the inmate's personal record.

Once this initial background workup has been completed, the Bail Appeal staff will interview any inmate who is not subject to an outstanding warrant. For those who do have warrants, the Project will attempt--if possible without going through an interview--to have the warrants vacated. If necessary, the staff will obtain an interview with the inmate in order to elicit additional information needed to help clear the warrant.

Initial Interview

With all the essential information in hand, Bail Appeal staff--most frequently the part-time law student, legal assistant, or research evaluator--will secure an interview with the defendant. Interviewing takes place during the inmate's exercise periods, from 9:00 to 10:45 in the morning and from 1:00 to 3:45 in the afternoon, in the lawyers' conference rooms of the Jail. To bring a particular inmate in for an interview, the Bail Appeal staff member must inform the appropriate correctional officer, who calls out the inmate's name over a bullhorn. When the inmate answers, he is conducted to the lawyer's room. Bail Appeal Project staff are not allowed to interview inmates in their cells or on the Jail tiers. Only rarely, however, would they need to speak with inmates outside of the regular exercise hours and in those cases, special arrangements are possible.

The interview itself is normally completed in fifteen to thirty minutes. It begins with the staff member's ensuring that the defendant has completed and signed his bail appeal petition. Then the staff member explains to the defendant that the purpose of the interview is to gather information which would be useful in having his bail reduced, and not in a court trial to determine culpability. Information relative to the defendant's actual guilt or innocence is not sought by the Bail Appeal staff. (It might be noted here, though, that bail appeal hearings sometimes do provide the occasion for a bargained disposition of the case, particularly in misdemeanor cases. This is relatively infrequent, however.)

If the defendant does not understand the process by which he was charged and his bail set, or his alternatives for bail appeal, they are explained to him. For example, the difference between straight bail and cash bail is explained. The judge's statement is also explained to the defendant if it appears that he does not understand it.

The interview then ordinarily proceeds with the completion of the interview form (attached as an Appendix to this report). This form

records information about the defendant's employment record, his criminal record, any history of default, any outstanding warrants or defaults, the basic facts of the case for which he is incarcerated, his residential and family history, and any other information about the individual which might be helpful in pursuing his bail appeal.

The interviewer explains to the defendant in the course of completing the interview that all the information he provides must be verified by the Bail Appeal Project before they will rely upon it in court. Thus, his employers, his probation officer, and members of his family may be contacted. If the defendant has outstanding defaults or warrants, the habeus corpus procedure is explained to him and necessary petitions are filled out and signed for Bail Appeal to present to the respective court.

During the interview, the defendant is also asked whether the Bail Appeal Project could assist him in arranging for bail or in dealing with any other personal problems by making telephone calls in his behalf, as the Classification Project will also do. In some cases, Bail Appeal has attempted to make contact with service programs which might accept defendants as pre-trial diversion placements. This is particularly valuable for clients who are alcohol or drug dependent. Again, this is a service which duplicates one also offered by the Classification Project.

At the end of the interview, the Bail Appeal staff member will ordinarily give the defendant an estimate of what he can reasonably expect from a bail appeal, assuming that the information he has given can be verified. Release on personal recognizance, of course, is the most desirable bail appeal outcome, but the circumstances of the case or the defendant's history may make this in practice an unlikely result. If so, this is explained to the defendant along with the reasons. He is then asked what amount of bail he could raise, so that the Bail Appeal Project will have a figure to work toward if the judge denies personal recognizance. In some cases, the circumstances of the offense and the defendant's history, along with the present level of bail, make it fairly clear that the possibility of obtaining a bail reduction is slight. In these cases, although the bail appeal will still be brought forward if the client desires it, the Bail Appeal staff will explain to him that the chances of change in his bail are indeed small.

After the interview, Project staff attempt to verify as much of the information that the client has provided as they can. When pre-trial diversion seems a likely possibility, telephone calls are also made to treatment programs to investigate this alternative. If the client has requested it, members of his family are also contacted.

The Project director, who handles most of the courtroom bail appeals, reviews each interview record and speaks with the staff members about each of the potential clients interviewed.

Preparing the Bail Appeal

The process of actually making the bail appeal can only begin when all the necessary papers have been assembled, including:

- . the bail petition;
- . the records from the District Court which initially set bail (a copy of the complaint, the judge's statement of reasons for setting bail, and the probation record);
- . in some few cases, supplemental letters from, e.g., the defendant's employer, probation officer, parole officer, potential diversion program, or jail psychiatrist.

The length of time it takes to assemble these papers varies, particularly depending on the speed with which the relevant District Court responds to the Project's request. The Project has complained from time to time of a lack of cooperation on the part of the Boston Municipal Court, which is the original jurisdiction of approximately 50 per cent of Bail Appeal's clients, and more particularly the Roxbury District Court, which is the court of initial jurisdiction of (for the first half of 1974) 23 per cent of BAP's clients.

BAP's problems with the Roxbury District Court reportedly stem from the attitude of its presiding judge, a vigorous advocate of high bail. His sentiment has apparently resulted in both the setting of higher bail on the average, a phenomenon which the data analysis performed by this study confirms, and exacerbated delay in the delivery of court papers to the Bail Appeal Project. To attack this delay, the Bail Appeal Project, in January, 1974, filed a petition in the Supreme Judicial Court praying declaratory relief against the Clerk of the Roxbury District Court. Since the petition was filed (it is still pending), the Roxbury Court's performance has reportedly improved.

The data collected for the first six months of 1974 show that the process of bail appeal and the time delay involved in being bailed out are both longer in the Roxbury District Court than the other major district courts. This may be in part due to the fact that Roxbury's cases include a higher proportion of more serious charges, and these cases also seem to take longer to appeal. Inferring causality is thus somewhat speculative--it could be said either that Roxbury cases take longer because they are more serious, or perhaps that the more serious cases take longer because they are disproportionately Roxbury cases.

The Project's problems with the Roxbury District Court are indicative of a more general attitude on the part of institutional officials. As the Project Director points out, "No one likes bail appeals. . . neither the police, the D.A.'s, nor the judges--only the defendants, our clients." The Project Director further related being told rather bluntly by at least one court clerk that the papers of a particular client were being deliberately delayed, because court personnel felt certain that the defendant was going to be released on bail--but they wanted him to stay in jail for a longer period.

Practices such as these are clearly indefensible, not just because they delay the inmate's appeal of right of his initial bail setting, but also because they may occur in a court in which the defendant's initial bail was quite possibly set at an unnecessarily high level.

That a civil suit against an officer of the court was necessary is an unfortunate commentary on the court officials involved, although it is a credit to the Bail Appeal Project that they were willing to go to this length.

The Decision Not to Appeal

A significant proportion of the inmates who petition the Bail Appeal Project initially for a bail review do not go on to a court appearance. For the first six months of 1974, Bail Appeal reports indicate that 395 appeals were taken while an additional 210 petitions were discontinued. Thus, 34.7 per cent of the total petitions received were discontinued.

There are several explanations for these aborted petitions. Of the 210 discontinuances, 71.0 per cent occurred because the defendant was bailed before an appeal could be taken, sentenced before appeal, or retained private counsel. 11.0 per cent were discontinued due to outstanding warrants, which might later be vacated, thus allowing a later bail appeal.

In only 38 of the 210 discontinuances, or 6.3 per cent of the total number of petitions received during the period (605), the bail petition was withdrawn. The withdrawal of a petition can occur either because the inmate for some reason does not want to go forward (perhaps, for example, feeling that bail funds are imminent) or because the client is advised by his Bail Appeal attorney that an appeal would be fruitless. Generally this advice, while given, is not forced upon the inmate; if he still wants to have a hearing, the Bail Appeal Project will provide it.

The general order of magnitude of the above cited statistics is consistent with the finding of the inmate survey that 35.7 per cent of those in the Jail at the time of the survey who had been involved with Bail Appeal had not gone to court, and 7.1 per cent had gone to the courthouse but had not actually presented a bail appeal. When asked whether they were satisfied with the representation that they had received from the Bail Appeal Project, those who had not received an appeal did not evince a great deal of dissatisfaction; most simply did not answer the question.

Thus, there is no evidence of coercion by Bail Appeal staff or resentment on the part of inmates with regard to the discontinued appeal petitions. The small proportion of cases in which petitions are withdrawn tends to substantiate this.

The Bail Appeal

Once the papers have been assembled, they are delivered to the Superior Court, located within walking distance of the Charles Street Jail, where they are filed with a clerk and a date set for the appeal hearing--usually the next day. This is the general practice, although the Bail Reform Act (M.G.L. Chap. 276 § 58) specifies that the "detaining authority. . . shall cause any petitioner in its custody to be brought before the said Superior Court on the same day the petition shall have been filed. . ."

On the day of the hearing, the inmate is brought to the court detention area by jail staff, along with all the other inmates who have court appearances scheduled for that day. The Bail Appeal Project attorney who is to argue the defendant's appeal interviews his client in the detention area, going over with him the arguments that he intends to use to the judge and giving him an attorney's assessment of his chances for success. Unfortunately, the staff of this study were unable to observe any of these in-court interviews, since only the attorney-of-record for each defendant is allowed in the detention area, in conformance with the orders of the Sheriff. The staff attorneys have reported from time to time discouraging clients in these interviews from pursuing the bail appeal, either because the judge who would hear the appeal is a "hanging judge" who is more likely to raise than lower the original bail and thus it would be wiser to wait until another judge is sitting and hearing bail appeals, or because the chances of a successful appeal are relatively small and might be significantly improved by some additional information or testimonials which might be gathered in another day or two. According to inmates interviewed in the course of this study, all of whom obviously are unable to meet their bails, the decision whether to proceed with the appeal is not made consistently in any one way. Of those who had been to court, two-fifths reported that the decision whether to appeal was theirs alone, while one-third said that the Bail Appeal attorney had in effect made the decision for them; of that one-third, all reported being satisfied with the services of BAP and therefore with the attorney's decision, whatever it was.

After this interview, the attorney and the client are ready to present the bail appeal in court. Usually, this is a very short process, involving perhaps two to five minutes of argument to the judge. The brevity of this hearing has been attributed to the apparently limited amount of information which judges are willing to entertain in the course of a bail appeal and the apparently low priority assigned to these appeals. In some cases, appeals were observed in which, before the BAP attorney had completed his presentation on behalf of the client, the judge had already marked the papers with his decision on the case and handed them back to the clerk.

In this brief presentation, the Bail Appeal attorney will allude to any supplementary materials in the papers, and emphasize those elements of the defendant's record and background which he feels make him a better risk for pre-trial release than his original bail amount would seem to indicate. Typically among these factors are:

- . the defendant's age and family background;
- . the number of years he has spent at his present address;
- . the relative stability of his family;
- . not infrequently, the presence of a member of the family in the courtroom;
- . the client's offense as charged, including any factors which might tend to minimize the apparent severity of the

alleged crime and including any obvious facts which might militate against the likelihood of conviction;

- . the client's educational and employment background-- present employment and continued employment at a steady, well-paying job can be extremely persuasive to judges;
- . the client's prior criminal record, presented in the most favorable light;
- . the length of time the client has been in Charles Street Jail;
- . any attempts that the client or his family or friends have made to raise bail and the sources of funds which have been investigated;
- . the circumstances of the alleged offense, concentrating, if applicable, on the relationships between the people involved --for example, intra-family offenses are considered to be an argument for lower bail;
- . the client's history of appearance for court in prior cases;
- . the availability (if any) of a drug or other service program which will take informal custody over the defendant during the pre-trial period, or any other friends, relatives, parole or probation officer or clergyman who has volunteered to look after the defendant--it is particularly valuable to the client if one of these sponsors can be present in the courtroom; and
- . the high level of bail as originally set and the defendant's inability to meet it.

Based on this information, the Bail Appeal attorney argues for either release on personal recognizance, a change from "straight bail" to cash bail, or a reduction in amount. Usually, he specifies precisely what outcome he is requesting, including what level of bail or cash bail he thinks the defendant could meet.

It should be emphasized here that bail appeals are appeals. Thus, the Superior Court judge is expected not to overturn the judgment of the judge in the District Court unless he is convinced either that the District Court judge abused his discretion in setting bail, or that a lower bail would now be appropriate in the light of additional information or more reliable, verified information which the Bail Appeal attorney brings forward. Unlike the trial de novo in the Superior Court, which is a complete re-hearing of the case that was decided in the District Court before, a bail appeal must proceed with the original bail as a starting point and with argument directed toward changing that bail. To the extent, then, that the bail appeal provisions of the law are intended to eliminate inequities in bail-setting practices at the District Court level, the solution is an imperfect one, not only because there is delay

between the initial bail setting and the appeal but also because the initial bail setting, absent an affirmative showing of error or changed circumstances, will be allowed to stand.

Appeals to Higher Courts

The Bail Appeal Project presents bail appeals in courts other than Suffolk County Superior Court in two situations. One includes those cases in which the inmate-defendant is within the jurisdiction of another court, as for example "safekeep" Federal prisoners are within the jurisdiction of the Federal Courts. The other situation in which the Project may be to other courts is one in which it seems fruitful to appeal a setting of bail by the Superior Court to the Supreme Judicial Court. When appeals are taken to any court other than Suffolk County Superior, the Project Director prepares and argues the cases. During 1973, eight appeals were made to the Supreme Judicial Court and one to Federal District Court.

Second Bail Appeals

One of the reasons that Bail Appeal attorneys sometimes counsel clients not to proceed with a first appeal of their bail is that additional burdens are placed on the defendant when he attempts to make a second bail appeal. His attorney must show that there has been a change in the circumstances of the defendant's case since the first appeal or that the first appeal was denied without prejudice by the Superior Court judge.

Follow-Up of Releasees

As a general rule, the Bail Appeal Project does not attempt to maintain contact with clients who have been released pending trial after a bail appeal. In most cases, this follow-up contact--in order to assure the client's subsequent appearance in court--would be possible, since the Bail Appeal Project knows at least the first court appearance date subsequent to the bail appeal. As long as the default rate for Bail Appeal clients is no higher than that for others (and it apparently is not), there would seem to be no special need for Bail Appeal clients, as distinct from other pre-trial releasees, to be reminded of subsequent appearances.

Filing System

The filing system of the Bail Appeal Project consists of five major elements, each designed to serve a different purpose. They are:

1. A log book in which, upon receipt of a bail petition, an entry is made of the petitioner's name and the date, so that no petitions can be lost, and there is a permanent record of the date of receipt of each one.
2. A client file, consisting of a folder for each client, in which are placed most of the items relevant to each client's case--typically including the inmate's bail petition, a

copy of his criminal history, a copy of the complaint in the instant case, the District Court judge's stated reasons for setting bail, and any other relevant papers to the case. The Bail Appeal Project staff fill out interview forms when they conduct initial interviews with potential clients, and these are filed in the client file along with notations as to the verification of the information supplied by the defendant. An additional form, the "back-up sheet," is filled out and kept in the client's file as well; it is designed to capture a brief history of the client's involvement with the Bail Appeal Project and the outcome of his bail appeal. After a client has been discharged, his folder is returned to an alphabetical file; while he is an active client, however, his client file is passed from staff member to staff member as his case proceeds. The file is thus kept, in turn, by the staff member who receives the petition and does the basic background check, the interviewing staffer, the one who performs the verification, and the attorney who argues the case in court. For those clients who are awaiting some action such as a cancellation of an outstanding warrant before the case can proceed, files are kept on the administrative assistant's desk.

3. A file of court result forms, used for organizing follow-up of client cases, is also kept. Each client has a result form completed for him, and kept after his appeal in one of the following status folders:
 - . still incarcerated
 - . sentenced and released or transferred to another institution
 - . released on personal recognizance
 - . cash bail set
 - . other surety set
 - . women
 - . juveniles

These files organize the follow-up forms into convenient groupings, so that Bail Appeal staff can periodically review the sheets in each folder in order to determine what has happened to each of those cases since its appeal hearing or sentencing. Whenever a final disposition is discovered for a case, it is entered on the result form, that form is re-filed in the client folder, and the appropriate notations are made in the ledger (below).

4. The ledger or "green book" records for every case ever handled by the Bail Appeal Project the following information:
 - . date of appeal
 - . defendant's name
 - . charge
 - . amount of bail

- . District Court judge and court
- . Judge's stated reasons
- . brief characterization of defendant's prior record
- . nature of present charge
- . other cases pending
- . previous defaults
- . other notations
- . Superior Court judge
- . Superior Court disposition
- . Superior Court judge's reasons (if given)

The recording of this information about each client's case in a single ledger permits the Project staff to compile data for any reporting period in order to prepare the quarterly and final reports.

5. A summary card file is also kept, at present containing information from January 1, 1974. On this card are recorded in somewhat sketchier and more skeletal form the same basic data that are entered in the ledger. This recently initiated form has an advantage over the ledger in that it can be carried to the different court clerks' offices in order to obtain final dispositions for clients' cases and enter them on the card. It is this card that was used in the data analysis reported in this study.

The file system of the Bail Appeal Project is apparently more than adequate for all its purposes. In fact, the files can be pruned somewhat without sacrificing any vital information. For example, the new summary card file can almost certainly be used in a way that will make obsolete either the ledger book or the status folders containing the court result forms. If the partially complete summary cards are kept in a chronological file, then the ledger book is unnecessary; on the other hand, placing the summary card files in sections organized by the present status folder headings would eliminate the need for the status folders and the court result form which is used to compile the status folders.

Quarterly Report

With the assistance of study staff, a new format was developed for the quarterly reports of the Bail Appeal Project, attached here as an appendix. The new format, largely common to all the projects which were subjects of this study, contains three sections.

The first provides client service information--basically a summary of the flow of cases through the project and their various outcomes, along with several key percentage measures which give an index to the level of performance of the project. Each of these indicators is compared to a similar figure for the last reporting period and the projected total as anticipated in the plan for the present period. One serious problem with this part of the quarterly report is that a figure for commitments to the

Jail during the period of the report is not ordinarily available from the Jail administration. This means that the success of the Bail Appeal Project in reaching inmates, or a change in the composition of the Jail population which might make a larger or smaller proportion of the inmate population eligible for Bail Appeal services, cannot be detected. That figures for commitments to the Jail are not regularly available is surprising as well as detrimental to both the process of evaluation of projects which operate with the Jail population as a basic potential clientele, and the planning and forecasting process which should be ongoing.

The second section of the new quarterly report format presents basic administrative information, concerning such things as the Project's spending rate and staffing levels. If this information can be regularly provided, it will mark a departure for the Bail Appeal Project, since the Project's financial affairs have heretofore been managed almost entirely by the sponsoring agencies and not by the staff of the Project itself. While the opportunities for cost management in a program as small and narrowly directed as the Bail Appeal Project are probably minimal, there is no apparent reason why the Project should not be responsible for monitoring its spending and accounting for itself financially. The general rule surely should be that largely discrete units such as the Bail Appeal Project should be held both managerially and fiscally responsible.

The final section of the new quarterly report is a narrative report on the activities of the Project during the reporting period, much like the narratives prepared for past reports.

Staffing

The Bail Appeal Project now operates on a budget of \$57,000 per year, including the salaries of six staff members. They are:

- . Project Director (attorney)
- . Attorney
- . Legal Assistant
- . Research Evaluator
- . Administrative Assistant
- . Law Student

This staff configuration represents something of a departure from the original BAP organization, which included four law students rather than one. However, this original staffing arrangement was discontinued because the turnover rate among the law students made it impractical.

The Project Director is an attorney, and in addition to his responsibility for overall supervision and administration of the program, he presents many of the appeals made in the Suffolk County Superior Court and all of those pursued to other courts. The staff attorney essentially assists the Project Director in the process of in-court interviews and presentation of bail appeals. He also, on occasion, interviews defendants in the Jail in their initial bail appeal interviews. The legal assistant has primary responsibility for verification of the information which is collected in defendant interviews and for collecting all the necessary

papers which must be filed with the appeal petition. He also conducts initial interviews, makes telephone calls as a service to clients, obtains information and approvals when necessary from other attorneys or the public defender, and carries the primary responsibility for developing contacts with programs which might serve as pre-trial diversion placements for clients. The research evaluator, by formal job description, is responsible for ongoing research on the effectiveness of the project, statistical analysis, the preparation of all project reports, and some community liaison duties. The law student conducts interviews, prepares cases for review by the Project Director, and (a substantial proportion of the time) collects the information needed for program evaluation and follow-up from the relevant court and other files. The administrative assistant is the office manager, file manager, payroll officer, scheduler, and typist.

In practice, the responsibilities of the various members of the Bail Appeal staff depart somewhat from their formally described duties. In particular, the research evaluator has assumed duties other than those subsumed under the headings of research and evaluation. The present occupant of this position, having been involved in the planning and initial implementation of the Project, enjoys a broad knowledge of all aspects of the operation of BAP, and seems to play a significant role in the day-to-day operation of the Project. Of course, this staff member has responsibility for preparing quarterly and final reports and for directing the data collection effort which produced the information compiled and analyzed in the course of this study. In addition, the research evaluator has collected for two months of each of two years comprehensive data about Jail inmates, including their offenses, bail amounts, time delays, ultimate case dispositions, and so forth. The research evaluator also conducts a significant proportion of the initial inmate interviews.

Staffing Needs

As noted above, the responsibilities of Project staff in operation are somewhat different from those of their formal job descriptions. The research evaluator has taken on some managerial duties somewhat to the detriment of the research duties of that position. The Project Director involves himself largely with the prosecution of appeals in court. Since, then, there are two attorneys on the BAP staff devoting themselves almost entirely to the immediate preparation and presentation of appeals in court, the question of possible attorney over-staffing arises. During the first six months of 1974, the Bail Appeal Project presented 395 appeals, an increase from the preceding year's rate. This represents an annual appeal rate of 395 per attorney, or less than two appeals per working day for each attorney, factoring in both court and staff vacations. It is almost inconceivable that 1.8 appeals per day could fill the mornings of each of these attorneys, and yet it is probably impossible to reduce the number of attorneys without a serious degradation of the Project's ability to deliver service. The reasons for this are essentially two: (1) the extremely inefficient calendaring procedures of the courts, which enforce idleness on all courtroom attorneys; and (2) the necessity for the Bail Appeal Project to have an attorney available every day that court is in session.

A proposed solution to this problem of idleness is elaborated in the chapter of this report on the Classification Project, and consists essentially of transferring the legal services elements of the Classification Project, as presently constituted, to the Bail Appeal Project. It is anticipated that with this transfer, after a reasonable but probably brief transitional period, the total legal staff of the two Projects could be reduced from three to two. This change would have the additional benefit of eliminating overlapping services.

With regard to the position of research evaluator, the actual configuration of duties which has emerged is, practically, a reasonable one. The research evaluator bears responsibility for some day-to-day administration of the Project, reporting, and the overseeing of a limited ongoing data collection effort to follow up clients' eventual dispositions in the courts. Evaluative research beyond this is probably excessive; the combination of this ongoing check on, most importantly, the default rates of BAP clients with the comparisons of performance from period to period afforded by the new format now being used for quarterly reports, should suffice to maintain continuing "quality control."

Institutional Affiliations

The present physical and organizational location of the Bail Appeal Project in the Charles Street Jail is probably the optimal setting for the program. In physical terms, the offices are adequate and easily enough accessible; responses to the survey of inmates conducted by this study indicate no serious problem in terms of access to the Bail Appeal Project. Relations with the officers are apparently quite good. The courthouse in which most of the papers must be filed and appeals argued is within walking distance.

Organizationally, it might at first blush seem anomalous to have the Bail Appeal Project fall under the jurisdiction of the Sheriff. After all, the Sheriff's assignment in keeping the Jail is to ensure that inmates cannot get out, while the Bail Appeal Project's mandate is to get as many inmates out as it can. Upon closer examination and in practice, however, there is no conflict but rather a common interest. The Jail administration is significantly benefited by reductions in the Jail population. For one thing, limiting the population ensures that the Jail can remain in compliance with the Federal District Court order mandating single-cell occupancy; and, in general, lower "counts" in the institution mean a lower level of tension, fewer disciplinary problems, increased security, and a reduced need for additional staff or overtime. Through the bail appeal process, the Sheriff's Office can see these benefits realized through a legally mandated process which essentially insulates it from responsibility. In all bail appeals, the judge is, of course, the ultimate arbiter of the bail level and, in effect, the determination of whether the defendant is detained or not.

It also appears anomalous at first examination that the Bail Appeal Project is organizationally separate from other legal defense organizations. The public defenders--Mass Defenders and Roxbury Defenders--along with other court-appointed attorneys represent about three-quarters of the

population of the Jail (who are, after all, predominantly detained due to a lack of the money necessary to make bail). Thus, it would seem logical for the defenders who handle inmates' cases in court to prosecute their bail appeals as well, as part of the defense service. It should be noted, however, that had the defender services been providing speedy and certain bail appeals in 1971, there would be no Bail Appeal Project; the Project was established because the inmates in the Jail were not being adequately represented in the matter of bail appeals, for whatever reason.

Now, on the whole, they do get this defender service. They are assured it because the Bail Appeal Project, being in, of and by the Jail, and being limited essentially to the handling of bail appeals, must process bail appeals. Were the Public Defender to retain the responsibility for bail appeals, it is not clear that the same level of performance would be assured. The public defender agencies do have much larger attorney caseloads, much different and more varied responsibilities to their clients, a much larger staff and aggregate caseload to manage, and--perhaps most important in this context--no special responsibility to the administration of the Charles Street Jail and through them to its inmates as a class.

It may be that the only means of assuring continued financial support for the Bail Appeal Project is to make it a bureau of Mass Defenders--the Project's days as an experiment being numbered--but this would seem a second-best solution to the integration of the Bail Appeal Project into the overall administrative structure of the Jail. If the Project is to be assumed by Mass Defenders, some measure of the institutional accountability which is so valuable could be preserved by insuring that the Project is a distinct sub-unit of the public defender agency, and if possible making the appointment of the director of that sub-unit subject to the agreement of both Mass Defender management and the Sheriff or the Jail Master.

ANALYSIS OF PROGRAM INDICATORS

The summary cards completed by the Bail Appeal Project for the clients handled from January through June, 1974, a total of 312 cards, were used to compile basic aggregate information on the operations of the Project and to aid in this analysis. During this period, the Project reported having taken 395 appeals. This difference might be attributed to the fact that some clients make more than one appeal. More specifically, data from the cards (one of which is reproduced in the appendix) was coded according to the format reproduced in the appendix and transferred to fixed format punched cards for data processing. Once initial frequency distributions of the data as recorded had been obtained, the variable values were re-grouped and operational variables defined, including a charge grouping, simplified disposition codes, and a constructed detention variable. The distributions and values for all these variables were then examined, and numerous cross-tabulations performed to detect correlations between the variables.

Specific findings from this analysis are referred to at several places in this report, and the general conclusions are presented here.

Bail Appeal Project Performance

The data collected for this analysis includes only those cases which were appealed, so the Jail inmates who never were able to carry their case to the Bail Appeal Project or who, for one reason or another, did not carry through the process of making an appeal are not included. The Bail Appeal Project's effect on them, or who they are, or how many of them there are, is beyond the scope of this quantitative analysis.

With regard to the speed with which the Bail Appeal Project brings appeals for its clients, an initial observation must be that only a small group--7.7 per cent--of those who appeal their bail get a review on their first day in the institution despite the statutory guarantee of same-day review. Of course, the delays inherent in the assembling of District Court records and the verification of background information, along with letters of reference and so forth, certainly makes it impossible for most inmates to expect an immediate appeal to be effective. For those who do appeal, the median number of days from commitment to appeal is 4.4; 75 per cent of the appeals occur within a week, and 90 per cent within two weeks. The time delay from commitment to making bail is somewhat longer, though; the median is 8.5 days, with only 45 per cent achieving release within a week and 70 per cent within two weeks. Thus, it seems to take the average client about as long to get his bail together after his appeal as it does to get his appeal together in the first place.

The aggregate distribution of appeal results speaks rather strikingly to the necessity for the Bail Appeal Project. By taking an appeal of their District Court bail, over half of the clients of BAP achieve an improvement in their bail status. Fully 22.9 per cent of those who appeal have their bail changed to a release on personal recognizance; 21.3 per cent have cash bail set instead of money bail, and 9.7 per cent have the amount of their bail reduced. Only 43.9 per cent of the BAP clients' bail appeals are flatly denied.

As one would expect, the impact of the appeal result on the defendant's likelihood of pre-trial release is dramatic. Those released on recognizance are, of course, all released. Those whose money bail is reduced to cash achieve release 76 per cent of the time; of those whose bail is only reduced, 53 per cent get out; and only 13 per cent of those denied any change in their bail status are subsequently able to make bail. The net result of this pattern of appeal results is that over half the clients who appeal are released before trial.

The correlation between the source of bail and the result of the appeal is also striking. For those defendants who have cash bail set, and are subsequently released, 98 per cent meet the cash requirement themselves, with the additional 2 per cent being released through the efforts of others in their community. By comparison, fully 100 per cent of those whose bail was only reduced in amount are bailed not by themselves, but by bondsmen. This says rather clearly that the effect of reducing money bail without changing it to cash bail is to force the defendant to go to a bondsman, perhaps surrendering to him an amount of money which the court might have accepted as a cash alternative. Thus, the effect of changing a defendant's release conditions from money bail to cash bail is to reduce

the role of the bondsman in the process from (for this sample) 100% to zero.

Of those who were able to obtain release even though their appeal was denied, 94 per cent were bailed by someone in the community with the remainder (one case) using a bondsman.

Default Rates

Of the 139 cases in this group released with the assistance of the Bail Appeal Project (that is, released after having obtained either personal recognizance, cash bail, or an amount reduction through a BAP appeal), ten defaulted in District Court, and an additional seven defaulted in Superior Court. Of course, a substantial proportion of the cases in this group, particularly in Superior Court, are not yet finally disposed, so there may be additional defaults. But, for the purposes of this study, a default rate can be calculated which measures the percentage of defendants on default status at the time their records were searched--a range of from zero to six months after the bail appeal. By this measure, the Bail Appeal Project's "jump rate" is 12.2 per cent overall, 7.2 per cent in District Court, and (on the basis of a rather small sample) 35 per cent in Superior Court.

A base line for comparison of these default rates can be derived from the final report of the Percentage Deposit Bail Project, conducted in the Dorchester and Cambridge District Courts in 1972. For example, the defendants released by the court on personal recognizance during the period of that study in Cambridge and Dorchester had an aggregate jump rate of 15.7 per cent. It is not clear from that report what length of time had elapsed between the release of the subjects and the measurement of their default rates, or whether or not interim dispositions in the District Court (such as bind-overs to Superior Court and still-pending cases) are included in the universe of which this proportion of defendants defaulted. Assuming, though, that the follow-up period was within the same range as that for this study, the two possibly comparable default rates for Bail Appeal Project clientele released on recognizance are 8 per cent, for all District Court dispositions including interim dispositions, and 11.4 per cent, for final District Court dispositions only.

For all District Court cases surveyed by the Percentage Deposit Bail Project, the default rate was 11.1 per cent. The comparable figure for all those released through Bail Appeal is, if interim dispositions are included in the universe, 7.2 per cent; and, if only final dispositions are included, 11.7 per cent.

In sum, then, at least for District Court cases, it appears that Bail Appeal Project-assisted releasees are defaulting no more frequently than those able to meet the initial bail required of them.

Appeal Result and Ultimate Disposition

The result of the bail appeal is not a clear-cut predictor of the eventual disposition of a client's case, in either District or Superior

Court. Several aspects of the interrelation of these two variables are worthy of comment, however. For example, it appears from observation (although statistical tests of significance have not been applied) that clients whose bail is reduced in amount only are more likely to be sentenced to prison if their case is disposed of in District Court and less likely to be released. They are also more likely to be bound over to Superior Court. Of the clients in Superior Court, only (N.B.: there are only 45 in the sample) those whose bail appeal was denied outright are most clearly headed for sentencing to incarceration. Those in the categories of appeal result more likely to mean pre-trial release are more likely to either default or, as of the study date, remain on continuance.

Detention Status and Disposition

Surprisingly, the detention status of the defendant does not appear to be significantly correlated with the precedent variables of original District Court charge, time delay to appeal or bail, or even amount categories of original bail.

But there is a difference between those detained and those released when it comes to final case disposition in District Court (the sub-sample is too small to permit conclusions about Superior Court dispositions). The most obvious dispositional difference between the "ins" and the "outs" is that those who are out are more likely to default (since those who are incarcerated literally cannot) and more likely to be in an unresolved "continuance" status. This greater likelihood of having one's case pending for released defendants reflects a common difference in time delay to disposition: the defendant who is in Jail is anxious to press his case to a conclusion, while the releasee might be delighted to have his case continued ad infinitum.

Beyond these observations, focusing on final dispositions only in the District Courts, there is still a difference--a statistically significant difference ($p < .01$)--between ins and outs. The ins whose cases have been finally resolved in District Court are more likely to have been sentenced to incarceration--78.5 per cent, as compared to 55.3 per cent for the releasees.

It makes sense that the same kinds of factors which might make it easier for a defendant to achieve pre-trial release might also weigh in his favor at the point of conviction and sentencing, making him more likely to avoid incarceration. But it may also be that the mere fact of release prior to trial gives the defendant a better chance at avoiding incarceration, all other things equal. This possibility is enhanced by the observation from study data that none of the other variables of which one might expect detention status to be a function--charge, judge's statements, appeal results--are particularly powerful predictors of disposition. The only exceptions to this are two:

- . District Court. The Roxbury Court appears to be slightly less likely to sentence defendants at the District Court level and more likely to have them in bound-over and pending conditions as of the date of this study.

- . Days From Commitment to Disposition. This time lag is related to disposition in two ways, neither of which is suggestive of an independent effect of time-lag on disposition. First, those defendants whose cases are disposed of from two to seven days after commitment are overwhelmingly disposed of by sentencing, which probably reflects the operation of the plea bargaining system in the courts more than anything else. Second, since the study data are not all final dispositions, there is a correlation between the number of days to the listed disposition and the interim dispositions of "bound-over" and "pending."

Thus, neither of these correlations explains away the relationship between detention status and final disposition at the District Court level. Of course, the number of complexities and other potentially confounding variables in operation here is substantial. Therefore, in the context of this study, the relationship between detention status and disposition must be considered suggestive rather than definitive.

Possible Predictors of Appeal Result

None of the other variables measured in this data collection which might serve in operation as predictors of the likely result of the bail appeal do in fact correlate very well with appeal results, with the somewhat doubtful exception of the "nature of offense" statement by the district court judge who initially sets bail (discussed infra). Even the initial charge which the defendant faces is only somewhat illuminating; for example, the defendants charged with drug crimes are less likely to have their bail appeals denied and more likely to be released on personal recognizance after appeal; on the other hand, those charged with robbery and more serious offenses, while equally likely to have their appeals denied, are more likely to get a reduction in amount rather than personal recognizance. These results suggest that the initial bail set in most cases has "discounted" to some extent the other factors, such as charge, which would otherwise be likely to correlate significantly with release conditions in general. At least some of the perceived differences in appeal result by charge are due to the fact that the appeal must begin with the originally determined release conditions and argue for improvements from that initial result; for example, defendants who are kept in jail with very high money bail amounts set are more likely to achieve reductions in amount, or perhaps the setting of cash bail, than personal recognizance; on the other hand, those who had cash bail or very low money bail set initially can improve their position only by achieving personal recognizance release on appeal.

Court

Among the three district courts which have a significant number of cases in the bail appeal clientele--namely, the Boston Municipal Court, the Roxbury District Court, and the Dorchester District Court--there are a number of differences. The Boston Court has a different charge

distribution from Roxbury and Dorchester, with BMC hearing more theft cases and the other two more assaults, robberies, and more serious offenses. The differences in the charge patterns between the courts may explain other differences which also appear when data is examined by court. These include:

- . Judges in Roxbury use the judges' statements, "prior record," "nature of offense," and "circumstances of offense" more often than their counterparts. By contrast, BMC avoids these statements and "other" or special statements as well. This suggests both that BMC may be a more methodical and perhaps rushed court than the other two, while Roxbury has more serious offenders.
- . In Roxbury, the average bail is higher, while BMC's bail is lower. This, as noted above, may be a result of the differences in charge patterns; a regression analysis might be used to attempt to make this distinction, if for some policy reason it appears important.
- . Appeals take longer from the Roxbury District Court, and not so long from the Boston Municipal Court. Likewise, the number of days from commitment to release (by being bailed out) is shorter for BMC and longer for Roxbury.

The lag between commitment and bail appeal is particularly worth noting since allegations of deliberate delay have been made against the Roxbury Court. The data reveal that 43.7% of the appeals from Roxbury take six days or longer, while only 26.5% of BMC's appeals take this long; in Dorchester, the percentage is 26.5%. 16.9% of Roxbury's appeals occur within two days, as compared to 27.1% for BMC and 29.4% for Dorchester. Thus, while the differences in charge patterns certainly contribute to this average delay, it does appear that appeals from the Roxbury District Court may take significantly longer. Again, a more sophisticated analysis of this data could, if desired, factor out the charge from the court effects.

The bottom line to the Bail Appeal Project's effort, whether the client is released pending trial, does not differ significantly between courts.

Judges' Statements of Reasons

The sample data for the first half of 1974 included notations of the statements of District Court judges (required by law) supporting their bail determinations. In cross-tabulation with numerous other variables, these judges' statements did not prove particularly useful as predictors of any subsequent case activity. The only occasional exception was the judge's statement referring to the nature of the offense charged. One would expect this reason to be cited by the judge more often in those cases in which more serious crimes are charged to the defendant, and this does appear to be the case, to an extent. Thus, the judge's statements

"nature of offense" and the charge are measuring to some degree the same characteristic of the case.

However, the relationship is far from clear: while the miscellaneous "other" category of offenses is only graded with the "nature of offense" statement 17.9% of the time and theft offenses 43.9% of the time, the other categories of charge correlate with this judges' statement at rates from 50-67%, with assault and battery at the lower end of that scale and other property offenses at the top. Yet, the cases tagged with this statement are less likely to be denied a revision of their bail on appeal and more likely to be released on personal recognizance ($p < .07$); they are marginally less likely to reach a final disposition in District Court; but if they do, they are more likely to be released and less likely to default ($p < .04$). This combination of correlations with the "nature of offense" statement by the District Court judge suggests that the view that the initial bail-setting judge takes of the case, while somewhat related to the crime with which the defendant is charged, is sometimes at odds with the view of the case taken upon subsequent examination by another judge.

Sex

Only 9.3% (29) of the Bail Appeal Project's clients for the sample period were female. Thus, with so small a group, few conclusions of significance can be made about the differences between male and female clients. As far as the bail appeal itself is concerned, there is no apparent difference; the pattern of appeal results is similar, and the time delays from commitment to appeal are approximately the same for both sexes. There is a marked difference in the charge pattern between the sexes, however; the category of "other" offenses includes 34.5% of the women and only 10.2% of the men. Presumably, this reflects the presence of peculiarly female offenses, primarily prostitution, in the "other" category. The original bail amount set is much lower for women than for men; 58.6% of the females have bail under \$1,000, as opposed to 17.7% of the male clients.

There does appear to be some difference in the speed with which cases are disposed of according to the client's sex. Although the number of female clients is too small to permit statistical judgments of validity, it appears that women have their cases disposed of sooner. This may also explain the fact that only 31% of the women in the sample, as opposed to 53.7% of the men, are released pending disposition; if one's case can be disposed of as fast as a bail appeal can be taken, there is little need for the appeal. This observation conforms with the hypothesis that a substantial proportion of the women in the sample are arrested for offenses such as prostitution, which is commonly a charge disposed of by a bargained plea at the first court appearance.

Client Satisfaction

The survey of inmates conducted by this study reached 94 of the residents of Charles Street Jail, a significant proportion of the total

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population. They were all asked about their knowledge of and participation in the Bail Appeal Project.

Of course, to ask inmates in the Jail about the Bail Appeal Project is potentially unfair to the Project; after all, the Project's task is to get inmates out of jail, and those who are in the Jail and thus readily available for interviews are those whom the Project has "failed." In order to obtain a more balanced view of the operations of the Bail Appeal Project from its clients, study staff attempted to conduct a follow-up survey of inmates who had been discharged from Charles Street Jail, and thus in some cases would have been Bail Appeal Project "successes." Unfortunately, this attempt at an extended survey was totally unsuccessful, as is recounted in the survey discussion elsewhere in this report.

The responses of the group of bail losers surveyed is, the above notwithstanding, worth noting. Three-fifths of those surveyed expressed satisfaction with their Bail Appeal lawyer. Of those who actually went to court and presented an appeal, and thus presumably have the greatest knowledge of the Bail Appeal Project, 65 per cent were satisfied. When asked to compare their Bail Appeal lawyers with their other in-court lawyers, 23.3 per cent thought Bail Appeal better, 50 per cent saw no difference, and only 16.7 per cent felt that the Bail Appeal attorney was worse. Two-thirds of those who were dissatisfied with the service of the Bail Appeal Project were equally dissatisfied with their other lawyers.

Even those dissatisfied with their Bail Appeal lawyers for the most part did not fault them directly; half of the malcontents (five) said they were dissatisfied simply because their appeal "didn't work." In conclusion, then, only 5.3 per cent of the inmates surveyed indicated a direct and specific dissatisfaction with Bail Appeal, and a substantial proportion of them were equally dissatisfied with their other lawyers. In view of the fact that all of the respondents are "losers" at bail, these responses indicate a high level of client satisfaction.

Correction Officer Opinions

The survey of officers at Charles Street Jail differed from the inmate survey in the way in which it was administered and the apparent validity of the responses (as the review of survey administration elsewhere in this report indicates). The small size of the respondent pool, the potential bias in that group, and the possibly contaminating circumstances in which the surveys were completed make the results suspect.

Leaving these limitations in mind, though, the officer responses still suggest that the Bail Appeal Project is reasonably well received by the institutional staff. Overall, the officers seemed to see the relevance of Bail Appeal to them as a means of reducing the Jail population, and they generally believed that to be a good thing.

Some 83 per cent of the officers responding reported that BAP makes their job easier, with the predominant reasons being that it keeps the count down, helps inmates get out of jail, and provides services to

inmates which officers cannot. Twenty officers (88 per cent of those responding to this question) reported having referred inmates to BAP. Only one of the three who had never referred gave any explanation--that there was "no need." These three non-referrers do not appear to harbor an active dislike for BAP, since they generally responded "unsure" to several other questions and all agreed that they would like more information on BAP.

The custody staff responding was unanimously favorable toward the BAP staff, with all but one replying that they personally liked the BAP staff members, and that one being unsure. Only two officers offered criticisms when asked what BAP does worst; one said that the Project does not get enough inmates out of jail, and the other that they get "the wrong people" out. Not one officer concluded that Charles Street Jail would be better off without the Bail Appeal Project.

SUMMARY

It is appropriate here to recapitulate in brief several key observations from the discussion thus far:

- . BAP is providing bail appeal representation at the rate of approximately 800 appeals per year, arising from approximately 1200 initial petitions. The Project is apparently providing its services in every case in which it is practical to do so, although as much as 10 per cent of the Jail population may be unaware of their rights to a bail appeal.
- . BAP has taken action against perceived sources of bureaucratic resistance to inmates' bail appeal rights.
- . BAP is providing 75 per cent of its appellants with hearings within a week of commitment, with the average being 4.4 days.
- . On appeal, 56.1 per cent of BAP's clients obtain changes in their bail status.
- . 51 per cent of BAP's clients who appeal are released pending trial.
- . The default rate for BAP clients who are released is apparently approximately the same as that of other District Court defendants.
- . Only a very small proportion of BAP's clients indicate dissatisfaction with the services received.

Thus, by these observations, the Bail Appeal Project is succeeding in providing effective representation in bail appeals to the Charles Street Jail inmates who have a right to those appeals.

An additional, largely inscrutable, question remains to be addressed: What effect has the Bail Appeal Project had on the Jail population? As the data discussed above indicates, the Bail Appeal Project has aided 139 defendants in obtaining bail condition changes and pre-trial release in six months--an annual rate of 278. It is unclear how many of these defendants would have been able to raise bail and achieve pre-trial release without BAP. It is also unclear how long the terms of incarceration they have avoided by being released might have been; the mean length of time from commitment to disposition for detained defendants in the BAP client sample used in this study is 34.6 days, the median, 15 days. Relying on these figures, the maximum effect which BAP may be having on the Jail population (assuming all their clients would otherwise have stayed in jail 34.6 days) is a reduction in the average daily census of 24.3. If, say, a third of the released clients would have gotten out as fast without BAP, another third would have required an additional three days apiece, and the remaining third would have stayed in jail an average of 15 days each, the aggregate effect of the Project would be a 4.6 census reduction.

To attempt to quantify the effects of BAP in short-run monetary terms is futile. The effect of the Project on the average population, until substantial capital construction occurs, must be evaluated at marginal rather than average cost. Since the marginal cost of housing an additional inmate is negligible, and since the other benefits of the Bail Appeal Project--the guarantee of legal rights, the continuation of released defendants in employment, the avoidance of welfare payments to defendants' families--are in dollar terms unknown, the gross savings effected by the Bail Appeal Project must be an amalgam of the negligible and the unknown. Clearly, this line of analysis cannot be fruitful.

In the long term, the effect of a persistent reduction in the Jail population may be to achieve cost savings in the administration of the Jail which might approach as a maximum the present average cost of maintaining that number of inmates. If this long-term effect were to come to pass, the Bail Appeal Project would offset its budgeted cost of \$57,000 by effecting a reduction in the average daily population of 4.6 or more (assuming an average cost per inmate day of \$34.09, based on the 1974-75 Jail Budget and a population of 150).

APPENDIX A: SURVEY RESEARCH

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As part of this evaluation study, structured interviews were prepared for the following populations:

- (1) All dischargees from Deer Island Prison.
- (2) All Deer Island inmates as of the week of July 22, 1974.
- (3) All Deer Island correction officers as of the week of July 22.
- (4) All Charles Street Jail inmates as of the week of July 29.
- (5) All Charles Street Jail correction officers as of the week of July 29.
- (6) A sample of 100 to 150 past dischargees from Deer Island, to include at least 50 persons also discharged from Charles Street Jail.

A copy of the format for each of these surveys is included immediately following this narrative. Attempts were made to administer all these instruments to all these populations; the surveys captioned under (1) and (6) were almost totally unsuccessful, however. Each of the captioned surveys is discussed infra.

The purpose of each survey was to gather the opinions of the respondent group about the programs being studied and the institutional contexts within which they operate. Each survey attempted to discover the level and accuracy of knowledge about the programs, the attitudes toward the programs and their personnel, the degree of contact with and use of the programs, the perceived benefits and disadvantages of each program, the perceived performance by each program of some of its specific objectives, and possible suggestions for improvement.

In the formulation of each questionnaire, several common elements were emphasized. First, each survey was intended for individual interview administration by study staff in relative privacy. Experience has shown that this method, although expensive and time consuming, is much more likely than any other to ensure a high response rate; to produce answers to most of the questions; to produce relatively frank, complete, and serious answers rather than off-the-cuff retorts; to eliminate having questions misread or misunderstood and to minimize the possibility of "contamination" by respondents consulting with each other or others, or feeling that their responses would be reviewed by their superiors. Illiteracy was also expected to be an obstacle to "self-administration," particularly among inmates in this study. In the one case in which self-administration was used (recounted infra), many of these problems did in fact arise.

Secondly each interview was designed to be as brief as possible, to avoid boring or alienating the respondents and eliciting only curt answers later in the session. This proved to be somewhat

difficult to do while still covering the necessary ground, but apparently it was generally accomplished since there was only occasional degradation in response quality in later answers. In two of the questionnaires, a change-of-pace device--a brief series of yes-or-no responses which the subjects could check off themselves if they preferred--was used to extend the survey length slightly while hopefully avoiding boredom.

Thirdly, the surveys contained a high proportion of "open-ended" questions--that is, questions without a choice of pre-formulated responses provided to the subject. Even though the interview forms sometimes included lettered alternative answers, these were never read to the subject for his selection, but only included to facilitate the recording of responses. The concentration on open-ended questions was intended to minimize the possibility that, by pre-structuring, the questionnaire itself would tend to influence the answers of the subjects. Similarly, the questions designed to elicit more or less "pure" opinions were framed in as general and non-leading a fashion as possible in order to avoid "putting words in the mouths" of the subjects. The style of questioning used in these surveys, like the interview administration, tends to be more troublesome and expensive. The number of interviewers must be minimized (thus increasing the time required to perform the survey), since seemingly vague questions will sometimes require explication or prodding and different questions might use different means of encouraging responses--or indeed since different interviewees might simply present varying images and thus create inconsistent expectations in the same type of respondent. In addition, open-ended responses require extra effort to categorize and code after all the interviews have been conducted.

In addition, all the surveys were made as unpretentious and understandable as possible. The language used was straightforward; "what are you in for?" instead of "what is your current offense?" Simple explanatory comments were interjected when needed to introduce the subject to a new line of questions. And, at the beginning of each interview, the interviewer introduced himself and emphasized briefly the independence of the evaluation effort, the confidentiality of the responses, and the importance of honest responses in guiding future improvements.

Analysis

Responses to each of the successful surveys were examined and the answers coded into response categories reflecting the natural groupings of the answers. These coded summaries were transferred to fixed format keypunch cards, generally one per subject, and frequency distributions of the answers to each question obtained. After scrutiny of these distributions, extensive crosstabulations of responses to different questions were performed in order to detect relationships between the answer distributions. The chi-square test of statistical correlation was used to test the significance of the relationships.

Then each set of survey responses was scrutinized and a staff paper analyzing the results, supported by significant tables of responses and cross-tabulations, was prepared. The papers were discussed among all study staff and copies were distributed to the study sponsors, institutional management for the jail and the prison, and directors of the relevant programs being studied. The key substantive findings of the surveys have been incorporated into the chapters of this report dealing with the subject programs and thus are not discussed here.

Deer Island Dischargees

The survey of this population, captioned (1) supra, was a failure. Although study staff reported regularly to the Island each week, only three interviews were conducted. The primary reason for this was that the rate of discharge from Deer Island during the month of July was extremely low. The recent trends of declining population and increasing average sentence length created a reduction in the number of men on the four weeks' "discharge lists" to a handful. A second reason for the lack of interviews was that the few soon-to-be discharged inmates were frequently not available to be interviewed, for any one of several reasons, including the institutional staff's simple inability to locate the inmate.

Deer Island Inmates

At Deer Island, some observers predicted that many inmates would not be found for interviewing purposes, that others would refuse to talk, that there would be serious problems of communication with the inmates, and that only inadequate inhibitory interview sites would be available. These fears in general were not realized.

The survey attempted to contact every inmate rather than take a sample, since this approach seemed to offer the least danger of excluding any significant group. This effort was moderately successful.

Only one interviewer was used. Thus, there was no variance from respondent to respondent due to differences in the methods of question explication and prodding where necessary. The interviewer was centrally situated in the prison and got respondents in four ways:

- (1) Through inmate committee cooperation (39 respondents),
- (2) By speaking with inmates passing by (20 respondents),
- (3) By going to release dorms (20 respondents), and
- (4) Through the cooperation of guards (10 respondents).

In all, 89 inmates were interviewed. There were officially 154 inmates at the time of the survey (the week of July 22). Eight were in the infirmary, 11 in disciplinary segregation (the plant), and 6 had escaped. Thus, the survey interviewed 89 from an available universe of 129 (71%).

No known definable element was omitted. Case managers were asked to list a few inmates representative of various groups, and most of these listed were in fact interviewed. Members of the inmate council agreed that the interviewed group appeared to be fairly representative.

The inmates appeared to be answering honestly, giving negative opinions freely when asked and offering fairly lengthy comments in response to the most open-ended questions.

Deer Island Officers

Personal interviews were also conducted here, again by a single interviewer, except in the case of the night shift, where practicality demanded self-reporting. The survey staff secured 41 interviews. There were 72 officers in all at Deer Island, but 10 were not on duty during the interview period (week of July 22). The other omissions can be attributed to the pressures of time and the difficulties in reaching officers on the night shift. There was no apparent systematic selectivity in who was reached and who was not.

As with the inmates, the officers generally seemed responsive, open minded, and willing to give serious consideration to the survey, although in many cases their knowledge of specific programs was quite sketchy. The openness of both staff and inmates at Deer Island can probably be attributed to the general tenor and "looseness" of the institution as well as the excellent cooperation that study staff consistently enjoyed from the Master, custody staff, and on-Island program staff.

Charles Street Inmates

As in the study conducted at Deer Island, personal interviews were conducted in order to avoid the anticipated problems of illiteracy and haphazard completion of hand-outs. Three interviewers were used, because of time constraints. Study staff were fortunate to get excellent cooperation from the jail administration insofar as the mechanics of interviewing inmates was concerned, although, as noted below, the questionnaire was censored and several potentially valuable questions deleted.

Interviews took place over three days. During two days, the interviewers stationed themselves near the offices of the Classification Project and talked to all the inmates on that floor. At the third session, officers brought inmates to the interviewers randomly as selected by the interviewers. There was one possible drawback to this last practice: it may have resulted in reluctance on the part of the inmates to openly express themselves, after having been brought to the interview by a correction officer.

In all, 94 interviews were secured--over 70% of the entire population. There is no evidence that any group was systematically omitted from the survey, although the method of selection was not entirely random. The proportion of the population reached is quite high, and so the responses are probably statistically reliable.

In contrast to Deer Island, the administration of the Charles Street Jail showed a great deal of interest in the questions to be asked and demanded the deletion of three questions from the original draft inmate questionnaire. These three questions were:

"I want to start by asking you your general opinion of the Charles Street Jail. What do you think of this place?"

"How do you think the guards feel about the Classification Program?"

"How do you think the guards feel about the Bail Appeal Project?"

The latter two questions were replaced with substitutes--not before serious negotiation, however--asking whether the inmates could see the projected staff for each of the projects whenever they wanted or needed to.

The effect of these deletions from the questionnaire was to limit the amount of information which could be detected by this survey which might give an indication of how the inmates feel about the institution in general, how the inmates feel about the officers, and how the officers apparently feel about the programs. Thus the survey results lacked a certain degree of institutional context.

Charles Street Officers

This survey differs from all the others conducted in connection with this study in that the questionnaires were self-administered, i.e., filled out by the officers. Staff time available was insufficient for interview administration since a significant amount of time (three interviewers for three days) was lost while the

administration of the Jail went through the process of censoring the officer and inmate questionnaires. Study staff were notified of the administration's decision to exclude them from the Jail when they arrived at the institution, as planned, to begin administering personal interview questionnaires. Therefore, there was no way to avoid the enforced idleness of the interviewers who had been assembled to undertake the survey.

The decision to allow self-administration of the officers' questionnaire at Charles Street was made in the expectation that, the Charles Street officer corps was being apparently more rigorously administered than any other group surveyed, a significant proportion of the officers would fill out the interview form as requested. In addition, study staff were assured that the officers would fill out the questionnaires without being permitted to consult with each other, without interruption, and with anonymity. The Jail Deputy Master agreed to oversee the administration of the questionnaire to all the officers assigned to the day shift, which he estimated at approximately 40-45. Unfortunately, it does not appear that these expectations as to questionnaire administration were met. Only 25 interviews were returned; each of them was marked on the front page with the name of the officer completing the questionnaire; and, when a telephone call was made to ask whether more interviews would be returned, the Deputy Master asked his assistant "Have we gotten any more of those questionnaires back?"--thus indicating that the questionnaires had been distributed to the officers, rather than their administration being supervised.

Because of the small size of the pool of respondents, the potential bias in that group, and the possibly contaminating circumstances in which the questionnaires were apparently completed, the validity of the responses to this survey are clearly quite suspect. In particular, cross-tabulations of responses had to be almost totally disregarded, since the numbers involved in each category or cell of the table are so small.

As with all the other questionnaires used by this study, the form was kept as brief as possible, clear, simple, and relatively open to free expression by the subjects. Since this questionnaire was self-administered, however, the multiple choice responses which appear on the questionnaire were available to the subjects; thus there was a lower likelihood that any question which gives alternative responses would elicit any response other than those pre-coded onto the questionnaire.

The Sheriff's Office demanded the deletion of six questions from the initial officers questionnaire. Each was eliminated. The effects of this censorship on the questionnaire were as follows:

- . Two questions asking the guards how they see their function and the Jail's function were deleted. As a staff member of the Sheriff's Office pointed out, the Sheriff, who is responsible for the administration of the Jail, emphasizes primarily and strongly the Jail's role as a custody institution, and the most important function of the officers in the institution as maintaining control over the inmates--preventing their escape and keeping order. And if the Sheriff has no other pretention as to the function of the institution, it is unlikely that the officers would maintain otherwise.
- . One question asking the guards how they feel toward the inmates in general was deleted, with the understanding that this information might be detected (although not quite as well) through other questions, such as one asking the officer how the inmates have changed during his tenure at the Jail.
- . A question asking each officer what his assignment is was deleted upon assurance that most officers rotate through all the common assignments in the Jail, and that study staff would be told in general which assignments had been covered by the questionnaire's administration.
- . Two additional questions about the officers' attitudes toward their jobs generally were deleted. These questions, although not essential to the evaluation, would have been useful in eliciting from the officers some measure of their general attitudes, which would of course affect the way in which they interact with the inmates and with the program.

The reader is left to speculate as to the reasons for this exercise of censorship by the Sheriff's Office.

The Follow-Up Survey

This attempt to contact ex-inmates in their homes was an utter failure, with no questionnaires at all being completed; however, a recounting of the study's experience may be instructive to future researchers.

The latest available names, aliases and addresses of discharges from the August 1972-July 1973 "cohort II" group were obtained from Office of Probation records. Then survey staff attempted to trace the subjects for telephone interviews through telephone directories, and through their families. At no time was the criminal record of the subject mentioned, unless the conversant

indicated his knowledge of it. Approximately 30 hours, mostly between 11 a.m. and 8 p.m., were devoted to trying to contact 174 individuals with the following results:

- . No telephone number at all could be found for 126.
- . 21 had unpublished numbers.
- . 7 were unavailable, being either reincarcerated or fugitives.
- . 5 families were contacted. Generally they were reticent to refer callers to subjects. One father announced that he had no idea where his son was and could not care less.
- . The search was abandoned for 3 subjects when long distance calls (e.g., Puerto Rico) became necessary.
- . One call was aborted because the answerer could not speak English.
- . A single subject was apparently contacted, but after confirming his full name and address suddenly denied his identity when the purpose of the call was revealed.

Clearly, future surveys of this sort will have to devise other (and certainly more expensive) means of finding releases. Probably only investigation in the local community through the agency of one familiar with the area and, hopefully, the subject would be successful. Candidates for such assistance might include probation officers (indeed, perhaps the survey should be restricted to current parolees or probationers), police officers, or staff at local community service agencies. Even with this assistance, a high response rate is probably not to be expected, and the group that can be located might be significantly biased, being more stable, generally older, better established in the community, more affluent, less fearful of arrest for some other infraction, and so forth.

DEER ISLAND INMATES AND RELEASEES QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION:

I'm _____ . I'm part of a project evaluating things here at Deer Island. We have nothing to do with the prison in any way.

I hope you'll tell me what you feel. If you don't we'll never know what is going on or how to get things fixed up.

No one at the prison will know what you tell me.

1. I want to start by asking you your general opinion of D.I. What do you think of this place?

2. Just to get an idea of your experience: have you been in D.I. before?

A.) Yes B.) No

3. Have you ever been in any other jail or prison before?

A.) Yes B.) No

4. Have you been out on furlough since you've been here?

A.) Yes B.) No C.) D.K.

--- I'd like to talk about some of the programs here.

5. Do you know who your case manager is? Who?

A.) Yes B.) No C.) D.K.

6. Do you get to see him often enough?

A.) Yes B.) No C.) D.K.

7. Well, how often do you see him?

A.) Daily B.) More than once a week C.) Once a week
D.) More than once a month E.) Once a month F.) less than once a month
G.) Don't know; unresponsive

8. Basically, what do you think the CMs do?

9. What else would you like them to do?

10. Do you think they do a good job?

A.) Yes B.) No C.) D.K.

11. Do you think your CM is part of the prison administration?

A.) Yes B.) No C.) D.K.

12. When did you have your first interview with the case management people?

A.) Within 12 hours; right away B.) within first day
C.) Second or third day D.) Later
E.) Don't recall

13. Was the interview helpful?

A.) Yes (skip to #15) B.) No C.) D.K. (skip to #15)

14. Why not?

32. Do (did) you go to most meetings and interviews?
 A.) yes (skip to 34) B.) No C.) D.K. (skip to 34)
33. Why not?
34. Do you think it's a good program?
 A.) Yes B.) No C.) D.K.
35. What's best about it?
36. What's worst?
37. Do you think the guards like it?
 A.) Yes B.) No C.) D.K.
38. Do other inmates seem to like it?
 A.) Yes B.) No C.) D.K.
39. (Only those in it before, not now) Did you remain in the program as long as possible?
 A.) Yes (skip to 41) B.) No C.) D.K.
40. Why did you stop?

41. Have you ever heard of BOSP (Boston Offender Service Project)?
 A.) Yes B.) No (skip to 52) C.) D.K. (skip to 52)
42. How did you hear about it?
 A.) Initial meeting, orientation
 B.) Otherwise from C.M.
 C.) Guards D.) Previously in D.I.
 E.) Word of mouth
 F.) Other
 G.) D.K.
43. What do you know about it?
44. What do you think about the program? [opinion]
45. Will you be involved with it when you leave D.I.?
 A.) Yes B.) No C.) D.K.
46. Have you ever met with them?
 A.) Now & Before B.) Yes, now only C.) in D.I.
 D.) Before, not now E.) Never (skip to 52) F.) D.K. (skip to 52)
47. Were they helpful?
 A.) Yes (skip to 49) B.) No C.) D.K. (skip to 49)
48. Why not?
49. Do they provide as much as you thought they would?
 A.) Yes B.) No C.) D.K.

50. (Those with BOSP before only) When you were with them before, did you continue with them or stop?

A.) Continued (skip to 50) B.) Stopped C.) D.K. (skip to 50)

51. Why?

52. Have you heard of the furlough fund? What is it?

A.) Yes B.) No (skip to 54) C.) D.K. (skip to 54)

53.. How did you hear?

A.) Initial meeting, orientation

B.) Otherwise from C.M.

C.) Guards

D.) Previously in D.I.

E.) Word of Mouth

F.) Other

G.) D.K.

54. Generally, what kinds of programs do you think D.I. should have?

55. Do you think the guards like having the programs around that D.I. now has?

A.) Yes B.) No C.) D.K.

56. Do the other inmates like them?

A.) Yes B.) No C.) D.K.

DEMOGRAPHICS

57. How old are you?

A.) Under 18 B.) 18-21 C.) 22-25 D.) 26-30

E.) Over 31 F.) Refused

58. How long are you in for?

A.) Less than 6 months B.) Less than one year C.) less than 2 years

D.) more than 2 years E.) Refused

59. Are you married?

A.) Yes B.) No C.) Divorced (separated, widow er) D.) refused

60. Did you have a regular job before arrest?

A. Yes B.) No C.) Other, refused

61. Do you have a particular medical problem -- including alcohol or drugs?

A.) no B.) drugs C.) Alcohol D.) other medical

E.) refused, other

62. Do you think you had a good lawyer?

A.) yes B.) no C.) D.K.

63. Was your lawyer appointed?

A.) yes B.) no C.) D.K.

64. What are you in for?

(do not ask but record)

65.

Race: 1. White 2. Black 3. Hispanic 4. Other

HAS YOUR CASE MANAGER HELPED: (circle)

- | | | |
|---|-----|----|
| A. ...you understand yourself better? | YES | NO |
| B. ...you have a better idea of what
to do when you're released? | YES | NO |
| C. ...you get in touch with any other
programs? | YES | NO |
| D. ...you apply for furlough? | YES | NO |
| E. ...you apply for a release program? | YES | NO |
| F. ...you plan to see the parole board? | YES | NO |
| G. ...you with a medical or dental problem? | YES | NO |
| H. ...you deal with a correction officer? | YES | NO |
| I. ...you make contact with programs or
people for release? | YES | NO |
| J. ...with your family? | YES | NO |

DEER ISLAND OFFICERS QUESTIONNAIRE

I'm working for a group that is evaluating the various programs offered at Deer Island. We feel that the opinions of the officers will be very valuable. Please answer each question as honestly as you can. We will keep all answers confidential.

1. I'd like to start by asking you how long you've been working at DI?
A. Less than one year B. 1-2 years C. 2-5 years
D. Over 5 years
2. What is the main thing you do -- keep order, keep prisoners from escaping, help the inmates, or something else?
A. Keep order B. Stop escapes C. Help D. Other
3. Generally, what do you think about the programs that Deer Island has for inmates?
4. Are you familiar with Case Management?
A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
5. Are you familiar with the Academy?
A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
6. Are you familiar with BOSP (Boston Offenders Service Project)?
A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
7. Are you familiar with the Roxbury Multiservice Center (Community Corrections Project)?
A. Yes B. NO C. Don't know

8. Have you ever advised or helped an inmate to get involved in one of these programs?
A. Yes B. No [skip to 10] C. Don't know [skip to 10]
9. Which one(s)?
10. Which program is best run?
A. CM B. Academy C. BOSP D. Roxbury E. Other
11. Which is worst run?
A. CM B. Academy C. BOSP D. Roxbury E. Other
12. Do you personally feel that you are an important part of these programs?
A. Yes B. No C. Don't know

-----Now let's look at each of the programs.

13. How often do you talk with Case Management?
A. Every day B. A few times a week C. A few times a month
D. Almost never or never
14. Do you have a good relationship with Case Management?
A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
15. Do you see the people who run Case Management as part of the institution's staff?
A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
16. How often do you go to Case Management about an inmate's disciplinary problems?
A. More than once a week B. More than once a month
C. Infrequent, but it happens D. Never
17. How often do you go to Case Management about an inmate's personal problems?
A. More than once a week B. More than once a month
C. Infrequent, but it happens D. Never

18. How often does Case Management ask you for an opinion about an inmate?
 A. More than once a week B. More than once a month
 C. Infrequent, but it happens D. Never
19. What do you think Case Management does?
20. What would you like improved?
21. Basically, do you think Case Management helps the inmates?
 A. Yes B. No [skip to 29] C. Don't know
22. What areas do they help in?
23. Specifically, does Case Management help inmates to understand themselves better?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
24. Does it help them to participate in programs?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
25. Does it help them do their detail work regularly?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
26. Does it help them deal with personal problems?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
27. Does it help them to prepare for getting out?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know

28. Does it help keep order at Deer Island?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
29. Does Case Management make your job harder or easier?
 A. Harder B. Easier C. Neither D. Don't know
30. Turning to the Academy: do you get involved with attendance -- making sure people show up?
 A. Yes B. No [skip to 33] C. Don't know
31. Is this a problem for you?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
32. Have you worked personally with teachers to deal with attendance problems?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
33. Do you think the Academy helps inmates?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
34. Does it interfere with the normal duties of details?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
35. Do officers encourage or discourage inmates from joining or attending?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
36. Would you like to see courses for credit offered for officers?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
37. Are the teachers part of the institutional staff?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
38. How could the Academy program be improved?

39. Turning to the Roxbury Center program: what is that program trying to do?

40. Do you think it does anything?
A. Yes B. No [skip to 43] C. Don't know

41. What?

42. Should the program have a say in such things as furloughs, work release, and so forth?
A. Yes B. No C. Don't know

43. How could the program be improved?

44. Now, BOSP: what is this program trying to do?

45. Do you think it does anything?
A. Yes B. No [skip to 37] C. Don't know

46. What?

47. How could it be improved?

48. What do prisoners need most when they get out?

-----Just a few general questions.

49. What is the goal of Deer Island -- punishment, rehabilitation, keeping criminals off the street, or deterrence?
A. Punishment B. Rehabilitation C. Keeping off street
D. Deterrence E. Other

50. What is your main impression of the inmates?

51. What changes, if any, have you seen in the inmates over the last few years?

52. Do you think there should be more programs, less programs, or are there about the right amount now?
A. More B. Less C. Right amount D. Don't know

53. Do you think that the ones here should be improved or changed?
A. Yes B. NO C. Don't know

54. Do these programs make your job easier or harder?
A. Easier B. Harder C. No difference D. Don't know

55. Why do prisoners enter programs -- do they want to be helped or are they looking to make things easier on themselves?
A. "Help" B. "Easy" C. Both D. Don't know

56. Why did you become a correction officer?

57. Do you like the job?

A. Yes B. No C. Don't know

58. How far did you go in school?

A. Some high school B. High school grad
C. High school grad + courses D. College grad

59. How old are you?

A. 18-21 B. 21-29 C. 30-39 D. 40-49 E. Over 49

60. What is your assignment?

61. Have you had other assignments? What?

-----[Hand each interviewee the supplementary sheet to fill out]

-----THANK YOU.

INMATES NEED MORE OR BETTER: (circle)

1. Counseling or therapy	YES [more or better]	NO
2. Discipline	YES	NO
3. Educational training	YES	NO
4. Job training	YES	NO
5. Job placement	YES	NO
6. Medical care	YES	NO
7. Furloughs	YES	NO
8. Work release	YES	NO
9. Living quarters	YES	NO
10. Freedom	YES	NO
11. Contacts with groups from their communities	YES	NO

CHARLES STREET INMATES QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction:

I'm _____ . I'm part of a project evaluating things here at the jail. We have nothing to do with the prison in any way.

I hope you'll tell me what you feel. If you don't, we'll never know what is going on or how to get things fixed up.

No one at the prison will know what you tell me.

2. Just to get an idea of your experience: Have you ever been/the CSJ before?
A. Yes B. No
3. Have you been in any other jail or prison before?
A. Yes B. No
4. Are you doing time now or waiting for trial?
A. Doing time B. Waiting
5. In court did you hire a lawyer or have one appointed for you?
A. Mass Defender B. Court Appointed C. Private Lawyer (skip to 7)
6. Did you think your lawyer was pretty good, pretty bad or average?
A. Good B. Bad C. Average D. Don't know

Now, I'd like to ask some questions about the classification project.

7. When was your orientation interview?
A. First few hours B. Next day C. Within first few days
D. Never had one E. Don't remember
8. Do you remember who was there? Who?
A. Yes (staffer, inmate, prison staffer) B. No
9. Was the orientation interview helpful?
A. yes B. No C. Don't know
A. yes B. No
10. Why? Why not?
11. What services of the classification project have you used?
A. Legal & advocacy counseling B. Personal counseling C. Drug counseling
D. Mental health E. Other F. None (skip to 17)
12. Has it (have they) been helpful?
A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
13. Why? Why Not?
14. Have you felt the counselor is totally on your side?
A. Yes B. No C. Don't know

15. Can you see the Classification Project when you want to/have to?
16. About how much time do you spend in Classification each week?
 A. 1 hour or less B. 1-2 hours C. over 2 hours
 D. Don't know
17. If you have a problem do (would) you go to some one in classification?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
18. Are there programs you would like to have here?
19. Are you aware of the Bail Appeal project?
 A. Yes B. No (skip to 31) C. Don't know
20. How did you first hear about it?
 A. Orientation B. Otherwise from lassification C. Word of mouth
 D. Guards E. Been in CSJ before F. In court G. Other
 H. Don't know
21. Have you had any contact with it?
 A. Yes B. No (skip to 29) C. Don't know
22. Were your rights explained to you fully?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know D. Inapplicable
23. Did you actually go to court and appeal?
 A. Yes B. No, never went to court. C. No, went to court but didn't appeal.
 D. D.K.

24. How was the decision made? Did yo u make it alone?
 A. Mine alone B. Interviewer made C. Lawyer made D.. I made with
 them E. Other G. Don't know
25. Do you have any complaints?
26. (If in court) were you satisfied with your lawyer?
 A. Yes B. No C. Don't know
27. About how long did people in the B.A.P. meet with you all told?
 A Less than 15 minutes B. 15 - 30 minutes C. more than 30 minutes
 D. Don't know
28. Did you feel they had your interests at heart?
 A. Yes B. No. C. Don't know
29. What do you think of the B.A.P.?
30. Can you see the Bail Appeal Project when you want to/have to?
31. What is your age?
 A. Under 18 B. 18-21 C. 22-25 D. 26-30 E. over 31
 F. Refused
32. Are you married?
 A. Yes. B. No. C. Divorced/Separated/Widower D. Refused

33. Did you have a regular job before arrest?

- A. Yes B. No C. Other D. Refused

34. Do you have a particular medical problem, including alcohol or drugs?

- A. No B. Drugs C. Alcohol D. Other F. Refused

35. What are you in for (waiting trial for)?

(DO NOT ASK BUT RECORD)

36. A. Male B. Female

37. A. White B. Black C. Hispanic

CHARLES STREET OFFICERS QUESTIONNAIRE

(please circle the letter of the appropriate answer)

1. In your view, what does the Classification Project try to do?

2. Have you ever referred an inmate to the Classification Project?

- a. yes b. no c. unsure

3. (If you ever have referred) Why?

4. (If you never have referred) is there some reason why you haven't?

5. How often do you talk with people in the Classification project about particular inmates?

- a. more than once a week b. more than once a month c. almost never

6. Does the Classification Project make your job easier or harder?

- a. easier b. harder c. unsure

7. Why?

8. Do you like the people working for the Classification Project?

- a. yes b. no s. unsure

9. Do you think they are too easy on inmates or too hard?

- a. too easy b. too hard c. unsure

24. Do you know enough about BAP or would you like more information?
a. enough b. more
25. Does BAP help inmates?
a. yes b. no c. unsure
26. What do you think the Bail Appeal Project does best?
27. What do you think the Bail Appeal Project does worst?
28. Would CSJ be better off without the Bail Appeal Project?
a. yes b. no c. unsure
29. Why? Why not?
30. How could it be improved?
31. Does CSJ need more programs, less programs or is it just about right now?
a. more b. less c. just right d. unsure

32. (If it needs more) what kind(s)?
33. How many years have you been here?
a. less than one year b. 1-2 years c. 2-3 years
d. 3-5 years e. 5-10 years f. over 10 years
34. How have the Classification Project and the Bail Appeal Project changed in the Charles Street Jail?
35. How have the inmates changed since you've been here --
a. First, what were they like when you came?

b. Second, what are they like now?
36. After fights or disturbances between officers and inmates, has the Classification Project Staff ever tried to interfere?
37. Are these programs a threat to security?

DEER ISLAND FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRE

My name is _____ . I'm working for an independent company hired by the people who pay for the programs at Deer Island to find out if the programs there should be doing more or less or different things or about the same as they are doing now. I have a few confidential questions.

1. Generally did you find the Case Management Program helpful?
a. yes b. no c. never involved with it d. don't know
2. Why(not)?
3. What main use (if any) did you make of CM? (Counseling, furloughs, etc.)
4. Did you trust your CM?
a. yes b. no c. didn't have one d. don't know
5. Did CM help you to get ready for release?
a. yes b. no (skip to 7) c. don't know (skip to 7)
6. How?
7. Did you participate in the Academy program at all?
a. yes b. no (skip to 11) c. don't know (skip to 11)
8. What level were you at?

FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRE (DI)--page 2

9. Has what you learned been helpful to you since you got out?
a. yes b. no c. don't know
10. Why (not)?
11. What improvements if any would you suggest for the program?
12. Were you involved in the Roxbury Multiservice Center Community Correction Program?
a. yes b. no(skip to 23) c. don't know(skip to 23)
13. What was your involvement? What did they do?
14. Are you still in the program?
a. yes (skip to 16) b. not c. don't know
15. Why not? (prove)
16. How often did (do) you see your advocate/counselor(before release -- after release)?
17. Was he helpful?
a. yes b. no c. don't know
18. Why (not)?

19. Did they help you get a job?
a. yes b. no (skip to 22) c. don't know (skip to 22)
20. What job? (present status of job--still have-- how long at it?)
21. Are you happy with it?
a. yes b. no c. don't know
22. Did they work with your family too? If so, were they any help to the family?
a. yes b. no c. don't know
23. (Those not in only) why didn't you join the program?
24. What improvements should be made?
25. Were you involved with BOSP?
a. yes (skip to 26) b. no (skip to 27) c. don't know (skip to 33)
26. Where did you first hear about BOSP?
a. DI (guard or CM) b. BOSP community worker c. Street
d. Another agency (which?)
27. Why not? (then skip to 33).
28. What was your involvement -- what did they do?
a. money b. job c. housing d. counseling
e. nothing f. don't know

29. How long were you involved?
30. Why did you terminate?
31. What was most helpful?
a. money b. job c. housing d. counseling
e. nothing f. don't know
32. Has BOSP helped you stay out of jail? (If so) How?
33. What jobs have you had since you got out?
Do you have a job now?
34. Did BOSP help you get a job?
35. How could the BOSP program be improved?
36. Did the guards encourage or discourage people from using the program?
a. encourage b. discourage c. neither d. don't know
37. One last question: Did you get the welfare payments during the first six months after you got out?
- Do not ask but record:
38. Age
39. Residence area
40. Charge of commitment
41. Length of Sentence
42. Release date
43. Whether arrested/convicted/incarcerated since

CSJ FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRE

Hello, my name is _____ . I'm working for an independent company hired by the people who pay for the programs at Charles Street Jail to find out if the programs there should be doing more or less or different things or about the same as they are doing now. I have a few confidential questions.

1. Generally what was your impression of CSJ?
2. How long ago did you get out?
a. with last 3 months b. within last 6 months c. over 6 months ago
3. How would you rate the job of BAP or CSJ, from your experience -- excellent, pretty good, only fair or poor?
a. excellent b. pretty good c. only fair d. poor e. don't know

4. Why?

Questions 5-7 for those whose bail was reduced (in amount or category) only.

5. Did you need the BAP? Would you have gotten your bail reduced anyway?
a. yes b. no c. don't know
6. Could you have made the initial bail eventually?
7. How long would it have taken?
8. Were you satisfied with the legal representation you got from BAP?
Why not?
9. Do you think the people at the BAP had your interests at heart?
a. yes b. no c. don't know

10. Did you have more than one hearing through BAP
a. yes b. no (skip to 12) c. don't know (skip to 12)
11. Why did it take more than one?
12. a. Did you have another lawyer before you went to BAP?
What kind?
a. Mass/Roxbury Defender
b. private
c. pro se
d. don't know
13. Did you ever withdraw an appeal?
When?
Why?
14. Generally, what is your opinion of the BAP at CSJ?
15. How could it be improved?
16. Did you ever go to the Classification Project? What for?
a. legal and advocacy counseling b. personal counseling
c. drug counseling d. mental health counseling with nurse or doctor
e. job counseling f. phone calls g. other
h. none (skip to 21) i. never heard of it (skip to 28)
17. Was it (were they) helpful?
a. yes b. no c. don't know

18. Why? Why not?
19. Did you trust your counselor? was he fair?
a. yes b. no c. don't know
20. About how much time did you spend in the CP each week?
a. $\frac{1}{2}$ hour or less b. 1 hour or less c. 1-2 hours d. over 2 hours
e. don't know
21. Did you have any problems with CP? (access to CP services, quality of service, etc.)
a. yes b. no (skip to 26) c. don't know
22. If so, what were they?
23. Did CP help you get out of CSJ?
a. yes b. no c. don't know
24. Do you have a job now? What?
25. Have you been arrested since?
a. yes b. no c. don't know
26. Had you been in CSJ before?
a. yes b. no c. don't know
27. Was it different? If so, how?
28. How old are you?
a. 18-21 b. 21-29 c. 30-39 d. over 39

DO NOT ASK, BUT RECORD FOR THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS

29. What was the charge involved?
30. What eventually happened to your case?

APPENDIX B: DATA ANALYSIS

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THE RECIDIVISM STUDY

A Common Sense Explanation of the Recidivism Study

One of the stated goals of a number of correctional programs is the reduction of recidivism--the rate at which ex-inmates commit new offenses (or, for the purposes of Table 1, the percentage of ex-inmates who are charged with a new offense within six months of release). A simple way to test whether or not this goal has been met is to compare the recidivism rate of people who have received the program treatment with the rate of those people who were not in the program. For example, to examine the recidivism rate of BOSP, one would look at Table 1, "Basic Recidivism Results," in the column labeled, "Observed Recidivism." There, the BOSP recidivism rate appears as 42.5% while the recidivism rate for non-program people, those who were in neither BOSP nor the Academy nor CCP, is 41.3%. From this comparison, it would appear that BOSP clients actually did worse than those who received no treatment at all. The apparent conclusion is that BOSP did not reduce recidivism.

The problem with this type of simple comparison is that we know or suspect that certain people are worse risks than others. It is therefore quite possible that BOSP has treated a group of people who were much more likely to recidivate from the beginning and that the recidivism rate of 42.5% represents a substantial improvement over the recidivism results we would have expected had they not been in BOSP. It is to control for this possibility that the predictor tables were developed.

An example of a predictor table is Table 2, "Predictor 1." This table was developed by a process known as successive dichotomization, using the known background characteristics and recidivism rates of all the people released from Deer Island the year before the programs went into operation. Each of the cells on the bottom line of this table represents a distinct group of people who have the same background characteristics. The characteristics associated with a particular cell are those written in the cell and the cells above it. Each cell also tells how many people in the group had those characteristics (N) and the recidivism rate for that cell (R). With this information we are able to identify high risk and low risk individuals. Doing this for each person in BOSP, we are able to obtain a predicted recidivism rate for the entire BOSP program. This appears in Table 1 in the column marked "Predictor 1." The predicted recidivism rate for BOSP is 44.5%. By this measure, it would appear that the BOSP people did slightly better--recidivated less--than we would expect on the basis of our experience with similar people. A similar process was used to obtain the predicted recidivism rate entitled "Predictor 2."

A final question is: What does this difference between predicted and observed recidivism mean? An answer to this question requires some

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TABLE 1. BASIC RECIDIVISM RESULTS

	N	Predictor 1	Predictor 2	Observed Recidivism	Z-score of Difference Between P ₂ and Observed R	Probability
Academy	98	45.2%	46.9%	39.8%	1.003	0.32
BOSP	153	44.5%	45.6%	42.5%	0.546	0.58
CCP	64	41.2%	43.6%	39.1%	0.517	0.60
Case Management Program	236	41.8%	42.9%	37.7%	1.159	0.25
Non-Program	231	44.0%	45.0%	41.1%	0.846	0.40
Cohort 2	160	42.1%	42.5%	41.3%	0.218	0.83
	391	43.2%	44.0%	41.2%	0.791	0.43

TABLE 2. PREDICTOR 1 -- BASED ON COHORT I (ALL)

N = 576
R = 44.4%

VAR 210 Length of Sentence Six or Less N = 313 R = 51.1%				VAR 210 Length of Sentence Seven or More N = 263 R = 36.5%			
VAR 259 Habitual Drunk N = 88 R = 67.0%		VAR 259 Not Habitual Drunk N = 225 R = 44.9%		VAR 238 Most Serious Offense by Length Property N = 139 R = 46.0%		VAR 238 Most Serious Offense by Length Not Property N = 124 R = 25.8%	
VAR 221 Age - 1st Arrest 14 or less N = 12 R = 33.3%	VAR 221 Age - 1st Arrest 15 or more N = 76 R = 72.4%	VAR 262 Age - Release 21 or less N = 79 R = 57.0%	VAR 262 Age - Release 22 or more N = 146 R = 38.4%	VAR 262 Age - Release 21 or less N = 45 R = 60.0%	VAR 262 Age - Release 22 or more N = 94 R = 39.4%	VAR 255 Mos. of In- carceration 7 or less N = 55 R = 12.7%	VAR 255 Mos. of In- carceration 8 or more N = 69 R = 36.2%

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Construction:

$x^2 = 61.474$ df=7
 $\phi = .327$ p < .001
P.E. = 21.1%

Validation on Cohort 2:

$x^2 = 33.784$ df=7
 $\phi = .294$ p < .001
P.E. = 18.6%

understanding of the concept of statistical probability. The basic concept of probability is the common sense notion that there will be random differences in the measurement of certain phenomena due to differences in sampling. For example, if one took two pennies and flipped them ten times each and one came up heads three times and the other six times, one would not conclude that the pennies were different in any important respect. However, if one continued to flip the same two pennies one hundred times each, one would expect that both of them would come up heads about fifty times each, although one would not be surprised if it were 49 and 51. So, too, we expect the same sort of chance variations when measuring recidivism. For example, we randomly divided the group of first cohort people into two groups who then had recidivism rates of 44.0% and 44.9%. Yet we know that there is no treatment effect operating here and that the difference is the result of chance alone.

The question then is whether the difference between the predicted and observed recidivism rates for BOSP is one that quite likely could have happened by chance alone or if it is unlikely that such a difference would occur by chance and we would better say that it is the result of a treatment effect. The statistic "p," probability, tells us how likely it is that any given difference may have occurred purely by chance. The general rule-of-thumb is that if an observed difference would occur by chance less than five times in a hundred, then the conclusion is that some other factor, presumably the treatment effect, accounts for the difference. Otherwise, we conclude that there is no reason to believe there is a treatment effect on recidivism because it is not unlikely that the difference could have resulted by chance.

A probability of 0.05 indicates that there are five chances in one hundred that the difference in predicted and observed recidivism could have occurred in the absence of a treatment effect. The column entitled "probability" gives the corresponding figure for each of the observed differences. Thus, we see that a difference at least as great as the one measured for BOSP participants could have occurred fifty-eight times in a hundred by chance alone. Therefore, this analysis gives no reason to accept the hypothesis that BOSP reduces recidivism. By a similar chain of reasoning, it may be seen that there is no reason to conclude that any of the programs reduces recidivism.

All of the other tables may be read keeping the same basic principles in mind. They show recidivism levels for various combinations of programs and levels of involvement. They also provide a look at the varying degrees of severity of recidivism broken down by program participation. In each case, the observed differences were not statistically significant.

The Charge Severity Scale

At various points in the data collection process, it was necessary to choose among several charges to record one charge as representative of the group. In these cases, the most serious charge was recorded. For example, the current Deer Island offense was recorded as the most serious of the current offenses. The data supplied by the sponsors from Deer Island records was coded according to a general ranking of the most frequent offenses, developed as the collection process progressed and with offenses recorded according to the collector's judgment of where

a particular offense should fall on the scale.

In order to avoid difficulties of this sort in the coding of probation data, a complete charge severity scale was developed, which appears on the next page. To avoid inconsistencies, an attempt was made to conform the complete scale to the skeletal outline used by the Deer Island data collectors. The seriousness ranking implicit in the Uniform Crime Reports numbering system, and the few conclusions on charge type seriousness categorization that can be drawn from the work of Sellin and Wolfgang, were used as a guide. Beyond that, the scale represents the personal judgments of the research group.

There can be little quarrel with the decision that homicide, rape, kidnapping, and robbery are among the most serious offenses. A more difficult question arises as to the ordering of the more common assault and theft offenses. It was decided to consider all crimes of violence against the person as more serious than theft offenses not accompanied by personal violence. Similarly, crimes against public order such as affray, trespassing, drunk driving, etc., were considered as more serious than so-called morals offenses such as prostitution, gambling, indecent exposure, etc. This judgment may not correspond very well with the judgments of society and the criminal justice system. As a check against this possibility, the most serious offense in a person's career was selected both according to the severity scale, and according to the offense for which he received the harshest sentence. When selected according to the severity scale, the most serious offense for roughly half of the people is an offense against the person, while when selected according to sentence severity, crimes against the person account for less than 20% of the most serious offenses.

It must be noted that several factors confound any judgment of charge severity. On the one hand, first, because of the common practice of plea bargaining, the charge appearing in the record may not reflect the offense committed. On the other, sentencing policy varies widely from court to court and judge to judge, and sentence length depends on factors other than the severity of the offense, such as length of the person's criminal record, mitigating factors in the offender's personal situation, and circumstances surrounding the crime not reflected in the charge.

Clearly, a definitive and accurate charge severity scale would require a great deal of additional research. For the purposes of this study, the dual recording of the most serious offense according to the severity scale and according to sentence length probably gives a useful indication of the various factors involved in the choice and isolates some meaningful information.

The charge severity scale appears, following, as Table 3.

Development of the Dichotomous Variables

In preparation for the actual dichotomization, frequency distributions for all variables were obtained and inspected for median values and natural breaking points in the distribution.

TABLE 3
Charge Severity Scale

2-Digit Code	Offense	4-Digit Seriousness Code
40	HOMOCIDE	0999
41	KIDNAP	1099
42	RAPE	1103
43	ROBBERY	1299
09	A&B/DANGEROUS WEAPON	1315
-10	A&B/CHILD (OR INTENT TO MURDER): ASSAULT W/INTENT TO ROB	1399
19	A&B POLICE OFFICER	1311
-10	A&B	1313
13	ASSAULT/INDECENT, STATUTORY, SODOMY	1199
15	ARSON	2099
15	INJURY TO PERSONAL PROPERTY; BREAKING GLASS, MALICIOUS	2092
11	B&E	2299
11	LARCENY IN BUILDING	2308
21	BURGLARY TOOLS	2206
14	RECEIVING STOLEN GOODS, RSG	2803
02	OTHER LARCENY	2399
04	UNAUTHORIZED USE OF MOTOR VEHICLE (114A)	5458
04	RECEIVING STOLEN MOTOR VEHICLE	2406
-44	HIT AND RUN	5412
07	FORGERY	2589
30	UTTERING AND COUNTERFEITING (CONSPIRACY, 7399)	2599
25	FRAUD	2699
45	SALE OF HEROIN	3510
45	SALE OF DRUGS	3599
03	POSSESSION OF HEROIN	3512
03	POSSESSION NEEDLE/SYRINGE	3550
03	POSSESSION DRUGS (& OTHER RELATED)	3599
26	ESCAPE	4999
26	AIDING ESCAPE	4903

TABLE 3 - Continued

2-Digit Code	Offense	4-Digit Seriousness Code
46	PAROLE VIOLATION	
46	PROBATION VIOLATION	5011
44	RECKLESS DRIVING; LIVES & SAFETY; 112A; 110A	5012
44	DRUNK DRIVING: 111A	5456
08	ACCOSTING	5441
08	DISORDERLY CONDUCT (I&D, R&D); OPEN AND GROSS LEWDNESS	5309
08	AFFRAY	5311
23	POSSESSION OF FIREARMS	5399
27	BRIBERY	5299
17	TRESPASS	5199
-08	THREATS	5707
16	LICENSE &/OR REGISTRATION OFFENSE (GENERAL)	7099
18	UNINSURED MOTOR VEHICLE	5499
36	OTHER M.V. OFFENSES	5457
20	UNNATURAL AND LASCIVIOUS ACTS	5461
-47	CONTRIBUTING TO DELINQUENCY OF MINOR	3699
48	GAMING	3805
32	PROSTITUTION -- PIMPING	3999
12	NON-SUPPORT; NEGLECT	4004
24	ILLEGITIMATE CHILD	3808
06	DRUNK	7299
-38	RUNAWAY	4299
-47	BIGAMY; POLYGAMY	3899
28	INDECENT EXPOSURE	3804
34	LEWD & LASCIVIOUS COHABITATION; FORNICATION	3605
-38	JUVENILE OFFENSES; STUBBORN CHILD	3699
39	GLUE SNIFFING	7399
		3599

These breakdowns are set out in Table 4. When no independent considerations intervened, the median value or one very close to it was felt to be the most reasonable choice as a dichotomization point. This decision was prompted by a desire to develop a predictor which was applicable to the broad spectrum of the subjects, rather than one which isolated the extremes of the sample. This in turn eliminated from consideration for dichotomization a number of variables, which had greatly skewed distributions, (such as "number of escapes") with only a few persons having any escapes at all. In the case of those variables which were wholly categorical, such as marital status, occupation, or area of last address, common sense groupings of categories were made, there being no one category with the majority of cases. Thus for "area of address," Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester were grouped together as being located geographically near each other and having similar characteristics in many respects. All other categories then constituted the other half of the dichotomization. A similar process was used for occupation and for marital status.

In the case of certain variables such as age at first arrest or age at first conviction, dichotomization was performed at several points, creating a number of dichotomous variables from one continuous variable. These dichotomies were created at points which previous similar studies had found to be significant. This was also the case with regard to offense types and offense patterns where certain offenses were grouped in various ways, such as property and other, or person crimes and other, or more serious and less serious.

Several of the dichotomous variables are worthy of particular note. VAR 259, habitual drunk, was defined as those subjects whose most frequent offense type was drunk. VAR 260, drug offenders, were defined as those persons who had a drug offense as one of their first four offense types. VAR 261, alcohol problem, was defined as any subject with drunkenness as one of his first three offense types.

Several attempts were made to analyze various offense patterns arising from the five offense types recorded for each individual. These involved multi-dimensional cross-tabulations of the offense pattern data. However, the only pattern which consistently emerged was that property offenders seem to generate a number of separate property offense types. The most convenient dichotomization resulting from this, then, was those who had a property offense as their most frequent offense type.

Finally, the most important dichotomous variable, that of recidivist versus non-recidivist, was created. Because of the short six-month follow-up period it was decided to apply a less stringent criterion of recidivism than is sometimes found. That is, all persons who had a charge filed against them within six months after release, arising from an incident within that time period, were considered recidivists. This definition of recidivism has proven quite satisfactory, yielding as it does a baseline recidivism rate slightly in excess of 40%, which is more than adequate for meaningful statistical analysis.

In all, 53 dichotomous variables were used in the analysis.

TABLE 4: DICHOTOMOUS VARIABLES

Variable Number	Descriptive Name	Dichotomizations
VAR 200	Dichotomous address	Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester v. others
VAR 201	Dichotomous religion	Catholic v. others
VAR 202	Dichotomous (D.) marital	Single v. others
VAR 203	D. education	10 or less v. 11 or more
VAR 204	D. race	White v. other
VAR 205	D. military	Some v. none
VAR 206	D. occupation	Laborer v. other
VAR 207	D. court	Superior v. district
VAR 208	D. offense	Property v. other
VAR 209	D. sentence	1 v. more than 1
VAR 210	D. length of sentence	6 or less v. 7 or more
VAR 211	D. discharge	Expired sentence v. parole
VAR 212	D. Charles Street	Some v. none
VAR 213	D. prior Deer Is. time	Some v. none
VAR 214	D. # of charges	1 or 2 v. 3 or more
VAR 215	D. age	25 or less v. 26 or more
VAR 216	D. paroled prior	Some v. none
VAR 217	D. drug or alcohol	Some v. none
VAR 218	D. work release	Some v. none
VAR 219	D. disciplined	Some v. none
VAR 220	D. furloughs	Some v. none
VAR 221	D. age first arrest	14 or less v. 15 and older
VAR 222	D. age first arrest	16 or less v. 17 or older
VAR 223	D. age first arrest	20 or less v. 21 or older
VAR 224	D. age first conviction	15 or less v. 16 or older
VAR 225	D. age first conviction	19 or less v. 20 or older
VAR 226	D. age of incarceration	17 or less v. 18 or older
VAR 227	D. age of incarceration	21 or less v. 22 or older
VAR 228	D. Most serious charge first conviction	B&E or worse v. less
VAR 229	D. Most serious charge first conviction	Drugs or worse v. less
VAR 230	D. Most serious charge first conviction	Property v. other

TABLE 4 - Continued

<u>Variable Number</u>	<u>Descriptive Name</u>	<u>Dichotomizations</u>
VAR 231	D. Disposition first conviction	Incarcerated v. not incarcerated
VAR 232	D. Disposition first conviction	Probation v. no probation
VAR 233	D. Disposition first conviction	Probation or incarceration v. other
VAR 234	D. Most serious conviction	Person v. other
VAR 235	D. Most serious conviction	Person not A&B v. Other
VAR 236	D. Most serious conviction	Property v. non-property
VAR 237	D. Most serious by length	Person v. other
VAR 238	D. Most serious by length	Property v. other
VAR 239	D. Most serious by length	RSMV or worse v. less
VAR 240	D. Parole Revocation	Some v. None
VAR 241	D. Number suspended sentences	Less than 3 v. more
VAR 242	D. Number suspended sentences revoked	Some v. none
VAR 254	D. Factor 1	Negative v. positive
VAR 255	D. Months of incarceration	7 or less v. 8 or more
VAR 256	D. Months of probation	36 or less v. 37 or more
VAR 257	D. Total convictions	10 or less v. 11 or more
VAR 259	D. Habitual drunk	Yes v. no
VAR 260	D. Drug offender	Yes v. no
VAR 261	D. Alcohol problem	Yes v. no
VAR 262	D. Age at release	21 or less v. 22 or more
VAR 263	D. Most frequent offense	Property v. other
VAR 400	D. Recidivism	Recidivist v. not recidivist

The Development of the Predictors

The recidivism predictor was developed by means of successive dichotomization, as used in the Massachusetts Department of Correction studies. This is the same technique as the attribute analysis used by McNaughton-Smith and Simon in their research. Briefly, the technique involves the construction of a series of 2x2 contingency tables, each plotting the dichotomous recidivism variable against one of the dichotomous attribute or background variables. The variable which yields the highest Chi-square for its respective contingency table is then chosen as a criterion for division of the construction group. The resulting sub-samples are then used to construct a similar series of contingency tables and the process is repeated. In contrast to some of the earlier studies using this method, however, it was decided that once the process of successive dichotomization had begun, no further attempt would be made to redefine the point of dichotomization to maximize the resulting Chi-square. While this decision risks missing important sub-groups within variables, it minimizes the risk of overfitting chance variations on the construction sample--a hazard which is described quite clearly by Simon.

The choice of the Chi-square statistic as the decision criterion was based on a number of considerations. First, the technique described by Glaser of separating extreme recidivism rates was felt to be a technique which also maximizes overfitting. Furthermore, in the circumstances used in this method, Chi-square becomes a much more informative statistic than it is in other situations. First, the comparison among Chi-square's was made on contingency tables, all of which have the same base recidivism rate. Thus, the effect of changes in the marginal distributions was minimized. Furthermore, all the comparisons among Chi-square's were made on contingency tables having the same number of cases. Thus, Chi-square provides an estimate of the related Phi statistic, which is essentially a Chi-square corrected for N. Since Phi for a 2x2 contingency table is equal to the (point biserial) correlation coefficient, the selection of the contingency table with the highest Chi-square will necessarily yield that table which is not only statistically significant, but also the table with the highest degree of association between the variable in question and recidivism.

Seven predictor tables were constructed using this methodology. Three (Tables 5, 6, and 7) were constructed using the entire first cohort as a construction sample. These differed only in the variable chosen to make the first split, being respectively the three highest Chi-square's appearing on the first set of contingency tables. Two predictors were developed using split halves, i.e., odd and even numbers of the first cohort (Tables 8 and 9), and two additional predictors were developed on the second cohort using Program participants and non-participants, respectively, as the construction samples (Tables 10 and 11). Several statistics were computed for each predictor table, including the Chi-square of the entire table, its respective Phi statistic, and Ohlin's Index of Predictive Efficiency. Further, the split half construction samples were then cross-validated on the opposite split half and Predictors 1 and 2, developed on the entire first cohort, were validated on the entire second cohort (see "validation tables" for predictors 1 and 2, which appear as Tables 12 and 13). Chi-square, Phi, and the Index of Predictive Efficiency were then recalculated for the validation sample.

TABLE 5. PREDICTOR 1 -- BASED ON COHORT 1 (ALL)

N = 576
R = 44.4%

VAR 210 Length of Sentence Six or Less N = 313 R = 51.1%				VAR 210 Length of Sentence Seven or More N = 263 R = 36.5%			
VAR 259 Habitual Drunk N = 88 R = 67.0%		VAR 259 Not Habitual Drunk N = 225 R = 44.9%		VAR 238 Most Serious Offense by Length Property N = 139 R = 46.0%		VAR 238 Most Serious Offense by Length Not Property N = 124 R = 25.8%	
VAR 221 Age - 1st Arrest 14 or less N = 12 R = 33.3%	VAR 221 Age - 1st Arrest 15 or more N = 76 R = 72.4%	VAR 262 Age - Release 21 or less N = 79 R = 57.0%	VAR 262 Age - Release 22 or more N = 146 R = 38.4%	VAR 262 Age - Release 21 or less N = 45 R = 60.0%	VAR 262 Age - Release 22 or more N = 94 R = 39.4%	VAR 255 Mos. of In- carceration 7 or less N = 55 R = 12.7%	VAR 255 Mos. of In- carceration 8 or more N = 69 R = 36.2%

Construction:

$x^2 = 61.474$ df=7
 $\phi = .327$ p < .001
P.E. = 21.1%

Validation on Cohort 2:

$x^2 = 33.784$ df=7
 $\phi = .294$ p < .001
P.E. = 18.6%

TABLE 6. PREDICTOR 2 -- BASED ON COHORT I (ALL)

N = 576
R = 44.4%

VAR 259 Habitual Drunk N = 122 R = 56.6%		VAR 259 Not Habitual Drunk N = 454 R = 41.2%			
VAR 210 Length of Sentence Six or Less N = 88 R = 67.0%	VAR 210 Length of Sentence Seven or More N = 34 R = 29.4%	VAR 262 Age - Release 21 or Less N = 147 R = 55.1%	VAR 262 Age - Release 22 or More N = 307 R = 34.5%		
		VAR 229 First Conviction Drugs or Worse N = 94 R = 62.8%	VAR 229 First Conviction Less than Drugs N = 53 R = 41.5%	VAR 255 Mos. of In- carceration 7 or less N = 138 R = 25.4%	VAR 255 Mos. of In- carceration 8 or more N = 169 R = 42.0%

Construction:

$x^2 = 55.027$ df=5
 $\phi = .309$ p<.001
P.E. = 21.1%

Validation:

$x^2 = 34.469$
 $\phi = .297$ df=5
P.E. = 13.6% p .001

TABLE 7. PREDICTOR -- BASED ON COHORT I (ALL),
BEGINNING WITH VAR 262

N = 576
R = 44.4%

VAR 262 Age - Release 21 or Less N = 151 R = 55.6%		VAR 262 Age - Release 22 or More N = 425 R = 40.5%	
		VAR 213 Prior Deer Island Time None N = 187 R = 29.4%	VAR 213 Prior Deer Island Time Some N = 238 R = 49.2%
VAR 208 Offense - Property N = 77 R = 40.3%	VAR 208 Offense - Other N = 110 R = 21.8%	VAR 227 Age - First Incarceration 21 or less. N = 133 R = 39.1%	VAR 227 Age - First Incarceration 22 or more N = 105 R = 61.9%

$\chi^2 = 45.502$ df=4
 $\phi = .281$ p<.001
P.E. = 16.4%

TABLE 8: PREDICTOR -- BASED ON COHORT I (ODD NUMBERS)

N = 284
R = 44.0%

VAR 216 Paroled Prior from Deer Island - Some N = 91 R = 58.2%		VAR 216 Paroled Prior from Deer Island - None N = 193 R = 37.3%	
VAR 254 Factor I Negative N = 64 R = 50.0%	VAR 254 Factor I Positive N = 27 R = 77.8%	VAR 215 Age - Release 25 or Less N = 109 R = 45.9%	VAR 215 Age - Release 26 or More N = 84 R = 26.2%
		VAR 226 Age - First Incarceration 17 or less N = 47 R = 59.6%	VAR 226 Age - First Incarceration 18 or more N = 62 R = 35.5%

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Construction:

$\chi^2 = 30.692$ df=4
 $\phi = .329$ p<.001
P.E. = 19.2%

Validation on Cohort I - Even Numbers:

$\chi^2 = 9.007$ df=4
 $\phi = .176$ p<.10
P.E. = 9.1%

TABLE 9. PREDICTOR -- BASED ON COHORT I (EVEN NUMBERS)

N = 292
R = 44.9%

VAR 262 Age - Release 21 or Less N = 73 R = 63.0%	VAR 262 Age - Release 22 or More N = 219 R = 38.8%			
	VAR 259 Habitual Drunk N = 62 R = 59.7%	VAR 259 Not Habitual Drunk N = 157 R = 30.6%		
		<table border="1"> <tr> <td>VAR 256 Months Probation 36 or less N = 92 R = 21.7%</td> <td>VAR 256 Months Probation 37 or more N = 65 R = 43.1%</td> </tr> </table>	VAR 256 Months Probation 36 or less N = 92 R = 21.7%	VAR 256 Months Probation 37 or more N = 65 R = 43.1%
VAR 256 Months Probation 36 or less N = 92 R = 21.7%	VAR 256 Months Probation 37 or more N = 65 R = 43.1%			

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Construction:

$\chi^2 = 35.195$ df=3
 $\phi = .348$ p<.001
P.E. = 23.66%

Validation on Cohort I - Odd Numbers:

$\chi^2 = 3.92$ df=3
 $\phi = .117$ p<.30
P.E. = 1.6%

TABLE 10. PREDICTOR -- BASED ON COHORT II PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS

N = 231
R = 41.1%

VAR 238 Most Serious Offense by Length Property N = 137 R = 49.6%		VAR 238 Most Serious Offense by Length Not Property N = 94 R = 28.7%	
VAR 240 # Parole Revocations Some N = 31 R = 71.0%	VAR 240 # Parole Revocations None N = 106 R = 43.4%		

Construction:

$\chi^2 = 21.728$ $df=2$
 $\phi = .307$ $p < .001$
 P.E. = 13.8%

TABLE 11. PREDICTOR -- BASED ON COHORT II NON-PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS

N = 160
R = 41.3%

VAR 259 Habitual Drunk N = 36 R = 66.7%	VAR 259 Not Habitual Drunk N = 124 R = 33.9%	
	VAR 262 Age - Release 21 or Less N = 34 R = 52.9%	VAR 262 Age - Release 22 or More N = 90 R = 26.7%

Construction:

$\chi^2 = 19.410$ df=2
 $\phi = .348$ p < .001
P.E. = 21.2%

TABLE 12. VALIDATION OF PREDICTOR 1

N = 391
R = 41.2%

VAR 210 Length of Sentence Six or Less N = 207 R = 44.9%				VAR 210 Length of Sentence Seven or More N = 184 R = 37.0%			
VAR 259 Habitual Drunk N = 49 R = 69.4%		VAR 259 Not Habitual Drunk N = 158 R = 37.3%		Var 238 Most Serious Offense By Length Property N = 99 R = 41.4%		VAR 238 Most Serious Offense By Length Not Property N = 85 R = 31.8%	
VAR 221 Age - 1st Arrest 14 or less N = 9 R = 66.7%	VAR 221 Age - 1st Arrest 15 or more N = 40 R = 70.0%	VAR 262 Age - Release 21 or less N = 64 R = 39.1%	VAR 262 Age - Release 22 or more N = 94 R = 36.2%	VAR 262 Age - Release 21 or less N = 37 R = 64.9%	VAR 262 Age - Release 22 or more N = 62 R = 27.4%	VAR 255 Mos. of In- carceration 7 or less N = 55 R = 30.9%	VAR 255 Mos. of In- carceration 8 or more N = 30 R = 33.3%

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Construction:

$\chi^2 = 33.784$ df=7
 $\phi = .294$ p < .001
P.E. = 18.6%

TABLE 13. VALIDATION OF PREDICTOR 2

N = 391
R = 41.2%

VAR 259 Habitual Drunk N = 66 R = 59.1%		VAR 259 Not Habitual Drunk N = 325 R = 37.5%			
VAR 210 Length of Sentence Six or Less N = 49 R = 69.4%	VAR 210 Length of Sentence Seven or More N = 17 R = 29.4%	VAR 262 Age - Release 21 or Less N = 115 R = 48.7%		VAR 262 Age - Release 22 or More N = 210 R = 31.4%	
		VAR 229 First Conviction Drugs or Worse N = 67 R = 52.2%	VAR 229 First Conviction Less than Drugs N = 48 R = 43.8%	VAR 255 Mos. of In- carceration 7 or less N = 97 R = 22.7%	VAR 255 Mos. of In- carceration 8 or more N = 113 R = 38.9%

TABLE 14: BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS BY INTENSITY

	CCP - Light Contact	CCP - Intense Contact	CCP - All Participants	BOSP - Light Contact	BOSP - Intense Contact	BOSP - All Participants	Academy - Light Contact	Academy - Intense Contact	Academy - All Participants	Case Management Participants	All Light Contact Participants	All Intense Contact Participants	All Program Participants (CCP, BOSP, Academy)	All Program Non- Participants	Entire Cohort II
Number	30	34	64	56	97	153	64	34	98	236	102	129	231	160	391
Mean Education Level	10.1	10.1	10.1	10.0	10.2	10.1	9.8	10.3	10.0	10.2	9.9	10.1	10.0	10.1	10.1
Current Offense - % Property	50.0	61.8	56.3	51.7	62.9	58.8	40.7	67.6	50.0	53.8	48.5	63.6	57	38.7	49.5
Current Offense - % Person	16.7	8.8	12.5	16.1	10.3	12.4	15.6	14.7	15.3	15.3	16.8	9.3	12.6	16.3	14.1
Mean Sentence Length	11.9	13.1	12.6	7.9	9.6	8.9	10.3	10.8	10.5	10.0	9.4	10.1	9.8	11.4	10.5
% Paroled	83.3	76.5	79.7	28.6	49.5	41.8	68.6	61.8	66.2	64.4	53.9	54.3	54.1	69.4	60.4
Mean Age of 1st Arrest	17.4	17.4	17.4	17.2	18.0	17.7	16.3	16.0	16.2	17.9	16.7	17.9	17.4	18.7	17.9
Mean Age at 1st Conviction	18.6	18.5	18.5	17.8	18.8	18.4	17.0	16.9	17.0	18.6	17.3	18.8	18.1	19.4	18.6
Mean Age at 1st Incarceration	21.7	20.9	21.3	20.6	21.5	21.2	18.8	20.5	19.4	21.8	20.0	21.5	20.9	23.5	21.9
Charge 1st Conviction - % Property	36.7	44.2	40.6	41.1	44.3	43.1	46.9	55.9	50.0	44.7	52.0	48.9	47.6	37.7	43.7
Mean Months Sentenced to Incarceration	13.0	16.8	15.0	34.5	26.0	29.1	20.9	20.2	20.7	18.9	24.5	25.8	25.2	30.4	27.3
Mean Months Sentenced to Probation	32.9	35.8	34.5	54.6	40.8	45.9	42.0	38.7	40.9	39.7	50.4	41.7	45.5	47.4	46.3
Most Serious Offense - % Person	41.4	55.9	49.2	51.8	52.6	52.3	45.3	50.0	46.9	49.1	49.0	51.2	50.2	48.1	48.8
Most Serious Offense - % Property	48.4	32.3	39.7	39.3	44.3	42.6	46.9	47.1	47.0	43.6	42.1	45.6	44.2	41.3	43.2
Most Serious by Length - % Person	13.8	5.9	9.5	18.2	16.0	16.8	12.5	12.1	12.4	17.0	17.0	12.7	14.6	22.1	17.5
Most Serious by Length - % Property	58.6	67.6	63.5	50.9	66.9	61.0	59.4	69.7	63.0	54.7	54.0	67.4	61.5	46.7	54.7
Most Frequent Offense - % Property	46.6	50.1	48.5	55.4	49.5	51.7	45.3	61.7	51.0	46.6	49.0	48.9	49.3	38.9	44.4
Most Frequent Offense - % Person	13.3	14.7	14.2	5.4	12.4	9.8	7.9	5.8	7.2	7.6	7.9	10.1	9.1	3.1	6.8
Most Frequent Offense - % Drunk	10.0	2.9	6.3	16.1	10.3	12.4	12.5	11.8	12.2	10.6	17.6	9.3	13.0	22.6	16.9
% from Boston, Roxbury & Dorchester	76.7	94.1	86.0	50.0	67.0	60.8	56.3	58.8	57.2	55.9	52.0	66.7	60.2	41.3	53.8
% Single	63.3	76.5	70.3	66.1	74.2	71.2	67.2	79.4	71.4	63.1	63.7	72.9	68.8	46.9	59.8
% White	20.0	0.0	9.4	55.4	43.3	47.7	54.7	38.2	49.0	51.1	55.9	40.3	47.2	65.6	54.7
% 1st Deer Island Incarceration	56.7	55.9	56.3	50.0	47.4	48.4	62.5	64.7	63.3	64.8	58.8	50.4	54.1	55.0	54.5
Age - Release	26.0	23.9	24.9	27.5	28.0	27.8	24.4	24.3	24.4	26.8	26.1	27.6	26.9	31.0	28.6

Of all the prediction tables developed, Predictors 1 and 2 were chosen as being most likely to be of value in the evaluation of the second cohort. Chi-square for these two tables was clearly higher than for any other, as was the related phi statistic. Most importantly, when these tables are run on the second cohort, they still retain a reasonable degree of their power (see Tables 12 and 13). The only risk category which appears to suffer significantly on validation is the split based on "age at first arrest" which appears in Predictor 1. Since this category is also a small one, the observed difference may quite probably be attributed to chance.

These tables also have the virtue of separating the population into a large number of groups with a wide spread of recidivism rates. Furthermore, most of the groups contain a reasonably large number of cases. While for other purposes it may be interesting to try to locate small groups with more extreme recidivism rates, for the present purpose of estimating a group recidivism rate, a more broadly based table will be most useful (so long as it separates the group along a reasonably wide spread of recidivism rates).

For each individual, a recidivism probability weight could be defined by reference to the tables. The average of the predicted probability of recidivism weights for any group of persons is then the predicted recidivism rate for that group as a whole. These predicted probabilities may then be compared to observed rates of recidivism for any given group to estimate that group's "treatment effect" on recidivism.

DATA COLLECTION

Deer Island

The data used in the recidivism analysis was collected from essentially three sources: records at Deer Island prison, criminal histories as recorded by the Office of Probation, and program participation information as recorded by the staffs of the programs being studied. Over 150 items of information were collected on each case.

All the data collected was transferred to fixed format punched cards for processing. There were, in all, five cards for each case; each subject was identified on these cards only by a randomly assigned four-digit number. Ultimately this information was also transferred to magnetic tape. The necessary labeling and file defining information appears both on the tape and with the punched cards. The technical details necessary for assess this information may be obtained from the sponsors.

The data collection process began at Deer Island. The chronological listing of inmates leaving the institution comprising the "discharge book" was taken as defining the population of the two samples, designated "cohort I" for the period August, 1971, through July, 1972, and "cohort II" for the period August, 1972, through July, 1973. Every Deer Island dischargee during these 24 months was initially considered for sample inclusion, and only limited exclusions were made. The exclusions are as follows:

- . Inmates released "to warrants." Those inmates who were released from Deer Island by being surrendered to the custody of another jurisdiction for detention and trial on another charge were excluded from the sample. Since, after their Deer Island discharge, they are not in actuality released, it is impossible for them to commit additional crimes comparable to those perpetrated by people who are in fact back "on the street."
- . Escapees. Escape--self-initiated discharge--is not announced in advance; thus, programs designed to assist an inmate's reintegration cannot adequately prepare for them. Consequently, the possibility of a systematic bias in the distribution of escape cases between program and non-program samples could prejudice the validity of conclusions about program performance. In addition, any escapee's first subsequent charge is most likely to be escape, an offense which he has committed regardless of whether he has been charged, so that an accurate recording of the recidivism experience by escapees would show every one to have relapsed. Thus, the distribution of escapes, presumably unaffected by program participation, could only detract from the validity of the results.
- . Transfers to other institutions. Like inmates from released to warrants, these "discharges" are not really released to freedom.
- . Second, third, or fourth discharges during one cohort discharge period. Some sample members were reincarcerated and redischarged during the same year; only their first discharges appear in the sample data. This avoids having frequent repeaters over-represented in the sample and makes the study one entirely of clients who have been exposed to programs only once.

From the sample as defined above, an additional 37 cases were excluded at one point or another during the analysis because of a lack of essential information from some source. A significant portion of these 37 cases were excluded solely due to the exigencies of the short time period during which the analysis was performed; sample members whose records were merely late in being returned from the Office of Probation had to be excluded as of an arbitrary cut-off date in order to proceed with the development of the predictors. With no indication that these exclusions are biased in any way, they can only be attributed generally to random inadequacies in record-keeping in the criminal justice system, possible mistakes on the part of the data collectors, or in some few cases an inability to follow the records of subjects with numerous aliases.

The Deer Island data includes information regarding the subject's personal history and his history at Deer Island, including offenses charged, time spent at Deer Island, participation in the furlough and work release programs, and disciplinary actions taken against him. It must be borne in mind that the personal history information from Deer Island is mainly self-reported and therefore may contain a number of inaccuracies and exaggerations. It must also be remembered that the criminal history information from Deer Island, while probably accurate, is incomplete in the sense that it only notes offenses for which the subject actually did time at Deer Island.

it only notes offenses for which the subject actually did time at Deer Island.

Office of Probation. From information collected at Deer Island, a set of index cards bearing names and basic identifier information for each sample member was prepared and submitted to the Office of Probation. They updated and photocopied their criminal history information and returned copies to the study staff.* From these records--duplicates of 3x5 cards with up to fifteen lines of hand-written entries aplece, and as many as twenty-five cards per person--information summarizing prior and subsequent criminal records was coded. A list of the procedures used in interpreting the records is summarized at the end of this section.

These files held all the criminal history and recidivism information used in the study and thus were the most critical single data source for the analysis. Unfortunately, they were also the most inscrutable. Considerable effort was therefore expended--some 80 to 100 person-days of work--attempting to achieve the greatest possible accuracy.

There were some difficulties in matching the name lists compiled from the Deer Island discharge book with the probation files; of the more than 1,000 names initially collected, eight were completely missing at Probation, and twenty or so were listed at Probation under a different alias. But the greatest obstacle to efficient coding was the painstaking task of reading and interpreting each individual file. Several days of work were required for a coder to develop a facility at deciphering the special language of the files--the abbreviations, number codes, and special notations. With some ten people working on the coding at different times, developing consistency among the coders was an additional problem. Unfamiliarity with the material was exacerbated by the fact that the material, by nature, was often obscure, incomplete, and inconsistent.

After a month of deciphering the files, an "expert" probation file coder's efficiency could reach, at most, thirty cases a day. Any new study relying on these files, using novice readers, is likely to meet the same problems, unless the basic method of reporting and recording information is improved.

Following is a summary of the major problems encountered in Probation file coding.

Incompleteness of the Codes for Offenses in the Abbreviations and Codes Manual of the Office of Probation, and Inconsistency in the Use of These Codes. Motor vehicle violations in particular are noted sometimes by code and sometimes by abbreviation, according to no logical pattern; sometimes the same offense is noted by code on one line and by abbreviation when later referenced. Some codes frequently used were not in the manual--for example, P.C., N.P.C., R.P.O., R.O.R., Ind.

*The Governor's Public Safety Committee arranged and executed this plan and provided support for the Office of Probation for the indexing and updating process. Without the GPSC's efforts or without Probation this recidivism analysis could never have been completed.

Inconsistency in the Method of Noting an Incarceration. This was particularly troublesome, as information about the offense for which the inmate was incarcerated during the cohort (treatment) period was critical. Incarcerations were noted in at least seven different ways. Sometimes an apparently missing cohort incarceration was a part of an earlier, longer sentence to a state prison, during which the offender was transferred to Deer Island and that transfer not noted. Other times, neither the cohort offense nor the incarceration were recorded, although in other respects the file seemed to be that of the same individual. Or the cohort offense was found, but with an open disposition of "appeal," or a "filed" or "suspended sentence," neither of which implies incarceration.

Difficulties in Following the Chronology of the Record. A single case might be carried on, through a series of defaults, defaults removed, continuances, or surrenders over a period of months and even years. There is no uniform method of noting such continuances. Sometimes different appearances in court for the same offense would be noted on one line opposite the original offense, sometimes chronologically with back references by date, and sometimes by date and abbreviation of the original offense.

Unclear Use of Terms. Certain terms not explained in the manual might be by definition fairly simple, but in use rather complicated, e.g.:

- "Surrendered." This was originally assumed to mean a parole violation or suspended sentence revocation, but was later found to mean little more than an additional appearance in court which might or might not involve either of the above. Therefore, suspended sentence revocations were recorded only for those "surrenders" in connection with which an offender was committed on an earlier suspended sentence; probation violations were noted as those cases in which "prob. viol." was actually written, or in which an offender surrendered on a sentence of probation alone and was incarcerated.
- "Dismissed." Much confusion arose from the use of this term to mean two completely different things. When it appears alone as a disposition or after a series of continuances, it means that charges were dropped. Its meaning is almost the opposite when it appears after a disposition such as a fine, suspended sentence, or probation: namely, that the individual found guilty has taken his punishment as prescribed. It cannot be confused with "sentence vacated," which does in fact mean that the original sentence is erased.
- "Filed." As an offense marked "filed" almost always has no other fine or sentence noted and never appears on the record again, it seems tantamount to a dismissal or quasi-dismissal such as an "adjournment contemplating dismissal." In fact--a fact apparently little known--"filed" technically means "a finding of guilty without a conviction." Whatever that anomalous phrase means to others, for the purposes of this study, it means a conviction.

Overlapping Sentence Terms. Somewhat arbitrary decisions were necessary in order to deal efficiently with files which did not adequately distinguish between overlapping sentence terms. For instance, if an offender was sentenced to three concurrent sentences on the same day for three separate offenses, for purposes of counting the total number of months sentenced to incarceration, the sentence was considered as one. However, if at some time during that incarceration he received another concurrent sentence which overlapped the original one, that sentence was added to the total, saving a great deal of time in painstaking calculation.

The effect of this policy was to count time sentenced rather than time served. For the same reason, a sentence of three to five years was counted as five years, and all sentences were counted at the maximum, regardless of the parole date. Months sentenced to probation were counted in the same way; here the effect of this coding rule was more significant, as overlapping of probation sentences was frequent. Therefore, it is conceivable, though not likely, that a twenty-five-year-old man might have thirty years "sentenced to probation" in the study data set.

This method could not be applied to Youth Services Board incarcerations, as those were invariably indeterminate. Therefore, actual time served was used. Accuracy was compromised somewhat, however, by the fact that in about twenty per cent of the YSB commitments no parole or release date was noted.

For calculating the absolute number of suspended sentences and suspended sentence revocations, a different technique was used than for calculation of time sentenced to incarceration or probation. Arbitrarily, suspended sentences handed out on the same day for different offenses and noted on different lines were noted as separate sentences. Different counts of the same offense type noted on one line were considered a single offense, and concurrent sentences on "each count" a single sentence. There is no way of knowing whether, e.g., "B&E (5 ct.)" refers to one act of breaking and entering, or two or more acts; this study consistently counted it as one.

Incompleteness. Probably because there is no regular method of reporting from the court to Probation and because Probation files are reportedly updated only on request, the files are occasionally incomplete. There are open dispositions like defaults, appeals, bind-overs, "GJ," "PI," and "DJ." While they do not often critically affect the data used, they are an inconvenience in interpreting the record.

Confusing Formats and Illegibility. The method of noting criminal histories on sometimes more than twenty or thirty three-by-five cards lends itself to missing or misarranged cards. Identifying data such as name spelling or birth date may vary on different cards in the same file. The handwriting of information is definitely a major problem, particularly as the area provided for long continuances and complicated dispositions is minute.

Coding Rules Followed for Probation Coding

Suspended sentences:

When more than one suspended sentence are revoked all at once, that is one revocation if it is all on one line, but N revocations if it is on N lines.

When several suspended sentences are given on the same day, they are each counted as a suspended sentence. However, separate counts of the same offense are counted only as one suspended sentence.

Suspended sentences were counted only where there was an incarceration and incarceration was suspended. (Not where a fine was suspended; a suspended fine was not recorded as a suspended sentence.)

Surrender on a suspended sentence is a suspended sentence revoked only when the individual is incarcerated as a result of the surrender.

Convictions:

Filed as a disposition is counted as a conviction, unless contradicted by another less ambiguous notation.

Appeals:

Appealed charges are coded for dispositions by what happened at final disposition after the appeal (unless the appeal was withdrawn), even if the appeal was not resolved during the follow-up period.

Counts:

Multiple counts on the same line are counted as one charge. Counts on the same day on different lines are counted separately. An example: B&E (17 counts) is one conviction.

Dismissed:

When dismissed is the end of a series of dispositions like suspended sentence, probation, commitment, etc., the dismissal is to be ignored. The dismissal is indicative of the individual's dues having been paid. (It is a later entry.)

Parole revocations:

When one is surrendered on parole revocation, this revocation does not count in the seriousness by sentence column. The original sentence (act for which) is to be used for the serious by sentence columns.

This column reflects revocations up to and including the current.

Probation violation:

There is a probation violation only when it is stated, i.e., probation violation, or when someone surrenders on a probation (only) disposition, and in the surrender, he is incarcerated, or probation is lengthened or a suspended sentence is given.

Offense Pattern:

Since parole revocations are always listed, they were not included in the pattern. Example: Number 40 means probation violation.

Escape:

An escape during the cohort offense incarceration for which the prisoner is convicted within the subsequent six months is not counted as a charge for recidivism purposes.

Subsequent Incarcerations:

Time served after the cohort discharge date is not counted as incarceration for the purposes of compiling background information.

Fines:

A fine and commitment is assumed to have been discharged by serving time at the rate of \$3.00 per day.

Program Files

Data was also collected from each program's files. In every case, as much information as could be reliably recorded, without violating the constraints placed upon access to program files by certain programs, was collected, coded, and used in the recidivism analysis. It is possible that a few members of Cohort II who were in programs escaped the collection of program file information, since study staff may have been unable to make the connection between the individual named in the Deer Island files and the client indexed by the program. Every alias recorded at Deer Island was used to attempt to trace cohort numbers to program files; lists of all the members of Cohort II by their dates of birth were generated and used in an attempt to match up records; discharge dates were listed and compared to program-recorded entry dates; and in some cases, the names of the subject's parents were recorded in order to attempt positive identification. Thus, there should be few program clients who are not identified as such in the data files.

In addition to the data collected from the various program files on the members of the experimental group (Cohort II), as much information as could be gathered--in most cases the same information as was gathered for Cohort II--was compiled for those clients who were in the program from the end of Cohort II, August, 1973, through the study date of July, 1974. The results of this data collection have been used in the program-by-program studies used elsewhere in this report. They could not be completed early enough in the progress of the study to be examined in detail in connection with the recidivism analysis, but since the information has now been collected it is available for future reference, whether in the context of a recidivism study, the beginning of a master data file on treatment programs by the Deer Island administration, or whatever.

TABLE 15. LIST OF COLLECTED VARIABLES

CARD ONE: Deer Island Information

<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Description</u>
VAR 001	Identifying number
VAR 002	Card number
VAR 003	Area of last address (self-reported)
VAR 004	Month of birth
VAR 005	Day of birth
VAR 006	Year of birth
VAR 007	Religion
VAR 008	Marital status
VAR 009	Education level
VAR 010	
VAR 011	Military
VAR 012	Month of discharge from Deer Island
VAR 013	Day of discharge
VAR 014	Year of discharge
VAR 015	Occupation (self-reported)
VAR 016	Special notations
VAR 017	Month of entry to Deer Island
VAR 018	Day of entry to Deer Island
VAR 019	Year of entry to Deer Island
VAR 020	Sentencing court
VAR 021	Most serious offense incarceration
VAR 022	Number of sentences for incarceration
VAR 023	Length of sentence
VAR 024	Mode of discharge
VAR 025	Charles Street time credited to this incarceration
VAR 026	Prior incarcerations elsewhere (self-reported)
VAR 027	Prior incarcerations elsewhere (2nd)
VAR 028	Month of first Deer Island incarceration
VAR 029	Year of first Deer Island incarceration
VAR 030	Total months served at Deer Island prior
VAR 031	Total number of Deer Island incarcerations
VAR 032	Total number of charges at Deer Island
VAR 033	Incarcerated subsequent at Deer Island
VAR 034	Cohort number

CARD TWO: Additional Deer Island Information

<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Description</u>
VAR 035	Identifying number
VAR 036	Card number
VAR 037	Number of escapes
VAR 038	Number of prior state paroles from Deer Island
VAR 039	Number of prior county paroles from Deer Island
VAR 040	Number of state parole revocations
VAR 041	Number of county parole revocations
VAR 042	Most serious prior offense for a Deer Island incarceration
VAR 043	Longest prior sentence at Deer Island

TABLE 15. Continued

CARD TWO: Continued

<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Description</u>
VAR 044	First offense pattern at Deer Island
VAR 045	Second offense pattern at Deer Island
VAR 046	Number of drug charges in Deer Island history
VAR 047	Number of alcohol related offenses in Deer Island history
VAR 048	Participation in Work Release
VAR 049	Longest job held on Work Release
VAR 050	Weeks in Work Release
VAR 051	Days in Work Release
VAR 052	Reason for termination from Work Release
VAR 053	Amount earned on Work Release program
VAR 054	Number of disciplinary actions
VAR 055	Number of days furlough
VAR 056	Number of furlough escapes
VAR 057	Problems on furlough
VAR 058	Number of days of furlough in custody
VAR 059	Number of furlough revocations
VAR 061	Participation in East Boston Drug Action at Deer Island
VAR 062	Reason for termination from East Boston Drug Action Program
VAR 063	Released to warrant
VAR 064	Cohort number

CARD THREE: Probation Data

<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Description</u>
VAR 065	Identification number
VAR 066	Card number
VAR 067	Age at first arrest
VAR 068	Age at first conviction
VAR 069	Age at first incarceration
VAR 070	Most serious charge on the first conviction
VAR 071	Disposition of the first conviction
VAR 072	Total months sentenced to incarceration
VAR 073	Months sentenced to probation
VAR 074	Most serious conviction in career
VAR 075	Most serious conviction in career by length of sentence
VAR 076	Number of parole revocations
VAR 077	Number of suspended sentences
VAR 078	Number of suspended sentences revoked
VAR 079	Greatest number of similar type convictions
VAR 080	Offense type first
VAR 081	Second greatest number of similar type convictions
VAR 082	Offense type second
VAR 083	Third greatest number of similar type convictions
VAR 084	Offense type third
VAR 085	Fourth greatest number of similar type convictions
VAR 086	Offense type fourth
VAR 087	Fifth greatest number of similar type convictions
VAR 088	Offense type fifth
VAR 089	First charge after release

TABLE 15. Continued

CARD THREE: Continued

<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Description</u>
VAR 090	Disposition of first charge
VAR 091	Most serious charge other than the first charge
VAR 092	Disposition of most serious charge
VAR 093	Number of other charges within six months
VAR 094	Months after release until first charge.
VAR 095	First parole violation
VAR 096	Second parole violation
VAR 097	First probation error code
VAR 098	Second probation error code
VAR 099	Months of incarceration during follow-up period
VAR 100	Cohort group

CARD FOUR: Case Management Information

<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Description</u>
VAR 101	Identification number
VAR 102	Card number
VAR 103	Case Management intake month
VAR 104	Case Management intake day
VAR 105	Case Management intake year
VAR 106	Case Management discharge month
VAR 107	Case Management discharge day
VAR 108	Case Management discharge year
VAR 109	Case Management program referrals
VAR 110	First agency accepting referrals
VAR 111	Second agency accepting referrals
VAR 112	Third agency accepting referrals
VAR 113	Attitude noted - start
VAR 114	Attitude noted - finish
VAR 115	Case Management error code

CARD FOUR: (Cont'd.) Boston Offender Service Project Information

<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Description</u>
VAR 119	BOSP entry month
VAR 120	BOSP entry day
VAR 121	BOSP entry year
VAR 122	BOSP discharge month
VAR 123	BOSP discharge day
VAR 124	BOSP discharge year
VAR 125	Entry status
VAR 126	Termination status
VAR 127	Number of referrals given
VAR 128	Number of referrals accepted
VAR 129	Financial aid - food
VAR 130	Financial aid - clothing
VAR 131	Financial aid - transport
VAR 132	Financial aid - residence
VAR 133	Financial aid - other

TABLE 15. Continued

CARD FOUR: Continued

<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Description</u>
VAR 134	Half-way house
VAR 135	Total aid given
VAR 136	Referring agency
VAR 137	Program noted
VAR 138	Re-entry to BOSP
VAR 142	Cohort number

CARD FIVE: Community Corrections Program Roxbury Multi-Service Center

<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Description</u>
VAR 143	Identification number
VAR 144	Card number
VAR 145	CCP intake month
VAR 146	CCP intake day
VAR 147	CCP intake year
VAR 148	CCP discharge month
VAR 149	CCP discharge day
VAR 150	CCP discharge year
VAR 151	First referral accepted
VAR 152	Second referral accepted
VAR 153	Third referral accepted
VAR 154	Fourth referral accepted
VAR 155	Fifth referral accepted
VAR 156	Number of Deer Island Advocate interviews
VAR 157	Number of Roxbury Multi-Service Center interviews
VAR 158	Number of unscheduled contacts
VAR 159	Number of home visits
VAR 160	Number of other contacts
VAR 161	Emergency funds given
VAR 162	Tardiness noted
VAR 163	Termination reason
VAR 164	Number of Deer Island job development interviews
VAR 165	Number of Roxbury job development interviews
VAR 166	Number of job interviews prior to release
VAR 167	Number of job interviews after release
VAR 168	Job placement by income
VAR 169	Job termination
VAR 170	Number of new interviews
VAR 171	New job
VAR 172	Number of job development interviews missed
VAR 173	Number of job interviews missed
VAR 174	Number of advocate interviews missed
VAR 175	CCP error code

TABLE 15. Continued

CARD FIVE: (Cont'd.) Academy

<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Description</u>
VAR 176	Academy entry month
VAR 177	Academy entry day
VAR 178	Academy entry year
VAR 179	First educational program
VAR 180	Second educational program
VAR 181	GED
VAR 182	Reason for termination
VAR 183	Number of weeks in program
VAR 184	Number of absences
VAR 185	Number of scheduled classes
VAR 186	Cohort group

TABLE 16. LIST OF CREATED VARIABLES

VAR 199	AGE AT RELEASE
VAR 250	DICHOTOMOUS ACADEMY PARTICIPATION
VAR 251	DICHOTOMOUS CCP PARTICIPATION
VAR 252	DICHOTOMOUS CASE MANAGEMENT PARTICIPATION
VAR 253	DICHOTOMOUS BOSP PARTICIPATION
VAR 425	NUMBER OF MONTHS IN BOSP
VAR 426	NUMBER OF MONTHS IN CASE MANAGEMENT
VAR 427	NUMBER OF MONTHS IN CCP
VAR 428	% BOSP REFERRALS ACCEPTED
VAR 429	TOTAL NUMBER CCP INTERVIEWS
VAR 430	TOTAL NUMBER CCP INTERVIEWS MISSED
VAR 431	% CCP INTERVIEWS MISSED
VAR 432	TOTAL CCP JOB INTERVIEWS
VAR 433	TOTAL CCP COUNSELING INTERVIEWS
VAR 434	% JOB INTERVIEWS MISSED - CCP
VAR 435	% COUNSELING INTERVIEWS MISSED - CCP
VAR 436	NUMBER OF MONTHS PRE-RELEASE IN CCP
VAR 438	% ACADEMY ATTENDANCE
VAR 444	TOTAL NUMBER CONFICTIONS
VAR 450 TO VAR 454	1st THROUGH 5th MOST FREQUENT OFFENSE TYPE RANKED 0-39 BY SEVERITY SCALE
VAR 456 TO VAR 458	1st THROUGH 3rd OFFENSE TYPE GROUPED AND RANKED 0-19 BY SEVERITY
VAR 455	STANDARDIZED FACTOR SCORE
VAR 410	PREDICTOR 1 RECIDIVISM RISK
VAR 411	PREDICTOR 2 RECIDIVISM RISK
VAR 402	RECIDIVISM CHARGE DISPOSITION
VAR 403	RECIDIVISM CHARGE SEVERITY
VAR 404	RECIDIVISM LAG TIME
VAR 270	ACADEMY CONTACT INTENSITY
VAR 271	CCP CONTACT INTENSITY
VAR 272	BOSP CONTACT INTENSITY

Several of the additional variables require explanation. VAR 455 was developed from a factor analysis of VAR 450 through VAR 454, the ranked offense types with 0 being no offense and 39 being the most serious offense. The relevant information is:

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	STANDARDIZED CO-EFFICIENT
VAR 450	20.05	10.60	-0.01065
VAR 451	22.21	10.89	-0.08880
VAR 452	19.49	12.26	-0.24260
VAR 453	17.05	13.25	-0.50248
VAR 454	14.39	13.69	-0.27776

Intensity of program contact was defined by the respective program analysts. Intense contact was defined as:

- For CCP - 25 or more total interviews;
- For BOSP - successful completion of program;
- For Academy - 8 or more weeks with 50% or better attendance.

THE BAIL APPEAL STUDY

In connection with the evaluation of the operations of the Bail Appeal Project at the Charles Street Jail, a sample of information was gathered by Bail Appeal staff on their clients for the period January through June, 1974. This information was collected on cards and coded according to the format which appears in Table 16. The data was then summarized and cross-tabulated, and the most significant results incorporated in the report on the Bail Appeal Project.

THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF CRIMINAL RECORDS

This study was conducted with the approval of the Massachusetts Criminal History Systems Board, under the authority of the criminal histories laws of the Commonwealth, M.G.L. c.6 § 173. A plan for maintaining offender record confidentiality was prepared and submitted to the Criminal History Systems Board, and staff members of the study executed assurances binding them not to disclose to any unauthorized party the criminal offender record information from which an individual might be identified.

In conformity with the plan filed and the criminal offender record laws, all criminal case individual histories are indexed by a numbering system which is arbitrary and non-repeating. A single copy of the name-number key to this indexing system has been prepared and will be filed with the Massachusetts Criminal History Systems Board. Likewise, the copies of Office of Probation criminal history records which were obtained in the course of the study have been preserved and secured, and will be placed on file with the Board. All other individual criminal history information collected during the course of the study has been destroyed, so that the only records remaining based on criminal histories which are not in the custody of the Board are those which show only aggregate information and from which individual records could not be discerned.

CONTINUED

4 OF 6

TABLE 17
 CODES FOR BAIL APPEAL PROJECT DATA ANALYSIS

Column	Data Name
1-3	Identification number
4	----
5	Sex
6	----
7	Sentencing in court
8	----
9-12	Charge
13	----
14-17	Second charge
18	----
19-24	Date committed
25	----
26-28	Days from commitment to bail appeal
29	----
30-32	Days from commitment to bail
33	----
34-36	Days from commitment to disposition
37	----
38-43	Original bail amount
44	----
45-51	Judges' statement (reasons for setting bail)

(continued)

TABLE 17 - Continued

Column	Data Name
52	----
53	Appeal result
54	----
55	Source of bail funds
56	----
57	Initial disposition
58	----
59-60	District court disposition
61	----
62-63	Superior court disposition
64	----
65-70	Special notations

TABLE 18
CODE VALUES FOR BAIL APPEAL PROJECT DATA ANALYSIS

Column & Name	Code Values
5 - Sex	1 - Male 2 - Female
7 - Court	1 - Brighton 2 - West Roxbury 3 - Chelsea 4 - Boston Municipal Court 5 - Charlestown 6 - Roxbury 7 - East Boston 8 - Dorchester 9 - Other
9-12 - Charge	See Table <u>2</u>
14-17 - Second charge	See Table <u>3</u>
45-51 - Judges' statement	1 - Prior record 2 - Nature of offense charged 3 - Circumstances of offense charged 4 - Previous record of flight to avoid prosecution 5 - Previous record of failure to appear 6 - Lack of roots in community 7 - Other personal factors 8 - Supplementary statement
53 - Appeal result	1 - Personal recognizance 2 - Cash bail 3 - Reduction 4 - Denial 5 - Other
55 - Source of bail	1 - Bondsman 2 - Defendant 3 - Community
57 - Disposition	1 - Default 2 - Sentence 3 - Release 4 - Bound over 5 - Pending

(continued)

TABLE 18 - Continued

Column & Name	Code Value
59-60 - District court disposition	1 - Probable cause 2 - Sentenced 3 - Dismissed 4 - Dismissed at request of complaintant 5 - Suspended sentence, probation 6 - Default, warrant issued 7 - Probation 8 - Pending 9 - Continued 10 - Continued without finding 11 - No probable cause 12 - Fine 13 - Not guilty 14 - Jurisdiction declined 15 - Filed
62-63 - Superior court disposition	1 - Default, warrant issued 2 - Continued 3 - No bill 4 - Probation 5 - Order of notice not returned 6 - Sentenced 7 - Not guilty 8 - Guilty, continued for sentencing
65-70 - Special notations	1 - Appeal withdrawn 2 - Returned to state prison 3 - Prior record 4 - Sentence appealed in district court 5 - Bail and cash alternatives set 6 - Deer Island warrant 7 - Bail/probation

APPENDIX C: QUARTERLY REPORTS

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DEER ISLAND MONTHLY REPORT FORMAT.	423

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QUARTERLY REPORT FORMAT -- Third Draft

Note: Items on this form must be adapted to each program to be meaningful. Some items will not apply to some programs.

Program
Period covered
Date submitted

CLIENT SERVICE INFORMATION

<u>Item</u>	<u>This quarter</u>	<u>Last quarter</u>	<u>This quarter last year</u>	<u>Projections</u>
<u>Client/case flow</u>				
to/from institution				
to program				
exclusions				
(reasons)				
percent accepted				
institutional outflow				
program				
(reasons)				
<u>Services provided</u>				
(e.g.) contact interviews				
(e.g.) referrals				
<u>Performance measures</u>				
(e.g.) percent of clients referred				
<u>Workload</u>				
(e.g.) total caseload				
(breakdown)				
caseload as percent of population				
average caseload per staff				
(breakdown)				
caseload profile				
(breakdown)				

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ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION

Grant detail

term of grant
total grant amount
amount encumbered as of (date)
funds remaining

Budget detail

annual budget
positions budgeted
spending rate this quarter
(encumbrances annualized)
positions filled end of quarter

Changes from last report

budget modifications
(breakdown)
personnel changes
(breakdown)
policy reasons for/effects of changes
(detail)

NARRATIVE

Outline of objectives and schedules from grant and discussion of progress, changes, problems.

New services or procedures instituted during the quarter.

Planning underway and changes contemplated for future.

Major policy concerns and problems.

MASSACHUSETTS CORRECTIONAL ASSOCIATION

CASE MANAGEMENT PROJECT

AT THE
SUFFOLK COUNTY HOUSE OF CORRECTION

PROJECT #73-1700

QUARTERLY REPORT

APRIL 1, 1974 TO JUNE 30, 1974

[narrative omitted]

HENRY MASCARELLO, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
PAUL E. PLATT, PROJECT DIRECTOR

APPENDIX

- 1.) Case Management Project Statistics
- 2.) Case Manager Activity
- 3.) Division of Employment Security
out Station
T.N.T. Workshops
- 4.) Classification Team
- 5.) Budget Summary

Case Management Project

Project Statistics

	April	May	June	Total
arbiters	25	36	23	84
stages	25	29	22	76
regular Parlouchs Processed	117	83	65	265
Release Program Applications	35	30	27	92
Parlouch Grants				
Number	19	18	15	43
Dollars Distributed	\$42	\$51	\$65	\$158
Parole Cases Prepared				
Regular Order	19	21	27	67
Early Parole	13	17	25	55
	6	4	2	12
Number of Paroles Granted	12	15	12	40
Paroles Granted	63%	76%	44%	60%
on on:				
Work Release	21	21	20	61
Educational Release	1	1	1	3
Vocational Release	5	3	1	9
Therapy Release	5	3	3	9
Release of % of population	21%	19%	16%	

CASE MANAGEMENT PROJECT

CASE MANAGER ACTIVITY

	Case Mgr. A				Case Mgr. B				Case Mgr. C			
	May	June	Total	Ave. Per Man	May	June	Total	Ave. Per Man	May	June	Total	Ave. Per Man
Weeks Reporting	2	2	4		2	3	5		2	4	6	
Inmates on Case Load	62	62	124	31*	63	94	157	31.4*	65	134	199	33.1*
Intakes	1	2	3		2	6	8		4	8	12	
Counseling Appointments	29	43	72	.58	19	7	26	.17	14	30	44	.22
Informal Counseling Sessions	54	45	99	.80	28	50	78	.50	58	188	246	1.24
Informal Contact	4	70	74	.60	47	54	101	.64	127	253	380	1.91
Release Applications Made	1	2	3	.02	1	13	14	.09	1	0	1	.01
Release Bd. Presentations	0	2	2	.02	1	0	1	.01	0	0	0	
Class Team Presentations	3	1	4	.03	3	1	4	.03	3	2	5	.03
Crisis Intervention	4	5	9	.07	0	1	1	.01	5	0	5	.03
Family Contact	2	4	6	.05	2	1	3	.02	4	0	4	.02
Resources Development	3	8	11	.09	2	0	2	.01	0	12	12	.06
Advocacy to the Master	4	3	7	.06	1	0	1	.01	1	1	2	.01
Correctional Officer Contact	1	5	6	.05	3	4	7	.04	0	3	3	.02

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Average Caseload per week reported

	Case Mgr. D			Case Mgr. E		
	May	June	Total	May	June	Total
Weeks Reporting	1	1	2	1	1	2
Inmates On Case Load	26	26	52	11	16	27
Intakes	0	0	0	1	1	2
Counseling Appointments	10	10	20	2	4	6
Informal Counseling Sessions	59	59	118	8	19	27
Informal Contact	71	71	142	12	15	27
Release Applications Made	0	0	0	0	0	0
Release Bd. Presentations	0	0	0	0	0	0
Class Team Presentations	0	0	0	0	0	0
Crisis Intervention	0	0	0	0	1	1
Family Contact	3	3	6	2	2	4
Resources Development	0	0	0	2	4	6
Advocacy to the Master	8	8	16	0	4	4
Correctional Officer Contact	0	0	0	1	3	4

*Average Caseload per week reported

CASE MANAGEMENT PROJECT
 Division of Employment Security
 out Station

	<u>April 1974</u>	<u>May 1974</u>	<u>June 1974</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Average Per Day</u>
Days Reported	0	4	6	10	
Total D.E.S. Contacts		26	33	59	5.9
Intake		4	10	14	1.4
Vocational Counseling Sessions		9	17	26	2.6
Job Referrals		1	0	1	.1
Program Referrals		5	3	8	.8
Referral to D.E.S. Office		2	6	8	.8
Parole Information Development		4	4	8	.8
Case Manager Contact		2	2	4	.4
Other		10	7	17	1.7

T.N.T. Workshops

	<u>April 1974</u>	<u>May 1974</u>	<u>June 1974</u>
Number Conducted	1	1	0
Number Sign-ups	12	14	
Number completed	7	8	

Case Management Project
Classification Team

1974

	April	May	June	Total	Average per case
Sessions Reporting	4	5	3	12	.18
of Cases Reported	22	28	17	67	
Academic Counseling	1	3		4	.06
Academic Assessment					
Basic Education	1	1		2	.03
B.E.D.	6	5	2	13	.19
Reading	3	2		5	.07
Pre-college	4	3		7	.10
Education Release	1	1		2	.03
Vocational Counseling	4	8		12	.18
Vocational Testing	6	9	5	20	.30
Vocational Release	4	4	1	9	.13
Therapy Release	1	2	1	4	.06
C.A.C.	8	2	1	11	.16
C.A.N.	1	1		2	.03
E.B.D.A.C.		2		2	.03
Other	1	1	1	3	.04
Alcohol Counseling	1	5	1	7	.10
Work Release	3	4	1	8	.12
Job Placement	2		1	3	.04
Mass. Rehab. Commission	1	4	2	7	.10
Family Counseling		4	4	8	.12
Furlough		1	1	2	.03
Eyeglasses		1	2	3	.04
Home Visit	4	3		7	.10
Medical Assessment		2		2	.03
Dr. Raynes	2	8	4	14	.21
Halfway House		2	1	3	.04
Court Case	9	6	4	19	.28
Behavioral Counseling	1			1	.01
Specifically identified issue for case manager counseling	8	13	3	24	.40
Check man's time	1			1	.01
Psychiatric therapy	2	2	1	5	.07
Referral to social worker	1			1	.01
English as a second language	1			1	.01
Referral to Spanish agency	1		1	2	.03
Dentist	2			2	.03
Contact Parole Board	1	1	2	4	.06
Group Counseling	1			1	.01
Referral Linderman Center	1			1	.01
Correspondance Course	1			1	.01
Contact Lawyer			1	1	.01

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	April	May	June	Total	Average per case
V.A. Program		3	1	4	.06
Dr. Seymour for assessment		3	1	4	.06
verify for F.A.A. license			1	1	.01
check inmate's name		1	1	2	.01
obtain social security benefits		1		1	.01
Get out of Plant		1		1	.01
Referral to Barber School		1		1	.01
Transfer to Concord		1		1	.01
Psychiatric assessment			1	1	.01
Get Army records		1		1	.01
Referral North Suffolk		1		1	.01
Mental Health			1	1	.01
Contact Probation Officer			1	1	.01

DRAFT QUARTERLY REPORT

Suffolk County House of Correction Case Management Project

Period covered: 4/1/74 through 6/31/74

Date submitted: July 25, 1974

I. Client service information

<u>item</u>	3 this qtr last yr	2 last qtr	1 this qtr
client inflow			
to institution	166	108	84
to program	125	70	76
exclusions	41	38	8
(reasons, general)			
Men who (a) are serving 30 days or less (b) are immediately transferred or (c) whose sentences are vacated.			
% of institutional inflow taken in by program	75%	65%	90%
Client outflow			120
Services provided			
formal counseling (appointments)			158*
informal counseling			509*
informal contact			653*
parole cases prepared	70	58	67
paroles granted		47	40
% of cases prepared granted parole		81%	60%
inmates classified			
inmates reclassified	-362-		}67

	3 this qtr last yr	2 last qtr	1 this qtr
inmates tested		97	**
release program applications processed	approx. } 531	98	92
furloughs processed		244	265***
furlough grants	\$705.50		\$158.00

Workload measures

total case load-last day of qtr
caseload as % of population
average caseload per staff
(last day of qtr)
case mgrs
release case mgrs
head case mgr

*May-June totals for 4 case mgrs
June only for 1 case mgr

** # of tests administered = approx. 364
*** regular furloughs only

II. Administrative information

Grant detail

term of grant	April 1, 1974 -- December 31, 1974
Total grant amount	\$88,713.00
Amount encumbered as of 6/22/74	16,737.96

Budget detail

annual budget	118,284.00
positions budgeted	9
positions filled end of qtr	6
spending rate (annualized)	66,952.00

Changes from last report

Budget modifications	none
(breakdown)	
Personnel changes	new Administrative Assistant
(breakdown)	(Esther Hoomis)
	new secretary (Deborah Viets)
policy reasons for/effects of changes	
(detail)	none

III. Narrative (brief)

- A. Outline of objectives and schedules from grant discussion of progress, changes, problems.
- B. New services or procedures instituted.
- C. Planning underway and changes contemplated for future.
- D. Major policy concerns and problems.

See attached narrative, as per former format.

DEER ISLAND EDUCATION PROGRAM

Quarterly Report

April 1 - June 30, 1974

Submitted
Thomas P. McCormack
Ed. Release Coordinator
& Acting Director
The Academy, Suffolk County
House of Correction

I. Client Service Information

<u>Item</u>	<u>This Qtr.</u>	<u>This Qtr. Last Year</u>	<u>Last Qtr.</u>	<u>Projections</u>
<u>Client Inflow</u>				
To institution	84	101	108	192
To Program	60	N/A	65	125
Exclusions				
Percent of institution Inflow accepted	71.4%	N/A	60.1%	65.1%

Client Outflow From Program

<u>Reasons:</u>	<u>This Qtr.**</u>	<u>This Qtr. Last Year*</u>	<u>Last Qtr.</u>	<u>Projections</u>
Loss of interest	23		9	32
Discharge	5		3	8
Institutional transfer	2		3	5
Acceptance on release program	3		2	5
Detail (work) conflict	1		2	3
Segregation from prison population	4		0	4
Escape	4		1	5
Successful completion of pre- release course	6		2	8
Other	8		1	9
TOTAL	56			79

* These figures relate only to those men who flowed into the program during First Quarter 1974; it does not include students at close of 1973.

** These figures include both those students who continued into Second Quarter 1974 from First Quarter and new Second Quarter clients. It does not include any students from 1973 who continued into 1974.

<u>Services Provided</u>	<u>This Qtr.</u>	<u>This Qtr. Last Year</u>	<u>Last Qtr.</u>	<u>Projections</u>
Initial interviews	73	N/A	68	
Academic and Personal Counseling Sessions	336		336	
Letters of Recommendation in court, parole board, educational institutions	42	(on file)	36	
Furlough/Release Board meetings attended	13		13	
Furlough/Release Cases review	265		244	
Classification Board meetings attended	13		4*	
Classification cases reviewed	80		31*	
Classification & Furlough reports from school staff (approx.)	35		40	
Space provided for other agencies in 1/2 day/person units	641		638	
Programs for inmates presented by volunteers under school auspices (in 1/2 day units)	39		35	
Liaison w/institutions of higher learning	53		66	
<u>Outcomes</u>				
<u>Referrals</u>				
Referrals for placement	1		8	
Accepted for placement	1		4	
Actually Attending	0		2	
<u>Performance Measures</u>				
From Basic Ed. to Reading	3		3	
From Reading to GED Reading	2		0	
From math to GED math	7		9	
To GED Exam	5		2	
Passed GED Exam	2		2	
Pre-release course (completed for college credit)	6		2	
<u>Enrollment Measures</u>				
Total Enrollment	97		87	
* From 3/7/74 - 3/30/74 Total Inmate Population (cumulative)			240	

<u>Breakdown*</u>	<u>This Qtr.</u>	<u>This Qtr. Last Year</u>	<u>Last Qtr.</u>	<u>Projections</u>
Basic Ed.	8		9	17
Reading	23		18	41
GED Reading	37		18	55
ESL	0		6	6
Basic Math	41		25	66
GED Math	35		47	82
Pre-College	23		36	59
Pre-College Reading	0		13	13
<u>Enrollment as % of Population</u> (Total cumulative population)	40.9%		36.2%	38.5%
Average Class Sessions/Teacher				
Full-Time Teachers	195		195	380
Pre-Release Course	20		20	40
Average Class size	10.47		7.41	8.94

* No Budgeted Positions Vacant at end of Qtr.

II. Administrative Information

Grant Detail

Term of Grant: 4/1/- 12/31/74
 Total Grant Amount \$ 59,924.00
 Amount Encumbered as of end of Quarter 20,934.00
 Funds remaining 38,990.00

Budget Detail

Total Budget (annual equiv.) \$ 79,898.64

Positions budgeted: 5

<u>Spending Rate on Annual Basis:</u>	<u>This Qtr.</u>	<u>This Qtr. Last Year</u>	<u>Last Qtr.</u>	<u>Projections</u>
Personnel	\$16,388		00	
Training	-		00	
Consultant & Cont. Services	427		00	
Travel	99		00	
Office & Administration	564		00	
Overhead @ 13%	2,272			
Fee @ 6%	<u>1,184</u>			
Total	\$20,934			

II. Administration (continued)

Changes from last report:

-Budget Modifications:

A. Personnel

Pre-GED Teacher/Academic Placement & Community Resource Developer changed from 80% time @ \$10,930 for 3 months to 80 time @ \$10,930 for 9 months.

C. Consultant & Contract Services

GED: 30 placements x \$15 ea. eliminated
reason: to support above change under A.

Consultants @ \$75/day for 26 days
changed from Consultants @ \$75/day for 25 days
reason: To cover expense of initial planning phase conducted by Bunker Hill Community College.

D. Travel

Inmates on Release: 370 student weeks of travel @ \$10/student/week eliminated.
reason: To support above changes under A and C.

F. Equipment

One two track reel to reel tape recorder and two one track cassette recorders eliminated.
reason: To support above changes under A and C.

-Personnel Changes:

-Terminations: 1

Project Director terminated per budget plan (Pre-College Teacher/Community Release Coordinator is functioning as Acting Director until a workable solution can be reached).

-Extensions: 1

Pre-GED Teacher (4/5 time extended from 3 months to 9 months).

Policy Reasons for Changes:

No policy reason is given for termination of Project Director's position. The extension of the Pre-GED Teacher to 4/5 time was done to maintain the basic education and reading programs.

Effects of Changes:

Pre-College Teacher/Community Release liaison has had to assume duties of Program Director in addition to his other full-time duties.

Project is faced with curtailment of services as an almost immediate and necessary solution to understaffing if additional funds are not quickly located.

Continuation and enlargement of reading program.

III. Narrative

Outline of Objectives, Activities, Accomplishments and Changes during Quarter

- A. Offer pre-General Education Development instruction, with heavy concentration on remedial reading;
- B. Enable approximately twenty (20) men to earn their General Educational Development certificates;
- C. Offer pre-college instruction and related post-release academic counseling, placement and resource development services to men wishing to further their education beyond the General Education Development level;
- D. Provide coordination and orientation for all academic programs using Academy facilities;
- E. To improve employment prospects for school program participants;
- F. Coordinate scheduling for social service agencies using Academy facilities;
- G. Recruit and coordinate volunteer teachers to teach subject matter not covered in the normal Academy curriculum.

Concerning A: The class size continues to be small and the turnover heavy. The work has been moving toward modularization to allow for individualized tutoring. To assist in this direction an additional tutoring hour has been added to three of the afternoons each week. Materials are prepared on an almost daily basis by the reading/basic education teacher to address individual needs.

Concerning B: Mathematics continues to be a trouble area for all men preparing for the GED exam. Frequently a man has eight years of learning to make up in a matter of weeks. To assist in this direction, we have just lengthened the class day by one hour, allowing for additional class time in the morning and tutoring time three afternoons per week.

The test is scheduled on eight week cycles, now with a minimum of five weeks of class being required of all who wish to take the exam. There are eight required classes per week.

Concerning C: In addition to the pre-release course offered to inmates considering education release status, there have been courses in college math and psychology. The total of college credits offered during the Quarter was nine. Plans are made for the offering of another psychology course during the summer weeks. This also will be offered through the accreditation of Bunker Hill Community College.

Concerning D: No changes from last Quarter.

Concerning E: In conjunction with Director of Community Activities, job counseling for former student/inmates has been arranged at Uphams Corner Employment Center.

Concerning F: Cf. statistics on this in first section of Quarterly.

Concerning G: Presently the services of Cabot, Cabot and Forbes are utilized for the evening business course. Philips Brooks House sends evening course volunteers on Mondays during the school year. Possibilities of assistance from the Mass. Council of the Arts are being investigated.

In addition to the above changes, Academy staff are developing a system for capture of additional intake and progress information, keeping a monthly log of student transitions and changing attendance and progress requirements in order to enhance flow of services.

We are receiving increasing counseling requests (both academic and personal) and are frequently in the business of release preparation counseling.

Planning Underway and Changes

Much of the second half of the year is being directed toward the anticipated involvement of Bunker Hill Community College in Deer Island education. The changes in services and procedures discussed above were implemented at least partially for this involvement. Plans call for:

- Full assessment capability
- Expanded educational counseling services
- Continuation of basic education component
- Continuation of GED preparation component
- Development of a coping skills component
- Development of problem-solving and decision-making component
- Development of basic vocational skills component
- Continuation of pre-release courses
- Continuation of enrichment program and activities

Along with the development of an equipment capability that would allow transfer of materials for learning from the BHCC Learning Center to Deer Island Academy. Of course, the success of this endeavor will be contingent upon the availability of funding.

Major Policy Concerns and Problems

1. Staff is seriously shorthanded, causing overload of work on Acting Director and other staff and the possible cutback of services unless funding for replacement of Director's position is found by August 1.

2. A more effective information system is necessary to allow for easier preparation of the Quarterly Report. Because of the multiple requests made for additional information, it was necessary to terminate services for two days in order to continue preparation for this Report.
3. It seems necessary to discover measurement criteria for this Report that more closely measures the work of the Program - some criteria that relates to innovative education endeavors would be appropriate.
4. The concern remains that the institution will not be able to ready itself as agreed upon for the anticipated Bunker Hill Community College involvement, especially in offering:
 - a. an effective classification system;
 - b. an integrated service program; and
 - c. and improved Inmate Management System.

COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS PROGRAM

QUARTERLY REPORT

APRIL - JUNE, 1974

SUBMITTED BY:

Phyllis Barrows
Director

I CLIENT SERVICES INFORMATION

A. <u>Client Flow</u>	<u>This Quarter</u>	<u>This Quarter Last Year</u>	<u>Last Quarter</u>	<u>Projections For Next Quarter</u>
Potential Clients	14	N.A.	7	7
Potential Clients Interviewed	13	N.A.	7	7
Potential Clients Accepted	13	N.A.	7	6
Exclusions				
Not Available	1	N.A.	0	1
In Other Programs	0	N.A.	0	1
Declined Services	0	N.A.	0	1
Emergency or Special Cases	1	N.A.	0	2
Percent of Potential Clients Accepted	92.8	N.A.	90	90
Terminations				
Number	0	N.A.	0	6
Reasons				

<u>B. WORKLOAD MEASURES</u>	<u>This Quarter</u>	<u>This Quarter Last Year</u>	<u>Last Quarter</u>	<u>Projections</u>
Total Caseload at end of Quarter	69	N.A.	52	74
Clients at Deer Island	14	N.A.	13	17
Clients on Parole or Release	55	N.A.	39	57
Clients Paroled or Released during Quarter	3	N.A.	6	3
Advocate Caseload	69	N.A.	52	71
Job Developer Caseload	62	N.A.	52	59
Social Worker Caseload	14	N.A.	14	17
Average Caseload per Advocate	13.4			
Average Caseload per Job Developer	31			
Average Caseload per Social Worker	14			

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<u>C. SERVICES PROVIDED</u>	<u>This Quarter</u>	<u>This Quarter Last Year</u>	<u>Last Quarter</u>	<u>Projections</u>
Counselling Sessions at Deer Island	112	N.A.	113	130
Other Contacts on Behalf of Client Parole or Release	368	N.A.	107	350
Other Contacts on Behalf of Client at Deer Island	108	N.A.	93	112
Referrals Outside of Program	0	N.A.	0	0
Follow-up Counseling Sessions	219	N.A.	81	225
Job Strategy Sessions	3	N.A.	3	2
Job Counseling Sessions at Deer Island	26	N.A.	30	30
Job Counseling Sessions at RMSC	51	N.A.	33	60
Job Interviews Scheduled for Clients	14	N.A.	22	19
Job Interviews Attended by Clients	6	N.A.	11	7
Employer Contacts or visits	137	N.A.	96	140
Job Placements	3	N.A.	11	4
Clients Released Furing Quarter 3		N.A.	6	4
Furlough, Work Release, Educational				

(cont'd on next page)

<u>C. SERVICES PROVIDED</u>	<u>This Quarter</u>	<u>This Quarter Last Year</u>	<u>Last Quarter</u>	<u>Projections</u>
Release, Therapy Release and Vocational Release Hearings Attended	12	N.A.	12	12
Total Cases Reviewed for all of Deer Island - Release Programs	343	N.A.	340	340

II ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION

A. Grant Detail

Term of Grant - April 1 to December 31, 1974

Total Grant Amount - \$150,041.00

Amount Encumbered as of End of Quarter - \$43,235.72

Funds Remaining - \$106,806.28

B. Budget Detail

Total Budget (Annual) - \$200,054.66

Positions Budgeted - 15

Positions Vacant at End of Quarter - 1 (Advocate)

c. Changes Since Last Report

Budget Modification - None

Personnel Changes

Resignations

<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Date</u>
Deborah Williams	Advocate	April 29, 1974

Promotions

Rosetta Gooden (Social Worker) promoted to Project Manager on April 15, 1974

New Employees

<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Starting Date</u>
Charles McLean	Advocate	April 15, 1974
James Richards	Advocate	May 6, 1974
Arlinda Ardester	Secretary	May 27, 1974
Adele Boudreaux	Social Worker	June 24, 1974

QUARTERLY REPORTApril - June, 1974

This quarter witnessed a slight increase in the client caseload at Deer Island. At the outset of this quarter, there were ten men participating in the program, and at the end of this quarter, there were a total of fourteen participants. The reasons attributed to the small caseload lie with the overall reduction in the Deer Island population, along with the exclusion of possible participants, bound by the Community Corrections Program's three month entry guideline. The increased released programs that are being implemented at Deer Island have reduced our caseload at least twenty percent by creating the non-availability of eligible clients during the day for counseling. Two meetings were held with David Nee, Paul Dunn and Arthur Fuller to weigh the possibilities of expanding the entry eligibility guidelines to six months. Since that time, the Director of the Community Correction Program has recently been directed by the Director of Deer Island Activities, to implement the six month counseling period. Previous monthly and quarterly reports have indicated the various areas of constraints encountered and the necessity for revisions in the program.

With the new thrust towards six month counseling, there have been discussions that the Case Managers of Deer Island and the Advocates of the Community Correction Program work as a team in providing services for those eligible men that are serving a sentence of at least six months. This would entail the Community Corrections Program's Advocates counseling and assisting only those men that are eligible from the Roxbury North Dorchester Community, as stated in our proposal. It would not be possible to counsel and provide services for all men at Deer Island; therefore,

a cut-off point must be assumed at the present time in order for quality services to continue. Both representative staffs would meet weekly to discuss the progress of the client, setting goals, sharing observations, making recommendations and seeking supportive resources. This closer communication would negate any duplicate efforts that are made on behalf of the client. This proposed mechanism would allow the Community Correction Program's staff to conduct home visits, seek community assistance and resources which are difficult for the Deer Island Case Managers to perform due to the nature of their jobs, focused in an institutional setting and the heavy caseloads that are carried.

The Classification Director and the Project Director of the Community Corrections Program would assume the tasks of pairing their respective staff to work with each other, documentation of a schedule and the provision of supervision to insure its implementation.

The staff of the Community Corrections Program is in the process of planning for monthly evening activities, to be conducted at the Deer Island House of Correction. Some possible evening activities that have been suggested are: movies, guest speakers, job fairs, musical programs etc. A meaningful input for the content of programs is expected from the clients. The CCP staff will implement and co-ordinate all of the activities. The presence of Advocates at Deer Island during the evening would allow some counseling of clients that are not available during the day, because of therapy, educational or work release.

Three group therapy sessions were held at Deer Island for the clients on our caseload. Ten clients were in attendance at the sessions. The observations of the group as noted by Shango Johnson Psychologist, stresses the need for more in-depth counseling, and on-going group therapy sessions.

Also, the institution is not the most appropos environment for getting into the roots of a man's problems. The consensus was that a community facility would be a more effective outlet for conducting therapy sessions. It was also noted that additional therapy sessions are needed to provide adequate consultation to the Advocates.

Many meetings and working hours were spent with the evaluator from the Mayor's Safe Street Act Advisory Committee. Thus far the evaluator has conducted interviews of all staff, revised reporting forms assisted in report writing and gathered an extensive collection of client data.

We are continuing to broaden our contact with other correctional institutions. A joint staff meeting was held at the Roxbury Multi-Service With the Charles Street Jail staff. Discussion focused on both counseling staffs working in the best interest of the client, and the elimination of barriers to the Community Correction Program's Advocates being able to see their clients when they are re-incarcerated at Charles Street Jail. Since the meeting was held, identification cards have been obtained and the Advocates can simply telephone Charles Street officials, to notify them of their pending visit. This co-operation will facilitate the entry of the CCP staff in seeing their re-incarcerated clients.

Representative staff attended the National Institute on Crime and Delinquency, held at the Statler Hilton Hotel. Representative staff was also present at the Privacy and Data Bank Hearings, sponsored by Suffolk University.

This quarter has been a period of strongly concentrating on needed revisions in the program in order that clients receive the quality of service that would prepare them to remain on the streets once released. This has been very evident, through scheduled Job Strategy Sessions, expansion of the eligibility guidelines, and examining the need for

initiating evening activities. Hopefully in the coming months, we would have passed the planning stage and the implementation of new directions will be underway.

BOSTON OFFENDERS SERVICE PROJECT

QUARTERLY REPORT

for the period

April 1 - June 30, 1974

Date submitted: July 22, 1974

I. Client Service Information

During this quarter, of the clients terminated from the program, 63% were recorded as complete and 37% as incomplete. At the end of the quarter, seven clients were still in the program, this figure representing exactly one-sixth of the 42 clients who were handled during the quarter.

Although all the clients had served time on Deer Island, 15% of those served by the program had also been to the Roxbury Multi-Service Center and another 15% were supported in the MHHI residential programs.

Client Intake

NEW REFERRALS BY SOURCE

Source	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	Total 1-1 - 3-31	Total 4-1 - 6-30	Total 1-1 - 6-30-74
Deer Island	17	15	12	9	10	4	44	23	67
DI - RMSC	1		4	1	2	2	5	5	10
DI - POC				2	1			3	3
DI - CH				1				1	1
DI - THP				1				1	1
Street		1					1		1
Total	18	16	16	14	13	6	50	33	83

Note: Tables include both new referral and re-entry cases.

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TOTAL INTAKE

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	Total 1-1 - 3-31	Total 4-1 - 6-30	Total 1-1 - 6-30-74
Carried over from previous month	9	14	11	9	6	10	34	25	59
New Referrals	15	13	12	10	8	4	40	22	62
Re-entries	3	3	4	4	5	2	10	11	21
Total	27	30	27	23	19	16	84	58	142

Client flow

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	Total 1-1 - 3-31	Total 4-1 - 6-30	Total 1-1 - 6-30-74
Complete	11	16	13	12	4	6	40	22	62
Incomplete	2	3	5	5	5	3	10	13	23
Open	14	11	9	6	10	7			
Total	27	30	27	23	19	16			

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Workload Measures

REGULAR BOSP

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	Total 1-1 - 3-31	Total 4-1 - 6-30	Total 1-1 - 6-30
Parole	10	10	10	9	9	4	30	22	52
Wrap-up	8	6	6	5	4	2	20	11	31
Total	18	16	16	14	13	6	50	33	83
Black	10	9	9	4	8	4	28	16	44
White	8	7	6	9	5	2	21	16	37
Spanish			1	1			1	1	2
Total	18	16	16	14	13	6	50	33	83

RELEASE PROGRAMS

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	Total 1-1 - 3-31	Total 4-1 - 6-30	Total 1-1 - 6-30-74
Education Release	5	3	3	2	1	1	11	4	15
Therapy Release						1		1	1
Work Release	9	8	17	15	8	13	34	36	70
Furlough	12	7	4	9	12	8	23	29	52
Total	26	18	24	26	21	23	68	70	138

Services Provided

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April
Food, Transportation, and Clothing	1,640.43	1,893.95	929.00	980.95
Housing	949.70	723.62	376.03	510.50
Furlough	95.00	20.00	25.00	40.00
Educational Release	276.00	297.00	180.00	140.00
Work Release	100.00	280.00	380.00	240.00
Therapy Release				
Total	3,061.13	3,214.57	1,890.03	1,911.45

Services Provided, cont'd

May	June	Total 1-1 - 3-31	Total 4-1 - 6-30	Total 1-1 - 6-30-74
1,295.99	942.91	4,463.38	3,219.85	7,683.23
565.50	268.00	2,049.35	1,344.00	3,393.35
80.00	50.00	140.00	170.00	310.00
100.00	80.00	753.00	320.00	1,073.00
250.00	260.00	760.00	750.00	1,510.00
	80.00		80.00	80.00
2,291.49	1,680.91	8,165.73	5,883.85	14,049.58

II. Narrative

Boston Offenders Service Project: Goals and Objectives

The Boston Offenders Service Project provides counseling, referral, and financial assistance for inmates coming out of the Suffolk County House of Correction at Deer Island. The Boston Offenders Service Project (BOSP) accepts destitute inmates leaving prison on furlough, work or education release, parole or sentence completion. Predominantly, clients are parolees and wrap-ups, comprising nearly 60% of the entire population.

The program focuses its financial assistance on the immediate practical needs facing ex-offenders upon release -- i. e., housing, food, transportation, clothing, and emergency personal expenses. At the same time, through its counseling and referral components, the program assists clients in developing short-term goals, identifying community resources, and gaining access to them.

The primary goal of BOSP is to reduce the need for ex-offenders to rely upon illegal activity in order to survive on the street. By focusing on the immediate practical problems facing ex-offenders, it is hoped that BOSP can have an impact on the crime and recidivism rates of the Deer Island population. The underlying assumption of the program model is that all inmates leaving correctional institutions do not require intensive treatment services to re-adjust successfully to community life.

BOSP was designed to serve 180 clients during its first year. In preliminary planning, it was anticipated that the Project staff could handle a continuous caseload of eighteen people, each receiving slightly less than \$50 per week in financial assistance for an average of one month. The criteria for determining Project completion in individual cases are: the client's maintenance of contact with the Project; development of an income source (either from employment or from Welfare); and location of suitable housing. Cases are classified as either "complete" or "incomplete", depending upon whether or not individuals meet these criteria.

All offenders leaving the Suffolk County House of Correction at Deer Island as parolees or releasees and returning to Suffolk County are eligible for Project services, provided that they meet at least two of the following conditions:

1. no permanent residence to which they can return;

2. no full-time employment;
3. inability to secure financial assistance from immediate family;
or
4. eligibility for services from the Department of Public Welfare
and/or the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission.

As previously mentioned, the BOSP target population extends beyond parolees and wrap-ups to include men on work release, education release and furlough. Men in these programs are eligible for BOSP services if they have less than \$5.00 in their account at Deer Island.

Activities

Staffing: On May 10, Michael O'Connor resigned as Program Administrator to become the Director of Project Overcome, a Massachusetts Half-Way Houses Inc. (MHII) residential treatment program. A month earlier, Cathy Andrews resigned as Community Worker.

Before he went to Overcome, Mr. O'Connor hired and trained Eileen Steinberg as his replacement. Currently, Ms. Steinberg holds the position of Community Worker while she, in turn, recruits and trains Ms. Andrews' replacement. Ms. Steinberg receives assistance from Linda Morris, who continued through the quarter as Program Services Coordinator for BOSP. Ms. Morris assists the Community Worker with program and resource development, report writing, contract research and other administrative duties. (As mentioned in the last Quarterly Report, BOSP was able to secure the assistance of Linda Morris through the Work Incentive/Public Service Employment Program.)

The MHII corporate staff continued to provide administrative support to BOSP. Both the Executive Director and the Director of Treatment performed weekly project reviews to monitor client flow, case management, and expenditures. The Grants Manager supervised the accounting and bookkeeping functions, maintained the computerized payroll system, and assured that all auditing requirements were met. Finally, all members of the corporate office staff remained available to BOSP for technical assistance when the need arose.

Operations: In June 1974, the MHII Board of Directors approved and signed the continuation contract for BOSP, covering the period April 1 - December 31, 1974. Negotiations occurred periodically with MSSAAC and City personnel throughout the quarter. As of this writing, the only item remaining to finalize the contract was to obtain Mayor White's signature.

The budget under the new contract differed somewhat from previous patterns. Generally, less money was allocated for personnel costs than in the past, and more for operating expenses and client services. (The principal reason for needing more money in the latter two categories was inflation.) The specific rationale for changing budget allocations was presented to MSSAAC personnel initially. From there, it was presented to the Massachusetts Committee on Criminal Justice for final approval. The Committee requested a narrative response to certain questions it had on the modification. The response is submitted as an appendix to this report.

Also during June, in cooperation with the Case Management Project, BOSP established a furlough fund at Deer Island in the amount of \$100. These monies were to be used by men on furlough for transportation to and from BOSP during the week, and for personal expenses over the weekend. According to the plan, transportation expenditures would be reconciled monthly, and personal expense stipends weekly.

The fund was viewed as a partial response to the dramatic recent decline in the number of furlough clients coming to BOSP. It is interesting to note, however, that BOSP served 17 furlough clients the month before, and only 8 clients the month after the fund had been established. Only three of these clients were seen at the BOSP office.

Again in cooperation with the Case Management Project, BOSP began to serve clients on therapy release from the Island. The procedures involved were exactly the same as for Educational Release clients, with men coming to the BOSP office once a week to pick up a check for \$20.

In the area of training, the staff participated in a 3-day workshop sponsored by MHII, the New England Correctional Coordinating Council, and the International Halfway House Association. The workshops were extremely interesting and beneficial; the BOSP staff appreciated the invitation.

Further, the staff was involved in several training sessions conducted by Mr. Michael Hogan, MHII Director of Treatment. The sessions were concerned with issues related to BOSP operations.

Throughout the quarter, BOSP staff continued its participation in the Directors Meetings at Deer Island. During May and June, the meetings focused on developing a format for monthly monitoring reports to be provided by the various projects. The format addressed client flow, services provided, input/output measures, operations, new plans, referrals and new community resources. BOSP prepared a

critique of the proposed format and is awaiting further discussion. Currently, an effort is under way to evaluate the effectiveness of the various components of Consolidated Corrections Program. The evaluation goals as stated in the proposal are to provide information on the effectiveness of programs, referral agencies, and Deer Island. Information gathered will provide also the basis for a recidivism study at Deer Island. BOSP hopes to learn whether its program in fact is having a positive effect on its clients -- measured in terms of the rate at which they recidivate. Sylvia Freed, Program Analyst for Alquid Associates, Inc. (the agency contracted by MSSAAC to conduct the evaluation), has initiated data gathering on BOSP.

In the area of community relations, the staff met with John Waters of the Massachusetts Coalition for Alternatives to Prison, located at Boston University, to provide input for a survey on community based programs. Mr. Waters interviewed the staff and also met with several clients who volunteered cooperation. He was interested in the needs and problems confronting the ex-offender, client satisfaction with programs, etc. The study is being conducted for the purpose of compiling a resource and referral handbook.

Additionally, the staff met with Nancy Schmaltz, a counselor in the Correctional Assistance Program for ex-offenders at the YMCA on Huntington Avenue, to discuss their own set of program standards. (BOSP often arranges housing for its clients at the YMCA through this program.) CAP reserves 12 rooms at the YMCA specifically for ex-offenders. Although the program is largely structured, CAP does provide such services as application for welfare, job placement, counseling and weekly group meetings.

As for ongoing operations, BOSP continued to develop new community resources. The staff is attempting to make direct contact with prospective employers rather than just relying on other agencies for referrals. (It is hoped that eventually BOSP can build its own job bank.) Moreover, BOSP was able to obtain a substantial supply of free movie passes from the Sack Theaters. The staff is most appreciative to Sack Theaters for its generosity. Finally, the BOSP office is now receiving two complimentary copies of the Globe on a daily basis to aid the staff and clients in job search.

To conclude resource development items, the staff met with Brian Bowles, job counselor at the Law Offender Service Project with the Division of Employment Security, to discuss job development, assessment of skills and community resources.

Planning

Major planning activities in BOSP at the present time are geared toward meeting the refunding proposal deadline established by the Suffolk Penal Institutions Department. Since the proposal will be completed within a month, "Planning" will not be discussed in this document. All readers of the quarterly report will receive copies of the proposal as soon as it is produced.

Problem Areas

Finding employment for clients continued to be a problem for the BOSP staff: indications are that the problem will continue throughout the summer. It was easier to place non-skilled individuals than those with specialized experience (e.g., plumbing, printing, etc.).

Complicating placement efforts was the announcement that the Division of Employment Security, Law Offenders Service Program is being phased out until its funding situation is straightened out under the new CETA organization. In the past, referrals to the Law Offenders Service Program were virtually automatic for BOSP clients. The Program has been extremely helpful in job placement and counseling.

As can be seen from the statistics at the beginning of this report, the BOSP client caseload has decreased measurably in all categories over the past quarter. According to Deer Island personnel, part of the reason for this is the low Island population and the tendency for commitments to receive longer sentences. The BOSP staff wonders, however, whether it is able to reach all of the eligible inmates with the discharge lists alone, or if inmates are receiving a complete orientation on the post-release programs while they are incarcerated.

Finally, the BOSP staff is beginning to get concerned about the amount of time spent traveling to and from Deer Island for coordination and planning meetings, as well as the additional time spent preparing and submitting progress reports. It is suggested that meetings be held off the Island from time to time (which would give the Deer Island personnel an opportunity to see the community based programs). Moreover, it is suggested that coordination efforts be undertaken so that report preparation can become a focused effort, rather than one which necessitates constant reworking to satisfy the requirements of different reporting formats.

Classification Project - Suffolk County Jail
Quarterly Report
1 April - 30 June 1974

- I. Service Information - Statistics
- II. Administrative Information
 - A. Personnel
 - B. Budget
- III. Narrative Report
 - A. Discussion of Service Information
 - B. Innovations and Changes During Reporting Period
 - C. Policy and Planning

TABLE I.
Classification Project Activities

	<u>This Quarter</u>	<u>Last Quarter</u>	<u>Quarter Last Year</u>	<u>Year to Date</u>
A. Orientation total	403	295	208	698
B. Screening in Population total	1555	1076	70	2631
C. Mental Health Interviews Interviews, total	644	1018	n/a	1662
Physicians interviews	209	93*	n/a	302
Physicians consultations	142	296	n/a	438
D. Legal Information, Advocacy, Counseling Services Interviews, total	1762	1403	n/a	3001
Spanish-speaking	138	28	"	166
Legal information and research (only)	164	n/a	"	164
Communication with Criminal Justice System components				
Defense Attorneys	441	509		950
Clerks, Court & Indictment	146	172		218
Probation Officers & Staff	50	55		105
Probation Records Obtained	11	n/a	"	11
Parole Officers & Staff	79	53	"	132
MCI's and other Jails	37	107	"	144
Police Departments (including military)	11	24	"	35
U.S. Marshall	11	16	"	27
Boston Court Resource Project	3	1	"	4
Justice Resource Institute	15	14	"	29
Bondsman	42	15*	"	57
Bail Commissioner	5	5*	"	10

* partial recording, cf. previous report

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	<u>This Quarter</u>	<u>Last Quarter</u>	<u>Quarter Last Year</u>	<u>Year to Date</u>
D. Legal Information, Advocacy and Counseling (continued)				
Communications with Criminal Justice System components (continued)				
District Attorney's Office	12	10*	n/a	22
Court Clinics	7	4*	"	11
Massachusetts Department of Corrections	17	n/a	"	17
DYS - Youth Service Board	9	"	"	9
U.S. Immigrations	3	"	"	3
Other	4	22	"	26
Within Suffolk County Jail				
Administration	23	44	"	47
Bail Project	45	66	"	111
Education Department	4	7	"	11
Legal Officers	239	58	"	297
Medical Clinic	247	182	"	429
Uniformed Staff	32	50	"	82
Communications with others outside the Jail				
Addiction Treatment (other than referrals cf. referrals below)				
Boston City Hospital Methadone	10	n/a	"	10
Boston State Hospital	9	"	"	9
Center for Attitude Change	25	4*	"	29
Concilio	17	3*	"	20
East Boston Drug Action Council	18	14	"	32
F.I.R.S.T.	9	3*	"	12
Long Island Alcoholism	4	1*	"	5
Project Concern	-	13*	"	13
Spectrum House	8	8*	"	16
Third Nail	1	3*	"	4
Turnabout	3	2*	"	5
Washingtonian Center	6	2*	"	8
Veterans Administration	9	27*	"	36
Other	7	1*	"	8

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	<u>This Quarter</u>	<u>Last Quarter</u>	<u>Quarter Last Year</u>	<u>Year to Date</u>
Communication w/ others outside jail (continued)				
Bail calls	81	74*	n/a	155
Clergy	4	5*	"	9
Education				
U. Massachusetts	3	13*	"	16
Boston University	1	1*	"	2
Employers	9	17*	"	26
Family	121	121*	"	242
Friends & Personal	142	131*	"	273
Health	29	46*	"	75
Landlord	4	3*	"	7
Service Organizations				
Brooke House	11	12*	"	23
Legal Aid	6	n/a	"	6
Self-Development Group (SDG)	7	6*	"	13
Other	17	36*	"	53
Due Process Writs				
Appoint/Change Counsel	22	12*	"	34
Bail Petitions	106	63*	"	169
Consolidate aliases & cases	7	n/a	"	7
Habeas, appearance	6	"	"	6
Remove default	54	44*	"	98
Speedy trial	8	3*	"	11
Withdraw Appeal	5	n/a	"	5
Other	4	14*	"	18
Residents attending group meetings (11 residents x 10 sessions)	110		84*	110
Group meetings	10		n/a	10

* Partial recording of previous report

	<u>This Quarter</u>	<u>Last Quarter</u>	<u>Quarter Last Year</u>	<u>Year to Date</u>
<u>Referrals From Project to:</u>				
Administration - SCJ	1	8*	n/a	9
Bail Project - SCJ	143	104	"	247
Education - SCJ	4	9	"	13
Medical Clinic - SCJ	13	27*	"	40
Uniformed staff - SCJ	10	5*	"	15
Addiction Treatment	35	128	"	163
Bail Funds	34	38	"	72
Education	7	14*	"	21
Employment	42	15	"	57
Justice Resource Institute	7	2	"	8
Other	5	58	"	63
<u>Referrals To Project from:</u>				
Bail Project - SCJ	7	3*	"	10
Education - SCJ	2	1*	"	3
Medical Clinic - SCJ	40	12*	"	52
Uniformed staff - SCJ	75	44*	"	119
Addiction Treatment Agencies	6	4*	"	10
Courts	6	n/a	"	6
Defense Attorneys	3	3*	"	6
Families of residents	5	n/a	"	5
Jails and MCI's	3	11*	"	14
Spanish-Speaking (requests for translations)	149	n/a	"	149
Other	18	13*	"	31
<u>E. Judicial Reports</u>				
Presentence Reports	-	1	"	1
Mental Health and Drug Evaluations	39	40	"	79
Recommend transfer to Bridgewater	11	7*	"	18

	<u>This Quarter</u>	<u>Last Quarter</u>	<u>Quarter Last Year</u>	<u>Year to Date</u>
F. Release Preparation				
Furlough Applications processed	28	5*	n/a	33
Counseling interviews	82	15*	"	97
Requests for Parole	4	n/a	"	4
G. Psychological Tests				
Total	1	-	"	1
H. Workload Measures				
To be completed with Aliquid Associates, Inc. assistance				

III. Narrative Report (cont')

B. Innovations and Changes

1. To date, Project staff have enjoyed consistently close working relationships with representatives of a group of drug treatment programs, a Veterans Administration Field Representative, a Division of Employment Security (DES) Law Offender Service Team member, staff of the Self-Development Group, Inc. and representatives of the Boston University and Boston Bail Movement bail funds. In addition to these more extensive involvements, staff has had contacts of varying degrees of closeness with other service agents listed in this and the two previous reports.

During this reporting period Project staff initiated a number of contacts with service resources outside the Jail in order to 1.) encourage them to bring their efforts to bear on persons desiring their services here in the Jail, a place to which gaining access has traditionally been difficult; and 2.) enlarge the number of release alternatives available to pre-trial detainees. Following are the service agencies with whom significant contact was made:

- a. Boston Court Resource Project. Previously we had assumed that all persons eligible for BCRP had been screened in the various courts --- thus all persons coming to the Jail had been

- deemed ineligible for BCRP services. During this quarter a number of eligible persons came to our attention. Accordingly we initiated contact with BCRP; after a preliminary meeting, a representative came to the Jail to explain eligibility criteria and current procedure so that accurate referrals can be made.
- b. Justice Resource Institute. Involvement with JRI, begun the previous quarter, increased markedly when Project and JRI staff cooperated on preparation of dispositional recommendations to the Superior Court in five cases.
 - c. Social Service Department, Massachusetts Defenders Committee. Goals and efforts of Classification and MDC Social Service staffs may coincide as they affect individuals. Discussions were held to familiarize both staffs with each other's work. A working understanding was reached including the following points: Classification is better suited to arrange services that occur within the Jail; MDC Social Services is better suited to serve individuals after they are bailed or released from the Jail; Classification and MDC may work cooperatively with individuals and refer to one another, though MDC prefers to receive referrals from MDC staff

attorneys. This summer, during the Superior Court recess, Classification will refer to MDC individuals with bails less than \$10,000, who have been arraigned in Superior Court, and who are represented by MDC staff attorneys, for preparation of bail review presentations that include social service/rehabilitation planning. This activity has the goal of avoiding an unproductive summer wait for Superior Court to reopen.

- d. Massachusetts General Hospital - Street Youth Program. Several discussions resulted in preparation of a successful bail review hearing (resulting in personal recognizance) that included defendant's statement of intention to make use of Street Youth Program services. Cooperative work and referrals to the Street Youth Program are indicated when a health need is manifest (because of Street Youth Program's close working relationship with MGH clinics and Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission) and when personal counseling is requested.
- e. Roxbury Multi-Service Center - Community Corrections Program. Meetings were held at both the Jail and RMSC to familiarize staffs with each other's work. At present

the working agreement provides that Classification will assist RMSC in gaining access to the Jail and receive referrals from RMSC to service its clients who have been committed to the Jail; RMSC will assist in release preparation for a limited number of sentenced men leaving the Jail.

- f. Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime (TASC). Three meetings, initiated by TASC, resulted in an understanding of TASC's work and in an agreement that Classification staff will inform incoming residents of TASC's availability at Orientation; will assist residents indicating an interest in TASC by contacting TASC; a TASC screener will then come to the Jail to interview the person and appear on his next court date if indicated. TASC staff will also cooperate with the Bail Project in a bail review presentation when indicated.
- g. University of Massachusetts - Veterans Outreach Program. Additional staff at Veterans Outreach Program now allows them to do more extensive recruitment at the Jail. Information about the Program was distributed to all Classification staff members. We will assist Veterans Outreach in gaining access to the Jail and by providing them with referrals.
- h. Y.M.C.A. - Correctional Assistance Program. CAP provides Classification staff with a dependable referral resource in situations when persons are

leaving the Jail without housing to return to, or need personal counseling, including employment and educational opportunities. CAP may in the future act as sponsors for conditionally released persons.

2. Following on a number of telephone conversations and correspondence regarding individuals sentenced to Massachusetts Correctional Institutions, three Project staff members went to Norfolk Prison Colony, Reception and Diagnostic Center on June 20 to discuss transmittal of information from the Project to the Reception and Diagnostic Center. In summary, we develop information about persons in the course of our work that could be used by RDC in its work (avoiding duplication in some instances), and that has potential for continuing a correctional process/plan begun at the Jail; staff members at RDC had indicated an interest in it.

One year previously RDC planning staff had indicated interest only in independently verifiable information, i.e. standardized tests.

In the June 20 meeting, Mr. Richard Grelatti, Director of Treatment, indicated that any information sent to RDC about individuals would be welcomed and taken into consideration.

Classification staff indicated that information would be transmitted only with the written consent of the individuals involved. It will not be transmitted on a routine basis, but

only in cases where a staff member feels that he/she knows the individual well and can report significant information.

3. On April 1, a five-week Incentive for Self Help Group began meeting twice weekly with eleven participants under the sponsorship of Sally Towers, Project Psychiatric Nurse. These meetings were the first formalized group counseling sessions since the Self Development Groups ended in November of last year. Despite the circumstances of some participants being bailed and sentenced, the Group was considered a success by Sally and the men who participated. Appendix A. provides the rationale, guidelines and format for the group; residents participated strongly in its development.

It is anticipated that more group contracts will be entered into as staff time, ability and interest allow. We have learned from experience with this and the previous groups that short-term contracts function best due to rapid turnover in population.

4. The previous report indicated that staff training sessions were scheduled for one hour each week in addition to the ongoing business meeting.

At a meeting in mid-May the decision was reached to reduce the occurrence of training meetings to two per month due to other demands on staff time. Accordingly, training meetings will be held on first and third Wednesdays of each month ---

One meeting will feature a guest speaker, one meeting will be sponsored by a Project staff member presenting a specific topic. This arrangement will allow mental health staff to attend Harbor Area Legal Medicine Meetings at Lindemann Mental Health Center held on the last Wednesday of each month.

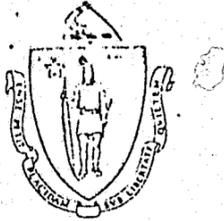
C. Policy and Planning.

1. During this quarter information about present employees and recruitment of applicants was gathered and transmitted, according to MSSAAC request, in order to ensure compliance with equal opportunity employment policy.
2. Following initial negotiations Project staff has worked cooperatively with Aliquid Associates, Inc. staff in the evaluation of the Project, to be completed during the third quarter.
3. During three meetings in May, Project staff reviewed the needs, goals, and project description found in the 1974 proposal to ensure their fulfillment. We found that we are meeting our stated purposes and commitment quite well. Further effort in cooperation with uniformed staff is necessary to ensure full effectiveness of daily orientation.
4. A substantive question arising from these discussions was whether we should adopt a policy of interviewing every person committed to the Jail following orientation in order to assure prompt attention to all release alternatives, personalize and explain in greater detail information of

interest to the resident that was presented briefly in orientation, and perform an informal mental health screen. Presently, after orientation, initiative for an interview rests with the detainee; each person has the option to request service or not, as he sees fit.

The decision reached after detailed discussion of pros and cons was to maintain the present policy because: 1.) leaving initiative to the residents assures that we are engaged in meeting real needs that are of concern to individuals; 2.) at present, available staff time is fully used in involvements requested by residents; and 3.) changing to a policy of initiating interviews of unproven value would take too much staff time (projected conservatively to be one-third) away from attention to resident-initiated involvement.

In addition, we believe that the working relationship of Project staff with uniformed staff, and the knowledge of uniformed staff about mental health symptoms, has developed to the point that uniformed staff and medical staff refer very early persons with overt psychological symptoms who do not refer themselves. Persons receiving mental health are approximately 85% self-referred, with only 15% referred by uniformed staff, medical staff and other residents.



The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

COUNTY OF SUFFOLK
SUFFOLK COUNTY JAIL
BOSTON, 02114

HAROLD V. LANGLOIS
MASTER

JOHN K. MCCAREY
DEPUTY MASTER

THOMAS S. EISENSTADT
SHERIFF

QUARTERLY REPORT -

From: January 1, 1974 to June 30, 1974
Submitted by: Suffolk County Jail Bail Appeal Project
Date: 26 July 1974

By: Thomas Shurtz
RS.

I. Objectives

Objectives for this funding period included an increase in the use of cash bail as an alternative to surety bail in cases where release on personal recognizance was found not feasible. By the Superior Court which reviews bail set by the District Courts, this project aimed at providing the District Courts with an example of a viable alternative to the use of surety bail. We now note that Dorchester District Court, Boston Municipal Court, and District Courts in East Boston, Brighton, and Roxbury use the alternative of cash bail during the bail setting procedure at arraignment. Our statistics reflect this trend away from the use of surety bail towards cash bail.

The Project, in conjunction with the Sheriff, has investigated and proposed an "In-House Fund"; of which a proposal has been presented to the Rockefeller Foundation and which includes a \$9,000 fund to be used to aid those pre-trial accused who, in the opinion of a three member panel and based on a lengthy personal questionnaire, appear to be responsible and amenable to the criminal process. The three member panel will be comprised of a member from the black community, a citizen concerned with prison reform, and a member of the Bail Project staff. The program will be administered by the Bail Project and the Bail Project will retain veto power.

The purpose of the funds will be two-pronged; first, to provide funds for those who are indigent to the extent that they cannot afford even a small cash bail. Secondly, the fund will serve as a basis for a study on prisoner reliability. Interested pre-trial accused will be required to complete a questionnaire designed to serve as a test by which prisoner reliability can be judged. The emphasis will hopefully shift from interview opinion to a scientific data approach.

It must be stressed that the information gathered will be used for statistical purposes only. Further, while the funds will be administered by the Bail Project, the

In-House Bail Fund Project will be distinguished from the Bail Project: the Project functions as a matter of right under Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 276, Section 58, while the In-House Bail Fund Project will function as a matter of discretion. The general requirements will be that a pre-trial accused will have gone to a District Court hearing and have less than a \$200 cash bail. In this way, the Sheriff hopes to encourage compliance with the criminal process by assisting those who are truly indigent and cannot afford even minimal cash bail while conducting a study that may prove useful as prisoner's rights areas undergo inevitable growth.

Bail Project research staff have drawn up a survey study to be conducted in three District Courts to determine the amount of time spent in fixing bail or in releasing persons on personal recognizance. A total of fifteen cases, five in each court, will be investigated to assess the amount of bail set, what explanation the judge gives as the reason(s) for setting bail, whether the person is represented by public defender or private counsel. This data will be collected to note if and what effect the appeal process has on bail setting procedures in the District Courts. Since the institution of the Bail Project, District Court Judges have been made aware that every bail set has

the potential of a "thorough" review before the Superior Court. What impact this has, especially on cases where the client is determined indigent will be the thrust of the investigation.

Research staff have also been working closely with the evaluation team. The research staff developed the attached card which is to be coded and evaluated by the evaluators to determine specific trends. The information on this card is being gathered for all cases in which persons have received a bail appeal dating back to January 1st of 1974. In addition, this data card summarizes all the data gathered by the project and thus facilitates the easy access to data for statistical purposes.

Peter Fulton and John Dugan were hired as legal assistant and law student during the project period. Mr. Fulton has worked extensively on legal briefs for cases being presented to the Supreme Judicial Court besides his regular duties. Mr. Dugan is assisting the research/evaluator in gathering statistics for which the evaluators will conduct a study.

II. MEASURES OF ACCOMPLISHMENT
(based on 1974 figures to date)

Chart I
Bail Appeals Processed = 395 before the Suffolk Superior Court

Dispositions of Bail Appeals	Bailed After Appeal	Still in Custody	Sentenced from Jail	Other
ROR	91	?		
Reduction	39	18	2	7
Cash Bail	79	68	2	3
Denied	146			6
Other	40			6

Chart II
Bail Petitions Received but not processed = 210

Dispositions of Petitions	Numbers
Retained own counsel	32
Bailed	74
Sentenced from court	43
Warrants	23
Petitions Withdrawn	38

Chart III
The following percentages indicate trends to date based on figures from Chart I. Also included are 1973 figures for comparisons.

	1974	1973
1. ROR	23.0%	24.5%
2. Bail reduced	9.0%	24.5%
3. Cash bail	20.0%	12.6%
4. Releases	45.4%	---
5. Denied	37.9%	69.7%
6. Still in Custody	1.0%	---

Summary of Data:

Chart I - Of 395 adult and juvenile cases processed before the Suffolk Superior Court, 91 persons were directly released on personal recognizance. Thus a total of 177 persons to date have been released. Only 4 persons as of this writing remain in custody. In addition, project staff have interviewed another 210 persons and advised them of the status of their case. "Other" in the category Dispositions of Bail Appeals refers to persons whose original bail was reinstated (that is raised in the District court on a later appearance and then appealed back to the bail set at arraignment in the District Court), persons released into drug, alcohol, or mental health programs (including persons sent to Bridgewater State Hospital), cases brought before the Supreme Judicial Court, and persons whose bail was increased before the Superior Court. "Other" as applied to the "reduction" and "cash bail" category includes women and juveniles whose cases we have not been able to follow-up as their records are not available to us.

The number of appeals as a percentage of the total number of petitions received for this period = 65.3%.

Chart II - Petitions come into the Jail on a daily basis. All petitions are logged in and all petitioners are responded to even though the interviewer may be aware that the person has warrants outstanding, is on default on other charges, is to be remanded to other institutions, has been bound over to the Superior Court and indicted (in which event the case is closed to all but the attorney of record), has retained own counsel, is a federal prisoner, etc. The petitions withdrawn accounts for many of these categories, the others are self explanatory. Warrants include parole and probation violations. Persons who have court appointed attorney's are in most cases considered indigent and if the attorney is not being paid by the District Court for bail matters, this staff represents the client. As you may note a large number of persons (74) were bailed between the time their petition was filed and the case was prepared for court. It is not unusual for the person to be bailed the day before their court appearance date on bail matters.

CONTINUED

5 OF 6

Chart III - Note that 1973 figures are for the full year while 1974 data reflects the period January 1 thru June 30th. Thus we expect that release on personal recognizance will increase over 1973; that the use of surety bail will continue to spiral downward; that cash bails will have more than doubled by the end of the year. We note, however, that many cases are still denied. During the last part of this quarter (the month of June), the Judge hearing bail appeals held the philosophy that only in "extreme" cases should the bail set in lower court be reviewed. During this period many petitions were withdrawn by clients fearful of their one chance of bail appeal being denied or bail being increased. Only two persons receiving cash bail and two persons receiving in the amount of surety are still in custody because they cannot still make bail.

1973 statistics for comparative reading

623 adult cases were processed before the Suffolk Superior Court. Of these:

160 Release on Personal Recognizance ROR
 135 Reductions in the dollar amount of surety
 82 Cash bails
 230 Denied
 56 Other
 8 Supreme Judicial Court

30 juvenile cases processed

Of 169 known releases: 63 dismissed, 43 probation, 53 not guilty, 10 guilty but no sentence. Of 248 settled cases, 79 persons are known to have defaulted. Note however, that a great percentage of 1973 cases have not yet been settled for final disposition, so that these figures appear inflated.

SUFFOLK COUNTY JAIL BAIL APPEAL PROJECT
 QUARTERLY REPORT

Period Covered: January 1, 1974 to June 30, 1974
 Submitted: July 26, 1974 (supplement)

I. Client Service Information

<u>Item</u>	<u>This Period</u> 1/1 - 6/30	<u>Last Period</u> 1/2 1973	<u>Projects</u> <u>Grant</u>
Case flow:			
jail commits.	na	na	-
petitions pending previous period	25		
petitions discount.	210		
appeals taken	395	350 (approx.)	150
petitions pending end of period	25	312	350
petitions received	605	25 (approx.)	
		662 (approx.)	500
Detail:			
Discontinuations	210	350	
bailed before appeal	74	-	
sentenced before app.	43	-	
retained counsel	32	-	
warrant(s) outstand.	23	-	
petitions withdrawn	38	-	

Item	This Period 1/1 - 6/30	Last Period 1/2 1973	Projected Grant
Appeals	395	382	350
ror granted	91	80	
bail reduced	39	68	
(bailed)	18	-	
(sentenced)	7	-	
(detained)	2	-	
(n.a.)	6	-	
cash bail set	79	41	82
(bailed)	68	-	
(sentenced)	3	-	
(detained)	2	-	
(n.a.)	6	-	
appeal denied	146	115	
other	40	47	

Percentage Measures:

% of commitments filing petitions -

% of petitions appealed 65.3

% of petitions discont. 34.7

% of petitions withdrawn 6.3

% of appeals resulting in
 (ror) 23.0
 (bail reduction) 9.0
 (cash bail) 20.0
 (denied) 37.9
 (other) 10.1

12.3 } approximations
 9.6 } by dividing
 5.9 } 1973 statistics
 11.5 } by one half
 4.0 }
 4.1 (juveniles)

% of appeals resulting in
 (release) 45.4
 (other) 53.6
 (still in custody) 1.0

Other Service Indices:

initial interviews	605	521
warrants cleared	-	-
appeals to SJC	5	4

Workload Measures:

petitions per staff (2 1/2 interviewers)	110	120
appeals per attorney (2 attorneys)	198	156

Administrative Information:

Please refer to Mayor's Safe Streets Act Advisory Committee for information regarding administrative procedures including grant award expenditures. We are waiting to be advised on monies spent in 1973. The only information available to this project is on salaries expended. We request a financial statement of our funding agency for 1973 and 1974 expenditures to date.

MONTHLY REPORT

Dear Island House of Correction

Project Director _____ Month _____
Project _____ Phone _____
Address _____
_____ Zip _____

This form is a face sheet. If you do not have enough room to answer fully on this form, please continue narrative on separate sheet of paper, referring to questions by number and letter. Please attach all relevant statistics, financial forms, or other appropriate data.

I. Input

A. Have your resources (funds, office space, community resources, etc.) changed any since last month? Yes No
If yes, describe.

B. Have you acquired or terminated any personnel since last month?
 Yes No
If yes, describe why and how the change might effect your program.

C. List new clients acquired over the past month.

II. Effort

A. Planning Activities (if applicable)

1. Describe any activities related to planning in which you and your staff have been involved... (e.g. reassessment of inmate needs, development of new strategies to meet those needs, evaluation of present program activities, etc.)

2. Have you established any specific goals and objectives for next month? Yes No
If yes, describe.

3. Operational Activities

What kinds of and how many client and service provider contacts have you and your staff had this month? (Attach materials from other sources if appropriate.)

III. Output

A. Processes

Have you inaugurated any new processes, programs or services during the past month? Yes No
If yes, describe.

B. Products

1. How many clients are you currently serving? _____

(Break your clients down according to kind of service being provided by your program - attach existing materials if appropriate.)

2. List those clients who stopped receiving services from your program during the past month and state the disposition (program complete, placed in job, escaped, etc.) of each case as appropriate to the services you provide.

IV. Problems

Are you having any problems with operations or with individual clients?
 Yes No
If yes, detail plans for rectification of problem. If other resources needed, please specify.

APPENDIX D: CASE MANAGEMENT

Selected Forms

SUMMARY OF PRIOR RECORD

Arrests:

Offenses:

Commitments:

Prior Paroles:

PROSPECTIVE PAROLE PROGRAM:

HOME: (Name and address, floor or apartment no., relationship or otherwise identify.)

WORK: (Name and address of Firm and name of Employer.)

PAROLE BOARD INTERVIEW NOTES

Date Interviewed:

Name of Interviewer:

Age of Inmate:

PRE-PAROLE INVESTIGATION FOR MEN ON RELEASE PROGRAMS

NAME _____
 P/E DATE _____ SEE THE BOARD IN _____

A favorable action by the Parole Board depends greatly upon the quality of the intended home and work program. If the prospective program is approved by the parole officer conducting the pre-parole investigation, the chances of parole are greatly increased, and there is no need for home and work investigations after the hearing. Thus, the submittal of home and work programs is very important to the inmate.

A. HOME PROGRAM:

Living with: _____ (Name) _____ (Relationship)
 Address: _____ (No.) _____ (Street) _____ (Apartment No. or floor)
 _____ (City or town) _____ (State)

Telephone number: _____

When is the above person available for interview by the Parole Officer?

B. WORK PROGRAM:

Name of firm: _____
 Address: _____ (NO.) _____ (Street) _____ (City) _____ (Town)
 Name & Position of Employer: _____

C. Have you ever been before the Massachusetts Parole Board? _____
 If so, from what institution(s)? _____

Please fill out immediately and return to me immediately. If you have any questions, you may call me or leave a message with someone in work release.

INMATE INTAKE INTERVIEW

NAME _____ AGE _____ DATE _____
 DOB _____ INTERVIEWER _____
 LAST ADDRESS _____ POB _____ RELIGION _____
 PROBABLE RELEASE ADDRESS _____ RACE _____ SOCIAL SECURITY # _____
 WT _____ SCARS _____ EYES _____ HAIR _____

OFFENCE AND SENTENCE DATA

DATE COMMITTED	INSTITUTION NUMBER	COURT	OFFENCE	TERM	JAIL CREDIT	FINE #

DATE RESTRICTED	PROSECUTING ATTORNEY	DEFENSE ATTORNEY	JUDGE	PLEA	VERDICT	CO-DEFENDANT'S

WARRANTS

DATE OF ISSUE	COURT	NUMBER	TYPE OF COMPLAINT

PRE-TRIAL STATUS

TYPE OF BOND: _____ PERSONAL BOND _____ R.O.R. _____ DETENTION _____ DEFAULT _____
 ROLE ELIGIBILITY: _____ MINIMUM _____ MAXIMUM _____

PRIOR PENAL COMMITMENTS (INCLUDING DJ)

NAME & ADDRESS OF PENAL FACILITY	COMMITTED	DISCHARGED	OFFENCE	TERM	COURT

COURT/PROBATION DEPT. _____ PROBATION OFFICER _____

MEDICAL HISTORY

Have you ever been in the hospital? If so, when, where and why? _____

Have you ever been treated for hepatitis _____ venereal disease _____
alcohol abuse _____ drug abuse _____?

- .1. Do you usually feel tired? _____
- .2. Do you sleep too much? _____
- .3. Do you not sleep enough? _____
- .4. Do you think you should be healthier? _____
- .5. Do you get headaches? _____
- .6. Do you get dizzy spells? _____
- .7. Do you have a poor appetite? _____
- .8. Are you nervous often? _____
- .9. Do you find it difficult to relax? _____
- .10. Do your feelings get hurt easily? _____

ADDICTION HISTORY

Have you ever used?

	YES	NO	LAST TIME USED	HOW MUCH	HOW AND WHY STOPPED
1. Marijuana					
2. Hallucinogens (LSD, etc.)					
3. Pills (Upers and downers)					
4. Narcotics					
5. Alcohol					
6. Other					

SOCIAL SERVICE CONTACTS

Have you ever had any social service contacts? (Welfare, employment office, vocational training, counseling, mental health, halfway house, etc.)

NAME & ADDRESS	PERSON CONTACTED	WHEN	SERVICES	REASON LEFT

QUESTIONS

I'm going to ask you some questions, and you tell me whether they describe you.

	YES	NO	OTHER
5.1 I wish I had better job skills.			
5.2 I see myself as a criminal.			
5.3 I am dependent on crime for part of my income.			
5.4 I committed a number of crimes that I never got caught for.			
5.5 My being involved in crime is okay.			
5.6 I work alone.			
5.7 I don't have any friends.			
5.8 I go along with my friends.			
5.9 I am innocent.			
5.10 I am ashamed of my criminal activity.			
5.11 I am afraid of Deer Island.			
5.12 I get angry too easily.			
5.13 I always have had luck.			
5.14 I worry about unimportant things.			
5.15 I read too slowly.			
5.16 I feel nervous.			
5.17 I get tired too easily.			
5.18 I don't know what I want of life.			
5.19 I don't like to talk about my problems.			
5.20 I have a lot of nightmares.			
5.21 I've thought of suicide.			
5.22 I've cried without reason.			
5.23 I often feel like I'm being pecked.			
5.24 I walk around with a guilty conscience.			
5.25 I feel like I'm being watched.			
5.26 I feel like I'm being judged.			
5.27 I feel like I'm being punished.			
5.28 I'm always afraid of being caught.			

For drug users:

- 5.29 I want to stop using drugs.
- 5.30 I want to get into a drug program.
- 5.31 My using drugs is okay.
- 5.32 I enjoy being "high."
- 5.33 I need drugs to relax..
- 5.34 I want to go to a halfway house.

GOALS

- 5.35 What do you want to do with yourself while at Deer Island? _____
- 5.36 What do you want to do when you are released? _____
- 5.37 What sort of problems caused you to come to Deer Island? _____

INTERVIEWER'S OBSERVATIONS:

- 1. Cooperative _____
- 2. Afraid of inter. _____
- 3. Hostile to interv. _____
- 4. Under control _____
- 5. Out of control _____

- _____ Court
- _____ Probation
- _____ State Police
- _____ Prisons
- _____ Hospitals
- _____ Military
- _____ Social Agency
- _____ Family
- _____ Employer
- _____ Other: _____

SUFFOLK COUNTY HOUSE OF CORRECTION
CASE MANAGEMENT PROJECT
BOX 112
WINTHROP, MASSACHUSETTS 02152

RELEASE OF INFORMATION

Dear Sir:

This signed release form entitles the Case Management staff of the Suffolk County House of Correction access to any Military, Hospital, (including mental health), or other correctional institutions information concerning me.

Signature of inmate

Guardian signature

Counselor signature

Date

REQUEST FOR INFORMATION

INMATE'S NAME _____ CASE MANAGER _____

ADDRESS _____

FATHER _____ MOTHER _____

PLEASE SEND LETTERS REQUESTING INFORMATION TO:

FAMILY

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

OTHER PRISONS:

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

DATES COMMITTED _____ DATES DISCHARGED _____

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

DATES COMMITTED _____ DATES DISCHARGED _____

HOSPITALS

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

PRIOR SOCIAL AGENCY

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

SCHOOL:

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____ DATES _____

MILITARY

BRANCH _____ SERIAL # _____ RANK AT DISCHARGE _____

TYPE DISCHARGE _____ SOCIAL SECURITY # _____

DATE ENTERED SERVICE _____ DATE DISCHARGED: _____

OTHER:

AGE _____ AGE _____ DATE _____
 RACE _____ DOB _____ INTERVIEWER _____
 LAST ADDRESS _____ POB _____ RELIGION _____
 PROBABLE _____ RACE _____ S.S.# _____
 RELEASE ADDRESS _____ RACE _____ S.S.# _____
 T. _____ WT. _____ SCARS _____ EYES _____ HAIR _____

OFFENSE AND SENTENCE DATA

DATE COMMITTED	INSTITUTION NUMBER	COURT	OFFENSE	TERM	JAIL CR.	MITT.#

DATE ARRESTED	PROSECUTING ATTORNEY	DEFENSE ATTORNEY	JUDGE	PLEA VERDICT	CO DEFENDENTS

WARRANTS

DATE OF ISSUE	COURT	NUMBER	TYPE OF COMPLAINT

PRE-TRIAL STATUS

TYPE OF BOND _____ PERSONAL BOND _____ R.O.R. _____ DETENTION _____ DEFAULT _____
 ROLE ELIGIBILITY _____ MINIMUM _____ MAXIMUM _____

COMMITMENTS SINCE LAST TIME AT DEER ISLAND

NAME & ADDRESS OF PENAL FACILITY	COMMITTED	DISCHARGED	OFFENSE	TERM	COURT

NAME OF COURT/PROBATION DEPT. _____ PROBATION OFFICER _____

INDEX TO ADDRESS OF FAMILY

RELATION	ADDRESS	PHONE	BIRTHPLACE
EMERGENCY CONTACT			

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS: ALONE WITH PARENT(S) WITH FRIEND
 WITH WIFE WITH RELATIVES WITH GIRLFRIEND

MARITAL STATUS SINGEL DIVORCED MARRIED SEPARATED WIDOWED

Will you be returning to your prior living arrangements? Yes No

EDUCATION SINCE LAST RELEASE

NAME OF SCHOOL	ADDRESS	BEGAN	ENDED	HIGHEST GRADE COMP.	DEGREE OR DIPLOMA

Are you interested in going to school? For what? _____

EMPLOYMENT SINCE LAST RELEASE

NAME & ADDRESS OF EMPLOYER	FROM	TO	WAGES	TITLE	SUPERVISOR	REASON LEFT

Were you working before arrested?

Will you be able to return to your job?

If on bail, were you working?

MEDICAL REPORTS SINCE LAST RELEASE

Have you been in the hospital since last release from Deer Island? If so, when, where and why? _____

ADDICTION HISTORY

Since last released, have you been using

	YES	NO	LAST TIME USED	HOW MUCH	HOW & WHY STOPPED
Marijuana					
Alcohol					
Hallucinogens (LSD, etc.)					
Pills (uppers, downers)					
Narcotics					

SOCIAL SERVICE CONTACTS

Did you have any social service contacts since last release? (Welfare, employ-
 ment, vocational training, counseling, mental health, halfway house, etc.)

NAME & ADDRESS OF AGENCY	PERSON CONTACTED	WHEN	SERVICES	REASON LEFT

GOALS

What do you want to do with yourself while at Deer Island? _____

What do you want to do when you are released? _____

What sort of problems caused you to come back to Deer Island? _____

INTERVIEWERS OBSERVATIONS:

1. Cooperative
2. Afraid of interviewer
3. Hostile to interviewer
4. Under control
5. out of control

- Court
- Probation
- State Police
- Prisons
- Hospitals
- Military
- social agency
- Family
- Employer
- Other: _____

STATE OF MARYLAND HOUSE OF CORRECTION
CASE HISTORY FORM CT-1 REV. 2-74

CLIENT _____
CASE MANAGER _____
COMMITMENT _____
SENTENCE _____

RESOURCES UTILIZED

Police Version	Home Visit	F.B.I.	Employer	Social Agency
Medical Intake	Probation	S X B	Hospital	State Police
Client Intake	Military	Court	Prisons	School

POLICE VERSION:

CLIENT VERSION:

PRIOR CONVICTIONS AND COMMITMENTS:

SOCIAL:

FAMILY:

EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING:

PAST EMPLOYMENT:

MILITARY HISTORY:

STATE OF MARYLAND HOUSE OF CORRECTION
CURRENT EVALUATION FORM CP-2 2-74

CLIENT _____
PAROLE S.I.G. _____
MINIMUM _____

EDUCATIONAL:

VOCATIONAL:

FAMILY:

SOCIAL:

HOUSEHOLD CONTROL:

FINANCIAL CONTROL:

DRUG USE:

RELIGIOUS:

PHYSICAL:

PSYCHOSOCIAL:

REGARD ASSESSMENT AND RECOMMENDATION:

CLIENT'S ARTICULATED GOALS:

TASK _____ IMPLIMENTOR _____ PRIORITY _____ PROJECTED FINISH DATE _____

DO NOT RELEASE

RECLASSIFICATION DATE OR PRIORITY _____

[FURLOUGH APPLICATION]

SUFFOLK COUNTY HOUSE OF CORRECTION FURLOUGH APPLICANT _____
FURLOUGH AGREEMENT
MASS. GENERAL LAWS, CHAPTER 127 CASE MANAGER _____

In accepting a furlough, I voluntarily agree to the following:

1. I will conduct myself in accordance with the laws of the state and community that I am visiting and will return to the institution at the designated time.
 2. While on furlough I will not leave the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
 3. Upon returning to the institution, I will not attempt to introduce contraband into the institution.
 4. I herein agree to return to the Suffolk County House of Correction at such time as is designated by the institution and that failure to do so may result in prosecution for escape.
 5. I agree to submit to a urinalysis and/or breathanalysis upon return from furlough and, if requested, to submit to medical examination and cooperate with all personnel during this examination. Failure to do so will result in loss of furlough privileges.
- Violations of institutional policies and/or furlough rules will result in my being subject to disciplinary action or prosecution and will be considered in future furlough requests.

Inmate's Signature _____ Witness _____ Date Signed _____

THE ABOVE APPLICANT IS APPROVED FOR FURLOUGH ON _____
SIGNED _____ OR _____
(Master) (Commissioner)

1. I agree to submit to a urinalysis and breathanalysis upon return from furlough.
2. I realize that failure to return at the time below may make me liable for prosecution for escape.
3. My furlough begins on _____ at _____
(Date) (Time)
4. I agree to return to Suffolk County House of Correction not later than _____ at _____
(Date) (Time)

Inmate's Signature _____ Witness _____ Date _____

Police Notified by _____ Date _____

APPLICATION FOR RELEASE PROGRAM

NAME _____ DOB _____ OFFENSE _____
CASE NO _____ S.S.# _____ SENTENCE _____
MIL. SER. # _____ FATHER _____ COMMITTED _____
MIL. R.E. _____ MOTHER _____ P/T _____
MIL. REL. _____ WIFE _____ MEN _____
† CHILDREN _____ WARRANTS _____

ADDRESS _____ PHONE # _____

EDUCATION: GRADE SCHOOL HIGH SCHOOL COLLEGE OR VOCATION
1. NAME _____
2. LOCATION _____
3. LAST GRADE OR SKILL _____

MILITARY: BRANCH _____ DATE ENTERED _____ RANK _____
SERV SCHOOL _____ TYPE DISCHARGE _____ DATE DISCH _____

PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT: LAST JOB NEXT TO LAST NEXT TO NEXT
1. NAME OF COMPANY _____
2. ADDRESS _____
3. TYPE OF WORK _____
4. SUPERVISOR _____
5. SALARY (WEEK) _____
6. DATE STARTED _____
7. DATE LEFT _____
8. REASON LEFT _____

APPLICANTS FOR THERAPY RELEASE ONLY: CAC _____ PBOAC _____ CAN _____ OTHER _____
HAVE YOU USED:

	YES	NO	HOW MUCH	LAST TIME USED	WHY STOPPED
GRASS					
UPPERS					
DOWNERS					
HALLUCINOGENS					
NARCOTICS					
ALCOHOL					

HOW MANY INSTITUTIONAL SESSIONS HAVE YOU HAD WITH THIS GROUP?

APPLICATION FOR RELEASE PROGRAM--page two

DO YOU WANT TO GO TO THIS PROGRAM? _____

FOR RELEASE, VOCATIONAL TRAINING APPLICANTS ONLY:

HAVE YOU TAKEN THE REQUIRED TESTS THROUGH THE COORDINATOR OF TESTING? _____

IF SO, WHAT TESTS? _____

HAVE YOU DISCUSSED THE RESULTS WITH ANYONE? _____ IF SO, WHO? _____

IF YOUR WIFE OR WELFARE OR DO YOU HAVE ANY SUPPORT OBLIGATION PLACED UPON YOU BY ANY COURT? _____

WHAT JOB SKILLS DO YOU HAVE? _____

WHAT KIND OF JOB DO YOU WISH YOU HAVE? _____

DO YOU HAVE ANY PHYSICAL HANDICAPS? _____

WHAT IS THE LONGEST PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT YOU HAVE HAD IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS? _____

DO YOU KNOW ANY COMPANY WHO WILL EMPLOY YOU? _____

EDUCATIONAL RELEASE PROGRAM ONLY:

DO YOU HAVE THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE ACADEMY TO APPLY? _____

WHAT SCHOOL WILL YOU BE ATTENDING? _____

WHEN WILL CLASSES START? _____ WHEN WILL REGISTRATION START? _____

ARE YOU REGISTERED ALREADY? _____

ALL RELEASE CANDIDATES MUST ATTACH A COPY OF THEIR REHABILITATIVE PLAN AND PRIORITIES (CT-3) TO THIS APPLICATION.

SIGNED _____

DATE _____

APPENDIX E: THE ACADEMY

Proposed Class Schedule and Attendance Record Form (example)

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LEER ISLAND EDUCATION PROGRAM
 Class Schedule and Attendance Record
 Week of August 19-23, 1974

Code	Class	Code	Class	No.
GM	GED Math	B	Basic Ed.	
GR	GED Reading	M	Math	
GS	GED Soc.St.	R	Reading	
L	Library	T	Tutoring	

DETAIL	NAME	PROG.	MONDAY					TUESDAY					WEDNESDAY					THURSLAY					FRIDAY					Classes Scheduled	Classes Attended
			9:30	10:30	11:30	1:00	2:00	9:30	10:30	11:30	1:00	2:00	9:30	10:30	11:30	1:00	2:00	9:30	10:30	11:30	1:00	2:00	9:30	10:30	11:30	1:00	2:00		
Hill	Abrahms, Andrew	G	GM	GR				GM	GS					GM	GR						GM	GR		T	L				
IK	Allen, Albert	P	P					P						P							P								
IDH	Ashmont, Alfred	GR		GR					GR						GR	T						GR							
Bakery	Barlow, Barney	R	R					R						R							R								
Hill	Bennett, Benny	P	P					P						P	L						P								
Comm.	Bolden, Bobby	GMR	GM	GR	T			GM	GR	T				GM	GR						GM	GR							
Hill	Bunker, Bud	G	GM	GR	L			GM	GS	L				GM	GR						GM	GR							

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APPENDIX F: BOSP

Table 1: The Average Cost of an Offense Charged to a Deer Island Recidivist.457

Selected Forms459

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Table 1: The average cost of an offense charged to a Deer Island recidivist

Offense	Personal losses	criminal justice system costs (2)	Total	Related offenses as % of D.I. recidivism (3)	Weighted Cost
robbery	\$366	\$1867	\$2233	4.2%	\$ 93.79
burglary	502	1089	1591	7.2%	114.55
auto theft	1310	1183	2493	5.4%	134.62
motor vehicle theft	308	1027	1335 ⁴	17.4%	204.80
assault	33	1027 ⁵	1060 ⁴		
rape	258	1432	1690	5.6%	94.64
murder	258 ⁶	2023	2281	0.6%	13.69
homicide	1310 ⁷	7624	8934	0.2%	17.87
other ⁸	33 ⁸	1027 ⁸	1060 ⁸	59.4%	629.64
				100.0	\$ 1303.60

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Footnotes:

1. Personal losses for the first six offenses adapted from Shoup and Mehay, Program Budgeting for Urban Police Services (Praeger, 1967), p.216. and inflated to 1974 price levels using the Consumer Price Index. The figures were based on studies done in California and do not include items such as witnesses' loss of income, declines in business activity due to crime, costs of welfare payments to inmates' families, etc.
2. System costs adapted from Institute for Defense Analyses, Task Force Report: Science and Technology (a report to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice) (GPO, 1967), pp.56-65, inflated to 1974 price levels using the Consumer Price Index. The figures include costs to the police, courts and correction systems.
3. Distribution used is that of first offenses subsequent to discharge from Deer Island for the total sample of this study. Similar offenses are grouped together.
4. Costs for grand and petty thefts were weighted together using the relative incidence of those offenses from the 1967 Uniform Crime Reports, to create a weighted average for all larcenies of \$1177 (total cost).
5. System costs for petty theft assumed to equal cost for grand theft (the assumption more favorable toward the programs studied).
6. Rape assumed to create personal costs equal to those of aggravated assault.
7. Homicide loss assumed to be that of the highest-cost documented offense.
8. Other offenses assumed to incur costs equal to the least costly documented offense.

[Client File]

The Boston Offender Service Project (BOSP) has been established to aid the releasee and parolee from Deer Island in his reintegration into the community by helping them find food, shelter and clothing through financial assistance and by referring them to necessary employment and social service agencies.

The offering of such services is dependent upon your willingness and sincerity in your reintegration effort into the community. If it is felt that you are not making a valid attempt towards self-improvement, we will be forced to terminate any further assistance. Participation in BOSP sponsored programs such as weekly meetings at the Drop-In Center at 79 Chandler Street may also be required of the client.

Remember we are here to help you help yourself and the total effort will only be as successful as you are willing to make it.

SIGNATURE OF CLIENT

DATE

INITIAL INTERVIEW

Name _____ BOSP # _____
 Date of Birth _____ Age _____ ER # _____
 SS # _____ Parents _____ WR # _____
 _____ Furl. # _____
 _____ Place of Birth _____
 Referred by _____ Other Programs _____
 Address _____ Tel. No. _____
 Entry Status _____

SERVICES NEEDED

RES _____
 CLOTHING _____
 FOOD _____
 TRANS _____
 MED. _____
 DENTAL _____
 OTHER _____

SUMMARY:

Community Worker _____

BOSP REGULAR CLIENT TERMINATION

Name _____ No. _____ Age _____
 Date of Birth _____ SS # _____
 Place of Birth _____ Ethnic Group _____
 Parents Names _____
 Entry Status _____ Date Entered _____
 Other BOSP _____ Date Terminated _____
Programs: _____
 Ed, Rel. _____ No. of Times _____
 Work Rel. _____ Full Time _____
 Furlough _____ BOSP _____

TERMINATION STATUS

Complete		Incomplete
_____	HOME	_____
_____	EMP.	_____
_____	WELFARE	_____
_____	SCHOOL	_____
_____	OTHER	_____

Reason for Incomplete _____

Total Monies Received

Brief History _____

RES _____
 FOOD _____
 TRANS _____
 CLOTHING _____ SubTotal _____
 W. R. _____
 E. R. _____
 FURLOUGH _____
 NET _____

BOSP CLIENT INFORMATION SHEET

Furlough

Client Name _____ BOSP Furlough No. _____

Age _____ Ethnic Group _____ SS No. _____

Date of Birth _____ Place of Birth _____

Father's Name _____ Mother's Name _____

Date Entered Deer Island _____

Date of Furlough	Reason for Furlough	Money Received		
		Check No.	Date	Amount
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

VERIFICATION WITH CLASSIFICATION PROJECT

Who	Date
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Community Worker _____

PROGRAM #

PROGRAM #										NAME
										ENTRY STATUS
										ARRIVAL DATE
										TERMINATION DATE
										FOOD
										TRANS.
										CLOTHING
										RES.
										OTHER
										EMPLOYMENT STATUS
										WELFARE
										REFERRALS
										REF. AGENCY
										TERMINATION STATUS
										AFTERCARE

FINANCIAL

APPENDIX G: THE CLASSIFICATION PROJECT

Selected Forms

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CLASSIFICATION INTERVIEW -- ENTIRELY VOLUNTARY

NAME _____ JAIL # _____

How long are we reasonably sure will be here? _____

I. LEGAL Charge: _____

Appealed bail? YES _____ NO _____ Do you desire to? YES _____ NO _____

Date of next court appearance: _____

Do you need to contact your attorney for any reason? YES _____ NO _____

Reason: _____

General legal status summary, including other charges and warrants pending:

Other legal involvements: _____

II. HEALTH

General health condition: GOOD _____ FAIR _____ POOR _____

Complaints: _____ Response, referrals: _____

Drug Use: YES _____ NO _____

What _____ How long? _____

How much _____

Have you been treated? YES _____ NO _____ By whom? _____

Do you want treatment? YES _____ NO _____ By whom? _____

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Alcohol Addiction: YES ___ NO ___

A recurring problem? YES ___ NO ___ How long? _____

Have you been treated? YES ___ NO ___ By whom? _____

Do you want treatment now? YES ___ NO ___ By whom? _____

What psychiatric treatment have you received?

Date _____ Place/Person _____ Type _____

Still being treated: YES ___ NO ___ Results: _____

Any mental illness in family? YES ___ NO ___ Type _____

III. EMPLOYMENT

Employed at time of arrest? YES ___ NO ___ Where? _____

How long? _____

Do they know you are here? YES ___ NO ___ Want you back? YES ___ NO ___

Do you want us to contact them? YES ___ NO ___

Two significant employment experiences: _____

What skills do you have? _____

Do you want D.E.S. assistance? YES ___ NO ___

Veteran? YES ___ NO ___ Job in military: _____

Type discharge: _____ Dates: _____

IV. EDUCATION

Last school attended: _____

Address: _____ Date: _____

Last grade completed: _____ Training since: _____

Interest in basic ed. or G.E.D.? _____

V. FAMILY

Spouse/Family _____ Phone #: _____

Address: _____

Children & Ages: _____

Who do they live with? _____

How are they supported? _____

Any concerns? _____

VI. JAIL LIFE

How do you spend time? _____

How would you like to spend time? _____

Would you like to see a counselor for any reason? YES ___ NO ___

Reason: _____

Desire work assignment? _____

Any concerns? _____

VII. PLANNING

Interested in any programs? _____

If appears to be good candidate, discuss B.C.R.P. Any interest? _____

INTERVIEWER'S IMPRESSIONS: _____

INTERVIEWER'S RECOMMENDATIONS: _____

INTERVIEWER: _____

DATE: _____ NAME: _____
HOW REFERRED: ORIENTATION SCREENING GUARDS CLINIC F-UP
 SPANISH-SPEAKING COURT _____ OTHER _____

IMMEDIATE PROBLEM(S) OR SITUATION: _____

ACTIONS TAKEN: _____

PHONE CALLS AND LETTERS: _____

INMATE PROCESS FORMS: _____ REFERRALS: _____

MD CONSULTATION: DR. RAYNES
 DR. SHAFFER

TYPE OF INTERVIEW:
 MENTAL HEALTH ADVO/COUNSELING
 RELEASE PREP. JUDICIAL REPORT
 PSYCH. TESTS
INTERVIEWER: _____

FORM TO HAVE PETITIONER INTO DISTRICT COURT
TO REMOVE DEFAULT

Date: _____

Clerk of Courts
Criminal Business

Re: Default Warrant No. _____

De: _____
I, _____, respectfully request that
you appear before the _____ Court
(Name of Court)
at Default Warrant No. _____ issued _____

I am presently being held in custody at _____ County Jail
_____.
A speedy hearing would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Name of Petitioner

G. S. 27-1-1 as amended by Chap 343 Acts of 1965.

APPENDIX H: THE BAIL APPEAL PROJECT

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<u>Bail Petition Form</u>	478
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NAME	ALIAS	COURT
CHARGE		DOCKET NO.
DATE COMMITTED		
ORIGINAL BAIL		JUDGE'S STATEMENT 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
DATE APPEALED		
BAIL APPEAL RESULT	<input type="checkbox"/> Personal	<input type="checkbox"/> Cash
	<input type="checkbox"/> Reduction	<input type="checkbox"/> Denied
		<input type="checkbox"/> Other
DATE BAILED	BY	<input type="checkbox"/> Bondsmen
		<input type="checkbox"/> Defendant
		<input type="checkbox"/> Community
FINAL DISPOSITION	<input type="checkbox"/> Default	<input type="checkbox"/> Sentenced
	<input type="checkbox"/> Released	<input type="checkbox"/> Bound Over
		<input type="checkbox"/> Pending
DISTRICT COURT		
SUPERIOR COURT		
SUPERIOR COURT DOCKET NO.		

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_____, SS
(Superior Ct.)

(District Ct.)

COM. WE. 111

VS.

PETITION FOR REVIEW
OF DECISION DENYING RELEASE ON PERSONAL RECOGNIZANCE
OR ON EXECUTION OF AN UNSECURED APPEARANCE BOND

I, _____, of _____
_____ charged with the crime of _____

before said _____ District Court, having by said
Municipal
Court been denied my release pending trial on my personal recognizance
or on execution of an unsecured appearance bond and having been or-
dered to be retained in custody -- recognize with surety in the sum
of _____ dollars --- petition for an immediate re-
lease of said determination.

(Signature of Defendant)

_____, 19__

INSTRUCTIONS

As provided in General Laws, Chapter 276, Section 58, as amended, a
defendant who chooses to have a Superior Court review of the decision
as to the terms of his pretrial release shall complete and sign this
form. If the Superior Court is then in session, he will be taken
before a Justice of the Superior Court and the matter will be heard
immediately. If said Court is not then in session, the defendant will
be retained in custody until the morning of the next business day,
when he will be taken by the Sheriff for an immediate hearing.

NAME: _____ AGE: _____ ALIAS: _____

CHARGE: _____ RAIL: _____
_____ (at this address: _____)

LIVES: _____ HOW LONG: (in Boston: _____)

LIVES WITH: _____ TEL.# _____

OTHER FAMILY: _____

_____ TEL.# _____

EMPLOYMENT: _____

_____ TEL.# _____

_____ TEL.# _____

EDUCATION: _____

PRIOR RECORD: _____

DEFAULTS: _____

CASES PENDING: _____

HEALTH: _____

_____ TEL.# _____

MILITARY: _____

OTHER: _____

_____ CALLS

_____ PAPERS

_____ P. O.

_____ RECORD

END