

THE HALFWAY HOUSE CONCEPT: CONTEMPORARY
APPLICATION TO OFFENDERS

by

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B. S., Phillips University, 1959

A MASTER'S REPORT

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

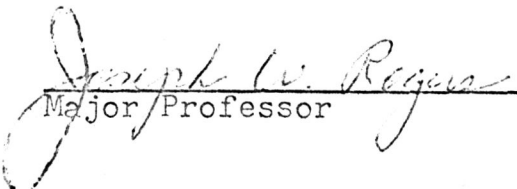
MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1967

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author is particularly grateful to Dr. Joseph Rogers who always made himself available as a source of invaluable encouragement, helpful suggestions and constructive supervision.

A special thanks must be given to the Federal Pre-Release Guidance Centers in Kansas City, Missouri and Chicago, Dismas House in St. Louis and St. Leonard's House in Chicago for allowing the author to visit and study firsthand the operations of these programs.

A debt of gratitude is due Mr. W.C. Henry, Director of the Kansas Board of Probation and Parole, and Mr. Charles McAtee, Director of Kansas Penal Institutions, for the time and assistance they gave so courteously.

Equal indebtedness and acknowledgement is due to those people who took valuable time to correspond with the author and provide current information and resource materials. Without their assistance this report could not have been written.

And finally, to Dr. Ralph Dakin, the author expresses sincere appreciation for his enduring patience and support.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND PRACTICAL RATIONALE

Introduction

This report was designed as a wide range investigation of a movement which has been described as causing a veritable "ferment in the correctional field" of the United States. Although the concept of the residential center, more commonly known as the "halfway house", is not new, the application of the concept is considered by many to be the next major development in contemporary corrections in this country.

It was the purpose of the report to define criteria enabling the use of the term, "halfway house", with some degree of accuracy; to review and compare various halfway house programs that presently exist under both public and private auspices and to give some consideration to the theoretical rationale of this movement. In addition to these objectives, other selected programs are described that cannot be defined as halfway houses under the above criteria but share with the halfway house movement its basic philosophy as it applies to the offender. Finally, a limited evaluation was made of the present status and future of the movement in the state of Kansas.

The Role of The Halfway House

If the halfway house approach is considered the next major development in corrections, it must then answer some need not met by the traditional or current correctional programs.

Authorities in the fields of penology and corrections are recognizing the need for a transitional step from total incarceration to total freedom in the community. The aim is prevention of future criminal acts as well as rehabilitation. The transition from the highly structured and regimented environment of the institution to the life of the free community presents many problems. The released man or woman, many times, must adjust in society to the very problems from which he or she has been insulated for years.

Implied within the recognition of the need for such a transitional step is the failure of the present correctional system. The following statements reflect various opinions on this question of failure:

We must destroy the prison, root and branch. That will not solve our problem, but it will be a good beginning. When I speak of the prison, I mean the mechanical structure, the instrument, the technique, the method which the prison involves..Let us substitute something. Almost anything will be an improvement. It cannot be worse.¹

¹Frank Tannenbaum, Wall Shadows: A Study in American Prisons (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), 141-42. quoted in Hans W. Mattick, "Foreward: A Discussion of The Issue," Key Issues: A Journal of Controversial Issues in Criminology, Vol. 2 (1965), 9.

The above statement was made over forty years ago and yet statements over the years of this type illustrate the continuing dissatisfaction with the prison as the major form of correctional treatment.

Fundamental and relatively inherent difficulties, as have been shown, accompany imprisonment. The prison must necessarily have a very low degree of efficiency in reformation. Certain leaders have become convinced that imprisonment as a principal policy in dealing with criminals should be regarded as undesirable and other methods substituted as soon as possible.²

. . . relatively few who are released from any considerable term in a conventional prison go straight thereafter, and most of those who do so probably remain law-abiding despite their prison experience rather than because of it.³

What constitutes evidence of this failure? Rates of recidivism would presumably be the most valid measuring device. Yet there are no adequate statistics as to the actual achievement of prisons in rehabilitation other than representative samplings and the observations of professionals in the field. Critics of the prison system often quote the statistic that two-thirds of the released inmates in the United States return to prison. The most recent and comprehensive study of contemporary prisons challenges this statistic:

²Edwin H. Sutherland, Principles of Criminology (Chicago: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1939), 453. quoted in Hans W. Mattick, "Foreward: A Discussion of The Issue," Key Issues: A Journal of Controversial Issues in Criminology, Vol. 2 (1965), 9.

³Harry Elmer Barnes, "The Contemporary Prison: A Menace to Inmate Rehabilitation and The Repression of Crime," Key Issues: A Journal of Controversial Issues in Criminology, Vol. 2 (1965), 21.

As we shall show, the findings of those studies which have attempted to follow releases do not justify this confidence in a two-thirds return figure.⁴

Glaser maintains the figure is closer to one-third rather than two-thirds:

Less than one-fourth of all federal parolees and mandatory releasees are returned to prison as violators, and only about a third of all federal releasees are returned to prison on any basis.⁵

One must be cautious in quoting rates of recidivism to support the contention that prisons are failures and should be completely abandoned as a form of treatment.

The central question of the role of the "halfway house" concept is not so much that it could or should replace the prison, although this opinion is held by some, but rather how the concept can serve to increase the effectiveness of the rehabilitation process supposedly begun in the existing correctional facilities and programs. Edward C. Boyle, current president of the International Halfway House Association, made the following statement:

Contemporary corrections is placing an ever increasing emphasis on the therapeutic work being done with legal offenders during their period of incarceration. Significant amounts of budgetary money are annually earmarked for such treatment programs, but I am of the opinion that in many cases where meaningful therapeutic gains have been started during the correctional experience, these gains have appeared to

⁴Daniel Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965), 21.

⁵Ibid., p. 81.

deteriorate quickly as a result of a lack of treatment continuity after release.⁶

The role of the "halfway house" approach is to provide that continuity of treatment after release. The greatest test of rehabilitation comes after release. It is assumed that probation and parole officers fulfill this need of continuity but their efforts are hampered by the fact that for the releasee "there is much less control, less assurance that his physical needs will be met, less guidance, perhaps few if any persons around who seem to have much interest in him. Temptations are greater. Old problems at home that he had almost forgotten establish themselves again."⁷

Often the halfway house has served as an avenue through which parole could be granted. For instance, St. Joseph's House in Pittsburgh actually had its origin in 1961 as a result of the concern a group of local attorneys felt over the fact that a number of deserving men who were eligible for parole were refused release because they could not produce the required parole plan. In Pennsylvania, a parole

⁶Edward C. Boyle, "Creative Use of Environment In Treatment," Corrective Psychiatry and Journal of Social Theory, Vol. 11, No. 1 (January, 1965), reprint. also see Daniel Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, p. 4.

⁷John J. Galvin, (ed), Institutional Treatment of Young Offenders, Personnel Development Aid, November 13, 1961, Prepared by the Federal Reformatory of El Reno, Oklahoma.

plan consists of a sponsor, a place of residence, and a job.⁸

The requirements for the sponsor and residence were met but, due to the difficulties involved in insuring a job sight unseen for an inmate, the backers of St. Joseph's brought about the use of the discretionary authority of the Pennsylvania Board of Parole to approve a "partial parole plan". A partial plan is one in which the job requirement is waived if the inmate has a sponsor, a place to live and a bona fide promise of support.⁹

St. Leonard's in Chicago faced a similar situation in Illinois as shown in the following statement:

In 1961 there were many men in our Illinois penitentiaries who had been granted a parole, who had adequate homes to go to and a family life waiting for them, but who were unable to be released from prison under parole supervision until an adequate job could be guaranteed. Men whose families lacked the power of persuasion necessary to persuade an employer to hire a man he could not see beforehand, men whose families had no "connections" simply stayed in prison even though the parole board had pronounced them ready to return to society. When a man stayed more than three months beyond the effective date of his parole he became known as a "submerged case". Most of the time there were more than two hundred submerged cases in one institution alone.¹⁰

⁸Pennsylvania Board of Parole, 20th Annual Report, 1962-63, p. 36. as cited by Robert G. Meiners in "A Halfway House for Parolees," Federal Probation, Vol. 29 (March, 1965), 47.

⁹Robert G. Meiners, "A Halfway House for Parolees," Federal Probation, Vol. 29 (March, 1965), 48.

¹⁰The Keys of St. Leonard's House, Newsletter, November, 1965.

St. Leonard's solved this obstacle for parole to a degree through a special arrangement with the Illinois Parole Department beginning in 1961 which permitted men formally affiliated with St. Leonard's to waive the employment requirement. Over a period of three years, 223 men were released in this way. Only 10% of the 223 released men were convicted of new crimes. The real purpose of St. Leonard's efforts in this area was achieved in 1965 when the Illinois legislature passed a bill providing for the release of parolees to their homes without employment.¹¹

As another example, Dismas House has opened its doors to many a parolee who, lacking the home and job requirement in Missouri, would have had to remain in prison until the completion of his sentence. These men are paroled to Dismas House under an agreement with the State Board of Pardon and Parole.¹²

Organizations other than halfway houses have attempted to meet this problem of the "submerged case". In Kansas there are no such sponsoring halfway houses as the ones mentioned above. However, the 7th Step Foundation has attempted to meet this need:

Before we started, men were overdue on parole as much as thirty-four months because they had no sponsor

¹¹Annual Report of St. Leonard's House, 1965.

¹²Policies and Procedures Manual. Dismas House. (unpublished) This manual is presently in the process of revision.

or job. We are not an employment agency, the man must have exhausted his own efforts. If he can't do it we seek someone who will act as his sponsor and also insure that a job will be waiting.¹³

Whether released on parole or on mandatory release, the period immediately following an offender's release from a correctional institution is critical. The failure of released offenders from institutions tends to occur with greatest frequency within the first few months after release. Richard Heaney, Deputy Assistant Director of the Bureau of Prisons, stated the situation as follows:

. . . .I am telling you nothing new, I know, when I say that our observation, and research too, documents the statement that it is the period immediately after release which is the most dangerous, frustrating and hazardous for the released man and woman. Of those who fail, upwards of 70% do so in the first six months after discharge, and almost one-half of those who commit another offense do so in the first six weeks after release.¹⁴

The transition proves difficult enough for the released offender who has outside support waiting. For the many offenders who lack the support of a well-integrated family or the support of friends, especially for room and board, the transition back into community life poses special problems. "Frequently, because he lacks support and guidance at a time when they are most needed, the released offender fails to

¹³Interview with Joe Wallace, Director, 7th Step Foundation, Kansas City, Kansas, October 13, 1966.

¹⁴Richard Heaney, "Corrections Today," Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference of Superintendents of Correctional Institutions for Girls and Women, (Nashville, Tenn., 1965), 3.

make a satisfactory adjustment in the community and is returned to the institution because he has violated the conditions of parole or committed a new offense."¹⁵

In Glaser's Ford Foundation-University of Illinois research project, further information is given in respect to the transitional problems faced by the releasee. Glaser concluded that both economic and social adjustment in post prison life seemed to be necessary if prospects for avoiding further crime were to be maximized by the released inmate. These two factors appeared to be interdependent: those who worked regularly were likely to make new social ties and break off criminal contacts; those who renewed previous ties with criminals or disorderly persons were not likely to work regularly.¹⁶ These two factors are the main concern and focus of the halfway house program.

Glaser makes the point clear with the following statement:

. . . .the postrelease conditions most persistently and pronouncedly differentiating the failures from the successes were the economic deprivation of the failure and their lack of integration into noncriminal social groups.¹⁷

-The present institutional system fails to insure these two basic needs will be met upon release. Most states issue

¹⁵U.S. Bureau of Prisons, Project Design: Pre-Release Guidance Centers. Unpublished Memorandum: U.S. Department of Justice, Revised, 1965.

¹⁶Glaser, op.cit., p. 402.

¹⁷Ibid.

a fixed sum known as "gate money" as a release gratuity to prisoners regardless of any difference in need. This may vary from no gratuity¹⁸ to what appears to be the high under the federal prison system of \$100 established in 1962 over their earlier gratuity of \$30.¹⁹

This problem was mentioned often in interviews with both professionals in the field of corrections and persons involved in private programs of rehabilitation. As an example, Joe Wallace, Director of the Kansas City 7th Step Foundation, made this comment:

The average con walks out of the gates wearing a new suit of prison made clothes and \$25 in his pocket. He can't make it on that, it isn't enough to hold him over till he can draw his first pay check.²⁰

The 7th Step Foundation has established a man-to-man sponsorship whereby a person from the community loans the releasee enough money to carry him over until employment is found or he acquires his first pay check. The parolee must pay back the sum before the layman can sponsor another man.²¹

Glaser makes the following statement which reflects his opinion of the present "gate money" policies:

¹⁸Meiners, op.cit., p. 49. Pennsylvania is an example.

¹⁹Glaser, op.cit., p. 403.

²⁰Wallace, op.cit., interview.

²¹A description and evaluation of the 7th Step Foundation's program is made in a later section of this report.

After spending, in the average case, at least \$1,500 per year for several years to keep a man confined in prison, it appears to be extremely poor economics to deny him a few hundred dollars in postrelease aid if this would be a major factor in preventing his return to prison.²²

However, aid in this form is not available at the present time. Therefore, the typical halfway house meets the financial needs of those released offenders lacking support by providing room and board and limited loans until the man is able to find employment and return to a regular income. The man or woman is encouraged to find employment on his own but assistance is provided if needed. Consistently, the major emphasis in the average halfway house program was found to be on encouraging and aiding the new resident to find employment as soon as possible. The following statement by Louise Nichols, Administrative Manager of St. Leonard's in Chicago, illustrates this emphasis:

Employment is definitely the key program here and we are planning expansion and improvement in this service. Once we have the employment problem solved for the man or woman, the other problems are settled more easily.²³

Although employment remains the key concern for most halfway programs, particularly those dealing with the adult offender, there are other needs to be met in this transitional environment. Assistance in making social contacts

²²Glaser, op.cit.

²³Interview with Louise Nichols, Administrative Manager, St. Leonard's House, Chicago, Illinois, October 25, 1966.

with noncriminal persons and the establishment of a sense of status and role in the law-abiding community is a key concern. As Cressey points out...

If criminals are to be changed, either they must become members of an anticriminal group, or their present procriminal group relations must be changed.²⁴

The institutional goal of preparing the inmate for law-abiding behavior in the community is restricted by the very nature of a correctional institution, which forces them to conduct their work in an environment both artificial and removed from the reality of the free community.²⁵ It is the role of the halfway house to provide this community reality to the greatest degree possible.

The correctional task is one for the entire community. The delinquent and the criminal are, in fact, a part of the community, and sending them away to a distant institution tends to aggravate the problem created by their feeling of apartness, alienation and difference. All but the most difficult and dangerous cases should be dealt with within the community. To accomplish this effectively, probation and parole should be buttressed by provisions of specialized service and facilities.²⁶

²⁴Donald R. Cressey, "Changing Criminals: The Application of Differential Association," American Journal of Sociology, (September, 1955), 117.

²⁵Boyle, op.cit., p. 2.

²⁶Correctional Progress in California: Biennial Report 1961-62. Sacramento, California, quoted by Edward C. Boyle

The environment of the free community is the milieu in which the deviant behavior was first exhibited, and it is the setting in which the problem must ultimately be worked out.²⁷ The halfway house concept and the various forms it takes encourages and makes possible this growing recognition. Halfway houses are not an end in themselves. They are established with the hope that they may lead to an end. The basic role of the halfway house program is to help "bridge the gap" between the institution and the community.

Origin and Development

The halfway house concept had its origin in the middle of the nineteenth century. During the 1850's Sir Walter Crofton developed the "intermediate stage" or "Irish System" of providing a transition experience for parolees. It consisted of three closely coordinated correctional stages and a plan of classification. The first stage, maximum security and confinement, was followed by a second stage in which the men worked each day in public projects but returned to an "intermediate institution" at night. In the third stage, the man was given a "ticket of leave" quite similar to

in "Community-Centered Use of The Peer-Group As a Treatment Tool," The Salvation Army Family Service Department. (reprint)

²⁷Boyle, op.cit., p. 2.

parole as it is known today.²⁸ The second stage compares to the approach now being used in the halfway house or community residential center movement.

This "intermediate stage" developed by Sir Crofton and his associates was designed to rehabilitate inmates and prepare them for a law-abiding life after release. This system has often been referred to as the forerunner of parole; but as Gill points out, when it was adopted in America the intermediate plan- the very keystone of the system- was omitted.²⁹

When the system attracted the attention of prison reformers in the United States it led to the formulation of the famous "principles" which were set forth as the New Penology at the famous Cincinnati Prison Congress in 1870.³⁰ The thirty-seven principles enounced at that time by the foremost prison administrators in this country touched upon every significant phase of imprisonment and many of the recommendations made still remain to be implemented by most

²⁸U.S. Department of Justice. Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures, Vol. IV, Parole, 1939, pp. 13-14, cited by Richard W. Nice, "Halfway House Aftercare for the Released Offender," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 10, No. 1 (January, 1964), 8.

²⁹Howard B. Gill, "An Operational View of Criminology," Archives of Criminal Psychodynamics, (October, 1957), cited by Ibid.

³⁰Harry Elmer Barnes, "The Contemporary Prison: A Menace to Inmate Rehabilitation and The Repression of Crime," Key Issues: A Journal of Controversial Issues in Criminology, Vol. 2, (1965), 3.

of prisons today.³¹ The representatives of the conventional system of imprisonment were able to block the supporters of the Irish system and the best that could be done was to introduce a limited application of the system to youthful offenders, in what came to be known as the reformatory movement, initiated in the Elmira Reformatory opened in 1876.³²

While this country by-passed the intermediate step of the Irish system and went on to parole, Europe did not. Europe has been working along these lines for over a hundred years. Robert Kennedy, in an article dealing with the halfway house, mentioned that "a number of European nations have established hostels for ex-prisoners or prisoners about to be released, but most of these are located on prison grounds."³³ One example of a European halfway house project, not so located, is the Nussdorf Home of Witzwill, Switzerland. Operated by the government of the Canton of Berne, the home has been in operation since about 1905. Admission is (1) voluntary (2) a condition of probation or parole, or (3) by

³¹Hans W. Mattick, (ed), "Foreward: A Discussion of the Issue," Key Issues, Vol. 2, (1965), 8. Also refer to Harry Elmer Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, New Horizons in Criminology, 2nd edition, Prentice-Hall, pp. 524-525. A condensed version of the Declaration of Principles adopted by the Cincinnati Prison Congress in 1870 appears there.

³²Barnes, op.cit.

³³Robert F. Kennedy, "Halfway Houses Pay Off", Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 10, No. 1 (January, 1964), 3.

transfer from the Alcoholic Program at Eshenhof, when a period of intermediate care between incarceration and freedom appears desirable. Operated by a director and his wife, the home apparently has no treatment staff per se, its philosophy being "take the man as he is and trust him by giving him a chance."³⁴

The Salvation Army founded in 1865 has long been active in correctional work and reform both abroad and in the United States. Charles Pean, French Salvation Army officer, began in 1928 to fight for the extinction of the famous Devil's Island in French Guiana. Through the continued efforts of Pean and The Salvation Army, the last repatriated men arrived in France in October of 1952.³⁵ General William Booth, founder of The Salvation Army, asserted that the Army had "at least one great qualification" for dealing with the prison problem. It was "one of the few religious bodies which can boast that many of those who are in our ranks have gone through terms of penal servitude." Booth early voiced the interest the Army was to have in the halfway house movement. He proposed a parole-type system, "halfway houses

³⁴Richard W. Nice, "Halfway House Aftercare for the Released Offender," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 10, No. 1 (January, 1964), 9.

³⁵Major William H. Scarlett, "I Was in Prison and Ye Visited Me: The Story of The Salvation Army," American Journal of Correction, Vol. 27, No. 6 (November-December, 1965), 8.

with vocational training available, and employment services."³⁶

In 1933 Pean established two hostels in French Guiana for the freed convicts known as "liberes." Today the Salvation Army sponsors a number of halfway house facilities in this country.³⁷ One of these programs is the Manhattan Project in Southern California.

The concept of halfway houses is by no means restricted to residences for parolees. There are halfway houses for drug addicts, for alcoholics and for the mentally ill. Although not the relevant concern of this report dealing with the offender, the halfway house movement has been greatly affected by the role the mental health field has played in the development of the halfway house concept. At this point that role deserves brief comment.

To the Low countries, to Switzerland and to England, goes the credit for being the first to settle persons with mental disturbances within homes- usually in small rural neighborhoods. This development can be found as early as 1870, and by 1910 was an accepted procedure in many European countries.³⁸

³⁶Ibid., p. 9.

³⁷Ibid., p. 10-12.

³⁸Benedict S. Alper, Community Residential Treatment Centers, A Report to the National Parole Institutes, April, 1966. Prepared by The National Council on Crime and Delinquency, p. 1.

The program and philosophy found in the halfway house for the mentally ill are basically the same as for the offender. There are mental patients who are no longer sick enough to require the close supervision and treatment facilities available in the institution but remain there because they do not have a sympathetic and tolerant environment to which they can return. These patients might be called "borderline cases." In addition to those "borderlines" already in the institution there are others whose admission to the hospital could have been prevented if help had been available in the first stage of their illness.³⁹

The discharged mental patient faces much the same situation as the released offender. In either case, if the person is without a family, or a suitable one, the transition from the sheltered environment of the institution into the community often proves insurmountable.

The halfway house for the mental patient has much the same emphasis as the halfway home for the offender. It attempts to deal with the problems of vocational adjustment and social adjustment. However, the first concern tends to be social adjustment in the halfway house for released mental patients,⁴⁰ while employment tends to receive the first

³⁹Brete Huseh, "What is a Halfway house? Functions and types," Mental Hygiene, Vol. 45 (January, 1961), 116.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 117. Refer also to J. S. Bockoven, A. Pandiscio, and H.C. Solomon, "Social Adjustment of Patients in The Community Three Years After Commitment to the Boston

concern of the halfway house for the released offender.

It has taken the field of corrections a much longer time to accept the halfway house approach to treatment- with due respect to both probation and parole- than it did the field of mental illness.

The Defense Department of the U.S. Government has also added to the body of knowledge and experience which has led to the development of the community residential center. It is among the best integrated but least publicized contemporary intermediate plans in this country. Men who had been sentenced to confinement in either a federal civilian, or military penal institution after a court martial, and who had served a portion of that sentence, were first sent to re-training centers. There, through a program of planned reduction in conditions of custody, they were prepared for re-assimilation to military life and return to active duty.⁴¹

About twelve years ago, in recognition of the difficulties which would be met in the transition period by men preparing for release or discharge, some institutions, particularly those in the Federal program, initiated programs of what was called "pre-release preparation." These took

Psychopathic Hospital," Mental Hygiene, Vol. 40 (July, 1956), 353-74. This study found that work was almost the last area of the patient's life which showed the effects of emotional disturbance.

⁴¹Alper, op.cit., p. 3. See also Nice, op.cit., p. 9.

different forms, but consisted chiefly of discussion meetings, usually led by representatives of the outside community.⁴² While admittedly inadequate at the time, these programs within the institution were a beginning.

Meanwhile, the idea of shelters for ex-prisoners within the community had long been known. Consisting mainly of a program providing bed and board, these early efforts bore within them the seeds of the movement which is known today as the halfway house approach providing a sheltered setting under a multiplicity of names.⁴³

One such shelter, perhaps the first in this country, is the Home of Industry for Discharge Prisoners located at 2251 Island Road in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It provides a living facility for discharged prisoners and was supposedly opened about 1875.⁴⁴

St. Leonard's House in Chicago is credited generally with being the first halfway house in the modern movement.⁴⁵ St. Leonard's along with Dismas House are perhaps the two

⁴²Alper, op.cit., p. 4. Refer also to Daniel Glaser, op.cit., 406-8. Provides discussion of the present programs and recommendations for improvement.

⁴³Ibid., p. 5.

⁴⁴Letter from Anthony Salerno, Resident Director of Robert Bruce House and Vice-President in Charge of Communications for the International Halfway House Association, November 4, 1966. (an effort was made to correspond with this house but no reply was received at the time of this writing.)

⁴⁵Ibid.

best known halfway houses in the field of parole. Dismas House was established in 1959 in St. Louis by the late Reverend Charles Dismas Clark, a pioneer in the field of corrections. This halfway house received wide public attention as a result of the motion picture, "The Hoodlum Priest," depicting Father Clark's life.⁴⁶ St. Leonard's House was established in 1953 by the Reverend James G. Jones.⁴⁷

Despite the varying titles, sponsorship and administration, it seems safe to say there are today more than fifty such places in the United States in various stages of development for the released offender.⁴⁸

Most of the earlier shelters and halfway houses were established and supported by religious organizations. Later other private agencies such as prisoner aid organizations established centers, sometimes with Government assistance. During the past few years both the Federal and a number of State Governments have established community residence centers or have paid for the support of released inmates in these centers. Some are for released adult male offenders; other for women. Still others have been established for

⁴⁶William Krasner, "Hoodlum Priest and Respectable Convicts," Harper's Magazine, Vol. 222-223 (February, 1961).

⁴⁷Annual Report of St. Leonard's House, 1965.

⁴⁸Maurice A. Breslin and Robert G. Crosswhite, "Residential Aftercare: An Intermediate Step in the Correctional Process," Federal Probation, Vol. 27 (March, 1963), 44.

juveniles and youths. The first Federal Pre-Release Guidance Centers discussed later in this report were for older juveniles and youths. Other centers have been established for former narcotic addicts released from prison and others are designed for the alcoholic offender.⁴⁹

The tremendous interest in the last few years directed toward the halfway house is explained simply by the change in correctional philosophy and emphasis. "The pendulum had swung too far toward isolation and increased knowledge in corrections pointed to the need for closer ties between offenders and their families and the community."⁵⁰ The emphasis is now being placed upon the development of correctional programs located in the community.

The current halfway house movement is actually an extension and support of probation and parole which illustrate the first effects of the major trend away from institutional confinement.

Halfway houses appear to be developing faster than authorities can trace them down. The Librarian for the Information Center of National Council on Crime and Delinquency commented to one researcher, "We have been swamped by

⁴⁹John J. Galvin, (ed), Treating Youth Offenders in The Community. An account of a new approach in correctional treatment launched by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons in the Fall of 1961. (Washington, D.C.: Correctional Research Associates, (June, 1966), 4.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 1.

inquiries on halfway houses. They are springing up every day and it is quite impossible to keep up with them."⁵¹

Other programs such as work-release and work-furlough are being established more widely. It has already been noted that community residential centers, more commonly known as "halfway houses," are being established rapidly and joined by the growth of a very similar but different approach known as the community treatment center.

As far as future development is concerned there appears to be no question as to the expansion of this concept. A recently completed but unpublished report financed by the Ford Foundation dealing with a nation-wide evaluation of halfway houses for youthful offenders recommends that increased efforts be made to expand such facilities.⁵²

At present, private facilities will continue to exist and expand. However, the new eager involvement of county, state and federal correctional agencies in the movement appears to be creating a question as to "who shall provide this service; private or public interests?" Some degree of conflict in services may exist in the future.

⁵¹Interview with Oliver J. Keller, Jr. Research Associate, Center for Studies in Criminal Justice, University of Chicago Law School, October 24, 1966.

⁵²Oliver J. Keller, Jr., Evaluation of Halfway Houses for Youthful Offenders. A report to the Center for Studies in Criminal Justice, financed by the Ford Foundation (June, 1961), unpublished.

The late Father Clark of Dismas House may reflect the stand of some privately financed programs on this question. He believed strongly that an institution like Dismas House must be private, "If you let the state in, they'll ruin everything."⁵³

The following statement illustrates the position that the Federal Bureau of Prisons feels is held by the private groups:

Originally both probation and parole services in the United States were supported by private auspices, but were later accepted as governmental responsibilities. It is believed and hoped by most private agencies now operating residence centers that their programs are essential in correctional aid and that after their role has been demonstrated that eventually they should be operated by governmental agencies. In the event that the residences in operation fulfill the expectations of their founders and observers, it is probable that the appropriate Government agencies will gradually take over their support and operation.⁵⁴

At the present time, the Federal Government, in addition to the pre-release centers it operates, is also aiding in the financial support of a number of privately operated residences, requiring that certain standards be maintained and research conducted in order that the contributions of various kinds of programs be evaluated. The National Institute of Mental Health and the Federal Economic Recovery Administration are active in this support.⁵⁵

⁵³Kraser, op.cit., p. 61.

⁵⁴Galvin, op.cit., p. 4-5.

⁵⁵Alper, op.cit., p. 6.

State governments maintain residential centers for released offenders at both the adult and juvenile level. In some instances they are satellites of the institution from which they receive their residents. An example of this type is the Robert Bruce House which is sponsored by Bordentown in New Jersey and is a NIMH Demonstration Project.⁵⁶

Other centers are sponsored on the county government level. An example of this type is Croften House operated by the San Diego County Department of Honor Camps and also by the National Institute of Mental Health.⁵⁷

A recent feature in conjunction with the development of the halfway house movement has been the growing concern of lay people in the direct involvement on the part of offenders. A few examples being the 7th Step Foundation, popularly known before as Freedom House,⁵⁸ The Volunteer Sponsor Program of The Connecticut Prison Association,⁵⁹ and the Allied Fellowship Service which is a nonprofit organization of California citizens sponsoring a halfway house facility.⁶⁰

⁵⁶Second Annual Report of Robert Bruce House, 1964, p. 4.

⁵⁷The Croften House Study: Progress Report, September, 1966. Reported by the Study Staff, an activity of the San Diego State College Foundation.

⁵⁸Bill Schul, "7 Steps to Permanent Freedom," The Elks Magazine (August, 1966, 10-11, 34-35).

⁵⁹The Volunteer Sponsor Program: An Investment In Community Rehabilitation of Offenders. The Connecticut Prison Association. (published brochure.)

⁶⁰Allied Fellowship Service: History and Halfway House Operation. San Leandro, California. October, 1963. Mimeographed.

Definition and Criteria

The basic definition of "halfway house" is implied within the term itself. Such places are seen as standing midway between the institution and society. Such a basic definition makes the assumption that certain individuals can best be rehabilitated if their return to the community is gradual rather than abrupt and that a transitional step should be attempted before total incarceration is used.

However, beyond this basic definition and assumption, the term "halfway house" means many things to many people. One cannot speak of a specific halfway house type but only of various types.

One general definition was given as follows:

A living facility which bridges the gap generally between institutional care and the community. However, as a bridge, the house may also receive and discharge residents to and from the community it serves. In some cases the house may provide a protective environment for those not yet ready to assume a completely independent role in society.⁶¹

Brete Huseth, in writing about halfway houses for mental patients, makes the following distinction:

In attempting to distinguish the halfway house from other rehabilitation facilities, we find that it is a home for a small group of residents who have psychiatric and/or social problems and are often termed borderline cases.⁶²

⁶¹Standards for Community Transitional Rehabilitation and Living Houses: "Halfway Houses". Special Joint Committee of the Vancouver City Council, 1966. (unpublished)

⁶²Huseth, op.cit., p. 120.

In general the halfway house environment is viewed as characterizing a group-living experience which reconstitutes the protective and supportive elements of a good family, while encouraging and providing opportunities for independent growth.⁶³

Beyond this general conception of the term rests much confusion. The International Halfway House Association reflects this confusion as voiced by the director of one of the member agencies:

The term "halfway house" is a popular term that doesn't mean anything, it is whatever one wishes to say it is. The International Halfway House Association's 3rd Annual Conference illustrates the confusion. The "old school" thinks in terms of parolees. Others think it would include places for mental patients, narcotic addicts or alcoholics. They proposed a change in name to International Association of Community Centers for Offenders. Action on this proposal was deferred til the goals of the group could be outlined.⁶⁴

As a result of this confusion, absolute categories of halfway houses seem impossible. Consensus is lacking about what facilities belong under the halfway house designation.

⁶³Edward Blacker and David Kantor, "Half-Way Houses for Problem Drinkers," Federal Probation, Vol. 24 (June, 1960, 19.)

⁶⁴Interview with Gerald Collins, Director, Federal Pre-Release Guidance Center, Kansas City, Missouri, October 13, 1966. Although a member of the International Halfway Association, the Federal Pre-Release Guidance Centers do not consider themselves halfway houses. Residents of these centers are still prisoners, they are not on probation or parole. This program, along with the Federal Work Release and Furlough Programs are excellent means of reintegrating prisoners into society and are reviewed in a later section of the report.

- (1) A residential program used as an alternative to placement in a correctional institution and used often as a condition of probation.
- (2) Similar to the first type, except non-residential. Persons come to group therapy at the center several times weekly and participate in the programs of the center although continuing to live at home.
- (3) A last resort for individuals performing poorly on parole and on the verge of being returned to the institution.
- (4) Residences for parolees considered ready to leave a correctional institution but lacking suitable home situation, employment, etc.⁶⁵
- (5) An alternative for person no longer under parole or probation but unable to live independently in the community, constitutes a permanent semi-sheltered home.
- (6) A residential program accepting all types of parolees. In contrast to category four, no restrictions are placed on the type of parolee accepted.⁶⁶

An attempt to label the six categories mentioned above with the various terms used in the current literature on the subject of halfway houses tends to be equally confusing. However, an attempt was made on the following page to assign particular terms to the categories they represent.

⁶⁵Keller, op.cit.

⁶⁶Mr. Keller in his national survey of halfway houses for the youthful offender noted the first four categories above. The writer of this report added categories five and six. Mr. Keller made no attempt to assign particular type designations to the categories in his report but this was done by the writer on the following page. The terms- preventive, protective, long-term and mixed were borrowed from literature dealing with halfway houses for mental patients and alcoholics. Huseth, op.cit. and The Vancouver City Council Report, op.cit.

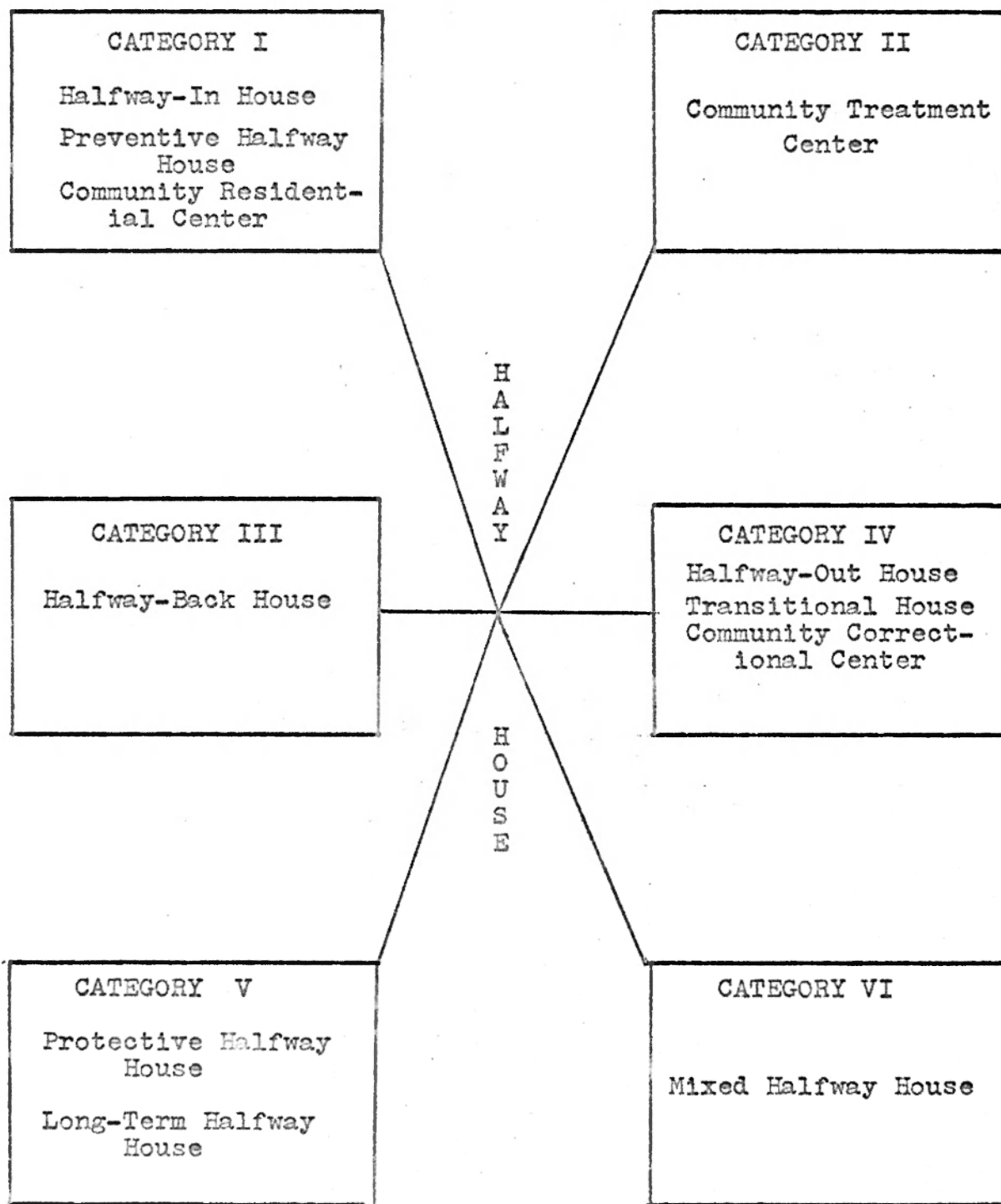


Chart 1.--Categories and Types of Halfway Houses

The Highfields Project in New Jersey is one example of the category one classification. Highfields is perhaps the first correctional program in this country to use a short, intensive residential stay as a device for getting young offenders to examine, as a group, the problems that led to their delinquency.⁶⁷

The state of New York operates five centers under this category in their START (Short-Term Adolescent Resident Training) program. This program serves groups of twenty young people in supervised residence for short stays who are referred to the facilities by the courts as a condition of their probation.⁶⁸

In the last two years the state of Michigan has been in the process of developing a halfway house program that has received considerable attention in correctional circles. Early in 1964 there was a great deal of newspaper publicity regarding the need for additional bed-space for delinquent children within the institutional program. The Michigan situation illustrates the problem faced by correctional agencies when forced by public pressure to initiate and

⁶⁷Lloyd McCorkle, Albert Elias and F. Lovell Bixby, The Highfields Story (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1958).

⁶⁸1965 Annual Report. New York State Division for Youth. Division for Youth Information. Also refer to Milton Luger, "Launching a New Program: Problems and Progress," Syracuse Law Review, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Summer, 1964). This article gives a very complete picture of the program for youth in the state of New York.

develop programs before sufficient planning and investigation is done. As a result, many of the problems faced in that state could have been avoided. Originally, the six houses established were to deal with the wards in the training school who were ready to leave but had no place to go. In this sense, they would fall in category IV. However, John Miller, Aftercare Coordinator, is attempting to move in the direction of category I mainly because the staff that can financially be placed in these houses appear to be able to deal more successfully with the pre-institutionalized resident.⁶⁹ One hundred fifty-four wards have been released from the houses and reports indicate that over one hundred are still making a satisfactory adjustment after a period of two months to two years.⁷⁰

The state of New York also sponsors a program falling in category II. In September of 1965 New York launched the STAY (Short-Term Aid to Youth) program in Brooklyn marking the division's first experiment with non-residential programs for delinquents and near-delinquents. In groups of twenty, these youth continue to reside in their own homes

⁶⁹John E. Miller, Use of Group Homes in Overall Department Delinquency Program. Department of Social Services, Lansing, Michigan, March 16, 1966. Mimeographed. Also Lionel L. James, A Critique: The State of Michigan Halfway House Program, Division of Corrections, Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare, March 18, 1966. Mimeographed.

⁷⁰Letter from John E. Miller, Aftercare Coordinator, Department of Social Services, Lansing, Michigan, November 14, 1966.

but perform group work assignments and take part in intensive group counseling sessions for a period of three to four months during the weekdays and evenings.⁷¹

The Provo Experiment begun in 1959 in Provo, Utah is another example of category II. It is a non-residential community-based program for delinquent boys.⁷²

This writer found no examples of a halfway house existing exclusively for the person performing poorly on parole in category III. When this type of resident was mentioned he or she was usually included in the houses designed mainly for categories four and six.

Under category IV innumerable examples can be cited—St. Leonard's House in Windsor, Ontario,⁷³ Talbert House in Cincinnati, Ohio,⁷⁴ 308 West Residence in Wilmington, Delaware⁷⁵ are examples of only a few. California has developed the community correctional center concept and as of 1964 had

⁷¹New Paths for Youth: A Resume of Division for Youth Programs. State of New York, Division for Youth Information.

⁷²Iamar T. Empey and J. Rabow, "The Provo Experiment in Delinquency Rehabilitation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, No. 5 (October, 1961).

⁷³This halfway house has no other direct connection with St. Leonard's in Chicago other than the fact that Re. T.N. Libby, Executive Director, used Chicago's St. Leonard's as a model and received their permission to use the name.

⁷⁴Talbert House Newsletter, Vol. 1 No. 1 (October, 1965) Mimeographed.

⁷⁵Breslin and Crosswhite, op.cit.

established four such centers under the supervision of the state's Department of Corrections. A community correctional center in this program provides a halfway house and special services to assist those parolees who do not have adequate family, etc. to help them. These centers are different from the usual house under this category. In addition to the halfway house, the center may include administrative offices of one or more parole units, thereby providing for centralized management of all parole supervision in the area. The state of California plans to open twenty more of these centers in major metropolitan regions of the state.⁷⁶

Under the protective or long term category of number five, can be placed certain halfway houses for alcoholics. Although specific names of the houses are not known to the writer of this report, a 1958 nation-wide survey of such facilities revealed that 55% of the halfway houses responding set no limits to the length of stay. Among the 45% of the respondents who did limit the length of stay, it ranged from as little as five days to as much as two years.⁷⁷ In addition, certain programs for drug addicts, in particular,

⁷⁶Community Correctional Centers. Report from the Youth and Adult Corrections Agency, Department of Corrections Sacramento (Feb. 10, 1966)

⁷⁷Halfway Houses for Alcoholics, Office of the Commissioner on Alcoholism, Boston, Mass., November, 1958. Cited by Blacker and Kantor, op.cit., p. 21.

Synanon House, fall in this protective or long-term category.⁷⁸

An example of the mixed category of halfway house facility is the Oak Grove Center in Oakland, California begun in 1965. It is the only Community Correctional Center in California established to give assistance and supervision for all types of parolees. It accepts the halfway-back resident as well but does not allow this class of residents to go over the 50% mark in the house capacity.⁷⁹

Through correspondence with these centers in California, it was interesting to note a move to bring another of the four into the mixed category. At present the East Los Angeles Halfway House is restricted to the paroled narcotic user but E.M. Lundsberg, Unit Supervisor of the program, explains his support of the change:

There is currently a move in the offing to bring non-addicts into it. I am very much in favor of this. The differential treatment persons make between kinds of offenders, based solely on offense patterns, and the prescriptions for behavior based on this behavior is, I feel, subjective to the point of being meaningless.

⁷⁸David Sternberg, "Synanon House- A Consideration of Its Implications for American Corrections," The Journal of Criminal Law, Crime and Police Science, Vol. 54, No. 4 (December, 1963),

*This category of halfway houses raises questions concerning overdependency that can easily develop in halfway house programs. This question and an evaluation of Synanon's program compared to other programs designed for the addict are given in a later section of the report.

There is no evidence to support it, and more importantly, this kind of specialization may serve to reenforce delinquent and destructive sub-cultural ways and mores. This is specially true with the addict-group, their hip language, their walk, and in general their isolated world, isolated even from other delinquents. In other words, for example, this program with its emphasis only on addict-parolees may have that negative built-in-aspect, that is, to further alienate and to expand the schism between problem people and between problem people and the non-delinquent world.⁸⁹

In addition to noting various categories and labels assigned to these categories, there remains the problem of formulating basic criteria by which a yardstick can be used to determine whether a particular program should receive the designation of halfway house. To simply apply the definitions given at the first of this section leaves the area far too general and open to question.

The following four criteria should be used in determining whether a particular facility should be designated a halfway house:

Criterion I- No residential facility caring for more than fifty persons will be called a halfway house. Size is important because interaction between residents and staff and between each other is an integral part of the halfway house concept. Most halfway houses fall between ten and thirty in residents.

Criterion II- Any facility designated as a halfway house will provide its members with close contact with the outside community. In the case of non-residential and community treatment centers the participants never really leave home.

Criterion III- In comparison to the situation found within the correctional institution, the halfway house will

⁸⁰Letter from E.M. Lundsberg, Unit Supervisor, East Los Angeles Oak Grove Center, October 20, 1966.

be characterized by a minimum of rules and regulations with few formal restraints.

Criterion IV- The halfwayhouse will be characterized by a non-authoritarian staff with residents encouraged to have an active part in decisions.⁸¹

Community contact, absence of formal controls, small size, and a non-authoritarian staff approach are viewed as basic in the halfway house approach. Not so essential but deserving mention are other criteria such as short-term treatment and emphasis on group therapy.

The selection of the criteria outlined above will be supported by the theoretical rationale reviewed in the next chapter.

Summary

This chapter was written to familiarize the reader with the concept of the halfway house and the contemporary halfway house movement. From all indications in current literature the field of correction is moving away from the traditional isolation of the prison toward a greater emphasis on various programs of rehabilitation centered in the community. It was noted that, rather than being a new concept, the halfway house approach had its origin over a hundred years ago in the "Intermediate Stage" or "Irish System" formulated by Sir Walter Crofton. Only in recent years has

⁸¹Keller, op.cit. *Mr. Keller formulated these four criteria but made no attempt to provide theoretical support for their selection.

this country recognized the value of the transitional step beyond the usual programs of parole and probation. European countries and a small number of private groups in this country have for years been active in supporting halfway house programs.

The "law-abiding" citizen today appears to be more willing to recognize and accept his social responsibilities, thereby creating an atmosphere that makes it possible to involve community action and support for new and experimental programs that characterize the halfway house movement. With this atmosphere of greater community acceptance and the recognition that present correctional efforts centered in the prison are less than successful, both from the humanitarian and practical viewpoint, public and private groups are rapidly developing and expanding intermediate stage facilities.

This movement has come about so rapidly that confusion exists as to what type of program and facility should be considered a halfway house. At this time, it functions mainly as a "catch-all" term used for convenience in current literature. This chapter concluded with the development of halfway house categories based on the type of resident served in the facility and the formulation of four criteria that should be applied to determine whether a particular facility and program should be classified as a halfway house.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The halfway house as a method for the rehabilitation of released offenders has not come about as a hard deduction from some scientifically tested criminological theory. Rather, it has come to be accepted as a positive approach on the grounds of common sense and intuition; on face value it seems a "good thing" for society to provide the released offender with the opportunity to make a gradual transition from incarceration to a fully responsible position in the community. As a result, the operation of a halfway house is governed by practical imperatives, and like any new program of rehabilitation it cannot therefore be operated solely as an experiment to test theoretical propositions. There is a commitment to implement the prevailing social philosophy.¹ Even programs such as the Provo Experiment²

¹Progress Report on Shaw Residence. A Community Residential Treatment Program for Men Released from Correctional Institutions and Supervision. Washington, D.C. The Bureau of Rehabilitation, 1965, p. 21.

²LaMar T. Empey and Jerome Rabow, "The Provo Experiment in Delinquency Rehabilitation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, No. 5 (October, 1961).

and the Silverlake Experiment,³ designed to apply sociological theory to the treatment of delinquents, cannot free themselves entirely from this commitment. These two programs, with their emphasis upon the application of sociological theory to treatment, provide invaluable guidelines to follow when one is considering the question of whether theory supports the approach taken to treatment through the halfway house concept.

Theoretical Deficiencies in Present Treatment

The approach of the halfway house program is to rehabilitate the individual offender. This goal is usually achieved through an emphasis upon the offender's group orientation and the utilization of that orientation as a tool to bring about the change desired. In the past, most methods of rehabilitation have centered on the offender as an individual. This emphasis on individual rehabilitation often overlooked the fact that the individual must fit into the group-orientated organization of society.⁴

³LaMar T. Empey, George E. Newland and Steven G. Lubeck, "The Silverlake Experiment: A Community Study in Delinquency Rehabilitation, Program Report No. 2, 1965. University of Southern California, Youth Studies Center.

⁴Ruth Shonle Cavan, "Emphasis for the Future- Social Absorption," Key Issues: A Journal of Controversial Issues in Criminology, Chicago: St. Leonard's House, 1965) Vol. 2, 47.

This policy of "individualized treatment" and its emphasis has come from viewing deviance as something essentially pathological, revealing the presence of a "disease".⁵ Its rationale rests on a medical analogy and has resulted in an emphasis on the clinical principle as the method for changing criminals. According to Cressey this emphasis "has impeded the application of sociological theories and, it may be conjectured, success in correctional work."⁶

Although the "individualized treatment" approach has recognized that group contacts are necessary for the disorder of criminality to exist, the disorder can be treated in a clinic, without reference to the persons from whom the disorder was originally acquired.⁷

As Cressey points out, sociologists and social psychologists have provided an alternative principle on which to base the diagnosis and treatment of criminals and it is fundamental in the halfway house program:

. . . the behavior, attitudes, beliefs, and values which a person exhibits are not only the products of group contacts but also the properties of groups. If the

⁵Howard S. Becker, Outsiders: Studies in The Sociology of Deviance (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), 5.

⁶Donald R. Cressey, "Changing Criminals: The Application of The Theory of Differential Association," Mass Society in Crisis: Social Problems and Social Pathology, ed. Bernard Rosenberg, Israel Gerver and F. William Howton (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1964), 396.

⁷Ibid., p. 397.

behavior of an individual is an intrinsic part of groups to which he belongs, attempts to change the behavior must be directed at groups.⁸

If, then, a case of criminality is attributed to the individual's group relations, one must modify or supplement the clinical approach in this case and turn to the group. In a review of the Provo Experiment, Empey and Rabow say the following:

A successful treatment program for such a person would require techniques not normally included in the individualistic approach. Different techniques are required for dealing with the normative orientation of the delinquent's system, replacing it with new values, beliefs, and rationalizations and developing means by which he can realize conventional satisfactions.

It does not mean that traditional approaches of probation or psychotherapy for particular offenders should be discarded. It does suggest the need for programs more consistent with sociological theory, and more consistent with the sociological premise that most persistent and habitual offenders are active members of a delinquent social system.⁹

It has also been accepted that the clinical approach based upon the psychiatric theory of rehabilitation can be implemented only by highly-educated, "professionally-trained" people. At the same time it is recognized that there are not now, and never will be enough of these people.¹⁰

⁸Ibid.

⁹LaMar T. Empey and Rabow, The Provo Experiment. . . op.cit., 680. (Underlining added by writer of this report.)

¹⁰Donald R. Cressey, "Theoretical Foundations for Using Criminals in The Rehabilitation of Criminals," Key Issues: A Journal of Controversial Issues in Criminology, Chicago: St. Leonard's House, Vol. 2 (1965), 88.

Use must be made of the personnel actually available to act as rehabilitation agents and theory must be developed that can lead to practical treatment:

Our first task, a simple one, is to recognize the tremendous force of manpower that is available to us. Our second task, and in my opinion the most difficult and most important task criminologists face during the remainder of this century, is development of sound rehabilitation theory and procedures which will enable us to utilize this vast reservoir of manpower.¹¹

Sociological theories dealing with crime causation do have a definite place in contributing to the development of a treatment program. For a time the study of deviance became a practical pursuit with the focus of attention on the deviant but the connections between the study of deviance and the growth of sociological theory have been re-established. As a result, the focus on deviance as an interactive process involving both deviants and non-deviants has been recognized. As Becker states it. .

. . . . a consequence of seeing deviance as an interactive process is that we realize that changes in interaction may produce significant changes in behavior. . . We focus attention on the other people involved in the process. We pay attention to the role of the non-deviant as well as to that of the deviant.¹²

¹¹Ibid. For a discussion of the limitations faced by nonprofessional prison personnel in "individualized treatment" see Donald R. Cressey, "Limitations of Treatment," Mass Society in Crisis: Social Problems and Social Pathology, ed. Bernard Rosenberg, Israel Gerver and F. William Howton (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1964), 181-182, 186-187.

¹²Howard S. Becker (ed), The Other Side: Perspectives on Deviance (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), 1-4.

Sociological theories of criminal behavior should be utilized in the attempts to rehabilitate offenders. As

Cressey comments:

. . . . if we know something about the process by which men move from the status of "non-criminal" to status of "criminal," we ought to be able to use that knowledge to move men from the status of "criminal" to the status of "non-criminal."¹³

In other words, the process of becoming criminal can be reversed to bring about rehabilitation.

. . . . those inclined to crime usually refrain from it in situations where they play satisfying conventional roles in which crime would threaten their acceptance. From the latter situations, their identification with non-criminal others may eventually make them anti-criminal. This is the essence of rehabilitation.¹⁴

Types of Criminals and Limitations on Halfway Programs

The theory explored here is directed toward a treatment program designed for the majority of offenders. As Cavan points out, before considering the development of a program designed for the absorption of men into conventional community groups, a classification is imperative in terms of prior association and identification with conforming groups or with criminal groups. She proposes the following four classes:

¹³Cressey, "Theoretical Foundations. . ." op.cit., 1.

¹⁴Daniel Glaser, "Criminality Theories and Behavioral Images," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 61 (1956), 433-444, as cited by Cavan, op.cit., p. 48.

- (1) Half of all prisoners serve terms of less than 2.5 years. It may be assumed that many do not have criminal personalities--that is, they do not accept the ideology of the criminal contraculture nor limit their associations to members of this contraculture. . . . They may be borderline criminals. . . some may be completely within the conventional culture but have violated the law one or a few times. This is the group that might be expected most readily to be absorbed into the normal conforming community upon release.
- (2) The long-term prisoners include not only those with long criminal careers, who are marginal to the criminal contraculture, but also one-time offenders whose mis-step has been of a vicious nature, deeply offensive to the public. The application of many of these criminals for release on parole is bitterly fought by representatives of law-enforcement and the public alike. Eventually the long terms end, and these prisoners leave the prison and re-enter the community without parole supervision and often with no remaining contacts with relatives or early friends. Exiled while in prison, they are rejected and isolated upon release.
- (3) Prisoners identified with the criminal contraculture, especially when the association has been of long standing, present a special problem. They often maintain contact with the criminal underworld throughout their prison term, occasionally even maintaining their former role and directing the illegal business from behind bars. Upon release, they return to the criminal world.
- (4) Prisoners who are seriously maladjusted personally, regardless of their criminal activities, are not considered in this discussion.¹⁵

Special note should be taken of the last class. The typical halfway house program is not geared to deal with the seriously maladjusted offender. This does not necessarily exclude the alcoholic, the sex deviant or the drug addict, although many halfway houses do exclude these groups. The

¹⁵Cavan, op.cit., p. 48.

point to keep in mind is that the theory presented in this chapter is applied to treatment programs designed primarily for men falling in classes one and two of Cavan's four groups. It is assumed that these classes of offenders can be rehabilitated more successfully through a halfway house program.¹⁶ This does not exclude class three but simply recognizes the program should be most effective for classes one and two.

The Meaning of Rehabilitation

What exactly is "rehabilitation"? Korn and McCorkle maintain that rehabilitation means all of three things:

- (1) It is a motive, a desire to attain certain objectives, which may be defined both in positive terms, as the resumption of acceptable social living, and in equally valid negative terms, as the refraining from illegal behavior.
- (2) Rehabilitation also is a pattern of activities engaged in by the correctional agent. In this sense of the term, rehabilitation consists of things done to the offender.
- (3) Rehabilitation, finally, is a changed condition within the offender, as manifested by his concrete and specific behavior and by his relations with others. It is what he feels, what he says, and, most important, what he does in the incidents of his subsequent daily life.¹⁷

Change itself is not the goal but rather, change that will enable the offender to live as a "law-abiding member" of the community. It seems clear that "changes" which take place

¹⁶Empey, The Provo Experiment. . . , op.cit., 679.

¹⁷Richard Korn and Lloyd W. McCorkle, Criminology and Penology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), 594-595.

in the inmate while institutionalized but which disappear when he confronts society again, thereby giving him no added chance to survive in the community, are not the kinds of changes that fall within the concept of rehabilitation.¹⁸ The intermediate stage facility makes possible a more lasting rehabilitation because it is community based and these changes are already in the process of being tested and supported.

The different types of intermediate stage facilities vary in specific technique but they are united in the above rehabilitation commitment and also in their efforts to make the offender's stay as short as possible so that he can take his place in the larger society. Too long a stay in such a facility can result in his acquiring an institutional crutch constructed from the supportive features of the rehabilitation center.¹⁹ There are some halfway programs that have extended stays but these are programs dealing with sociomedical problems such as drug addiction and their programs fall under the long-term or protective category.

The Problem of Stigmatization

The halfway facility dealing with released offenders must face the full realization that it is dealing with men

¹⁸David Sternberg, "Synanon House- A Consideration of Its Implications for American Correction," The Journal of Criminal Law, Crime, and Police Science, Vol. 54, No. 4 (December, 1963), 448.

¹⁹Ibid.

who have suffered the pains of imprisonment and all which that involves.²⁰ Upon release the proactive status is unfavorable and the offender knows that his social position on the outside will never again be the same as it was before his commitment. This unfavorable proactive status involves stigmatization.²¹ As Goffman defines the term "stigma", it refers to "an attribute that is deeply discrediting."²² People react to it by assuming a person with a stigma is not quite human and as a result they reduce his life chances whether consciously done or not.²³ The individual as well as the halfway house program must deal with the obstacles that such stigmatization presents to rehabilitation. The question of the stigmatization attached to participation in a halfway program raises a question for further research.

Method of Control

Any living situation demands some degree of social control. The halfway house is faced with a choice of control methods from among three alternatives: permissiveness,

²⁰Refer to Gresham M. Sykes, The Society of Captives: A Study of a Maximum Security Prison. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958), Chapter 4-"The Pains of Imprisonment."

²¹Erving Goffman, Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1961), 72.

²²Erving Goffman, Stigma: Notes On The Management of Spoiled Identity (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), 3.

²³Ibid., p. 5.

authority and authority-with-choice. The basic philosophy of the halfway house program leads it to reject the authority method. Accordingly the treatment structure of the halfway house follows either the method of permissiveness which allows the offender to define how he will live, work, and relate to others in an atmosphere where imposed rules are held to a minimum or it follows the method of authority-with-choice.²⁴ That is, a set of norms are established, violations of which involve potential sanctions. Importantly, however, within this framework provision is made for many individual choices and decisions.

The permissive method is based on the theoretical proposition that lasting conformity comes about through the internalization of social values that the individual enforces upon himself rather than being compelled to external force. The method of authority induces further resentment and hostility which can be used to divert and excuse the individual from accepting responsibility for his own actions. The authority-with-choice method agrees with the argument of the permissive approach but it maintains that the need for defining authority is based on the characteristics of uncontrolled offenders.²⁵

²⁴Korn and McCorkle, op.cit., p. 539.

²⁵Ibid., p. 539-540.

In method of control, then, one finds that the various halfway house programs fall somewhere on a continuum between the extremes of permissiveness and authority-with-choice.

Theoretical Rationale

Discussion of the theoretical rationale is divided in two parts: (1) assumptions about criminal and delinquent behavior (2) change postulates. This approach should enable the individual to view the theoretical implications of such behavior and the treatment approach that should develop on the basis on those implications.²⁶

Assumptions about Delinquent and Criminal Behavior

1. Delinquent and criminal behavior are responses to the same general needs and values as non-criminal behavior.

The behavior of the delinquent or criminal cannot be explained by values or needs that are peculiar to him alone, for these same needs and values are the basis of much non-criminal behavior.²⁷

²⁶The stated assumptions and change postulates that follow are taken from Empey, Newland and Lubeck's The Silverlake Experiment. Other than those stated assumptions and postulates which were reworded for use in this report, all statements taken from that study are duly footnoted. The outline provided in their study proved helpful in bringing organization to the writer's efforts to implement a wide survey of theory and treatment. The theory explored under those headings came from the writer's use of primary sources.

²⁷Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Principles of Criminology, 7th edition (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1966), 82.

If one is to determine the causes for criminal behavior, one must also give consideration to the interaction that takes place between the offender and the society in which he lives. The assumption made that criminals respond to the same general needs and values as non-criminals is supported by Merton in his writing on social structure and anomie. Taking Durkheim's concept of anomie, Merton developed its implications for a general theory of deviant behavior.²⁸ "There are culture goals and there are the norms prescribing the means that the individual can legitimately use in acquiring the goals. These two aspects make up the 'culture structure'. A third aspect is of the 'social structure'. This aspect is the actual distribution of facilities and opportunities for achieving the cultural goals in a manner compatible with the norms. These are the institutionalized means."²⁹

When a gap develops between the culturally prescribed goals and the legitimate institutionalized means open to achieve these goals, noninstitutionalized or illegitimate means may be resorted to by the individual. Merton states two features that are relevant here:

. . . . anti social behavior is in a sense "called forth" by certain conventional values of the culture and by the class structure involving differential access to the approved opportunities for legitimate,

²⁸Albert K. Cohen, Deviance and Control (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), 75.

²⁹Ibid., p. 76.

prestige-bearing pursuit of the culture goals. . . .
 Recourse to the first of the alternative responses,
 legitimate effort, is limited by the fact that actual
 advance toward desired success-symbols through conven-
 tional channels is, despite our persisting open-class
 ideology, relatively rare and difficult for those han-
 dicapped by little formal education and few economic
 resources.³⁰

As Cloward and Ohlin point out, Merton's theory "per-
 mits us to make distinction regarding the severity of pres-
 sures toward deviant behavior which originates at different
 points in the social structure. Discrepancies between aspir-
 ations and legitimate chances of achievement increase as one
 descends in the class structure."³¹

Becker also adds support to this first assumption of
 criminal and delinquent behavior with the following state-
 ment:

It is easily observable that different groups judge
 different things to be deviant. This should alert us
 to the possibility that the person making the judgement
 of deviance, the process by which the judgement is ar-
 rived at, and the situation in which it is made may all
 be intimately involved in the phenomeon of deviance.

. . . . social groups create deviance by making the
 rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by
 applying those rules to particular people and labeling
 them as outsider. From this point of view, deviance
 is not a quality of the act the person commits, but
 rather a consequence of the application by others of

³⁰Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie,"
Mass Society in Crisis: Social Problems and Social Pathology
 edited by Bernard Rosenberg, Israel Gerver and F. William
 Howton (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1964), 126.

³¹Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency
 and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs (New York:
 The Free Press, 1966), 84, 86.

rules and sanctions to an "offender". The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label.³²

In other words, criminal behavior not only results from what an individual does but how the society in which he is a member defines what he does.

2. Delinquent and criminal behavior are learned and the products of accumulated experiences in a wide range of social relationships.

Sutherland through the theory of differential association suggested that criminals are not born but learn criminal behavior through a process of communication and interaction "principally in small intimate groups." The same process of learning takes place for the non-criminal except the excess of definitions are unfavorable for the violation of law.³³

Therefore, a person cannot simply point to one factor such as family disorganization and say this explains delinquent behavior.³⁴ It may be a factor but the family represents only one of the social relationships in which the individual is involved. Cohen's approach supports this position:

³²Becker, Outsiders. op.cit., p. 4, p. 9.

³³Sutherland, op.cit., p. 81-82.

³⁴For a discussion of the family as a contributing factor in delinquency, refer to Jackson Toby, "The Differential Impact of Family Disorganization," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22 (October, 1957), 505-511.

Our own approach in no way minimizes the role of the family; if anything, it magnifies it. We emphasize, however, the ways in which consequences of family membership depend upon the social world outside the family. . . .

In our own inquiry, then, we shall be much concerned with what happens to the child in the family, but in order to appreciate the importance of what happens there we shall have to be concerned as well with the opportunities and barriers, the challenges and expectations in a wide social milieu.³⁵

All of these influences in the family as well as in the larger social environment are cumulative in their effect.

"The self is built up in the process of interacting with others."³⁶ Once the individual is defined as a problem whether he sees himself that way or not, these forces contribute to the tendency for the interactive pattern between him and society to become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Even if the individual desires to do so, once having possessed a criminal status it will be hard for him to escape it.

3. Membership in a criminal or delinquent system develops as an alternative means for acquiring, or attempting to acquire, many of the goals which are acquired by other people through conventional means.

It could be assumed that the above is more applicable to delinquent behavior since delinquency is generally

³⁵Albert K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), 75, 77.

³⁶Cohen, Deviance and Control, op.cit., 98.

accepted as more of a group than an individual deviation.³⁷ Yet, Sutherland maintained that deviant behavior is learned through the process of social interaction³⁸ and this learning process is much the same whether the individual be a youth or an adult. The caution involved here is assuming that criminal behavior is necessarily to be related back to a criminal subculture. While this may be true of many habitual or professional criminals it is not necessarily the case for all adult offenders. This does not deny that criminal behavior, like other behavior, is a consequence of a socially acquired value system or that "generally speaking, the imputation of legitimacy to a mode of conduct that is widely disapproved requires continual reassurance from others in order to persist."³⁹

If, as suggested, criminal behavior is the product of a cumulative experience, then a person does not become a criminal through only one incident. Instead there will be a period in which he will be subjected to a considerable amount of strain--a period in which he will be faced with various alternatives of behavior with persistent criminal behavior being only one alternative. The decision of whether he follows that alternative, or adopts some other, will depend upon

³⁷Ruth Shonle Cavan, Juvenile Delinquency (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1962), p. 164.

³⁸Sutherland, op.cit., 81.

³⁹Cloward and Ohlin, op.cit., p. 138.

an interactive, not merely a private, process in which significant other people are involved.⁴⁰

Strain is defined by Cohen as an "Ambivalence relative to institutionalized expectations."⁴¹ The individual facing a choice of deviant behavior must consider the moral conceptions and role definitions of his normative reference groups. These reference groups are usually supportive of the institutionalized expectations. Therefore, according to Cohen, the individual has three possible actions open to him:

- (1)....to continue to conform, despite continued frustration, because conformity is the only alternative that is morally and symbolically validated by his reference group.
- (2)....to break with his reference groups and acknowledge other reference groups, whose norms legitimize deviant solutions and attribute favorable role symbolism to them.
- (3)....to "go it alone", violating the institutionalized expectations without the legitimation and validation that come from consensus.⁴²

If the individual fails to gain through conforming behavior the successes and satisfactions he desires, he may choose deviant behavior to obtain those needs and seek out those reference groups who will serve to provide an

⁴⁰Empey, Newland and Lubeck, The Silverlake....., op. cit., 6.

⁴¹Albert K. Cohen, "The Study of Social Disorganization and Deviant Behavior," Sociology Today, edited by Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (New York Basic Books, Inc., 1959), 468.

⁴²Ibid., p. 469-470

alternative value system and support. It is in this sense that these may become meaningful reference groups for him.

4. The criminal and delinquent are ambivalent about their criminal behavior.

Although the individual may choose deviant behavior and break with previous conforming reference groups, this break is rarely complete. The identification with deviant behavior is not abrupt but gradual. It has both its rewards and its dissatisfactions. It not only possesses the possibility of attracting significant other people but of alienating them as well. In other words, the fact that an individual may consider himself criminal and others hold the same opinion does not mean that he has completely rejected legitimate aspirations and standards. Instead he is ambivalent.⁴³

Cohen contends that these legitimate claims on behavior are repressed by the individual and in a sense are unconscious and the often malicious, non-utilitarian aspects of delinquency may be indicative of a collective reaction-formation in which they are overacting against the very things to which they are most attracted. As Cohen states it:

There is much evidence from clinical psychology that moral norms, once effectively internalized, are not lightly thrust aside or extinguished. If a new moral order is evolved which offers a more satisfactory solution to one's life problems, the old order usually continues to press for recognition, but if this recognition is granted, the applecart is upset. The symptom of this obscurely felt, ever-present threat is clinically known

⁴³Empey, Newland and Lubeck, The Silverlake....op.cit., p. 7.

as "anxiety," and the literature of psychiatry is rich with devices for combating this anxiety, this threat to a hard-won victory. One such device is reaction-formation. Its hallmark is an "exaggerated," "disproportionate", "abnormal" intensity of response, "inappropriate" to the stimulus which seems to elicit it. The unintelligibility of the response, the "over-reaction", becomes intelligible when we see that it has the function of reassuring the actor against an inner threat to his defenses as well as the function of meeting an external situation on its own terms. . . . we would expect the delinquent boy who, after all, has been socialized in a society dominated by a middle-class morality and who never quite escapes the blandishments of middle-class society, to seek to maintain his safeguards against seduction. Reaction-formation, in his case, should take the form of an "irrational," "malicious," "unaccountable" hostility to the enemy within the gates as well as without; the norms of the respectable middle-class society.⁴⁴

Sykes and Matza also contend that the delinquent continues to maintain the legitimacy of the institutionalized norms, although they differ from Cohen in believing that this is often conscious rather than unconscious or repressed. The individual, in order to cope with the claims of respectable norms, maintains a whole series of rationalizations by which to justify his mode of adjustment and to "neutralize" his delinquent behavior:

It is our argument that much delinquency is based on what is essentially an unrecognized extension of defenses to crimes, in the form of justifications for deviance that are seen as valid by the delinquent but not by the legal system or society at large.

We call these justifications of deviant behavior techniques of neutralization; and believe these techniques make up a crucial component of Sutherland's "definitions favorable to the violation of law." It is by learning these techniques that the juvenile becomes delinquent,

⁴⁴Cohen, Delinquent Boys. . . ., op.cit., 132-33.

rather than by learning moral imperatives, values or attitudes standing in direct contradiction to those of the dominant society.⁴⁵

Cloward and Ohlin maintain that the lone delinquent is even more likely to experience feelings of ambivalence toward conventional norms of conduct and moral evaluation because he lacks collective support. He is therefore more likely to "experience severe guilt reactions and to use various psychological mechanisms for controlling them, such as the ones Cohen and Sykes and Matza describe."⁴⁶

Deviant behavior is not without psychological cost to the criminal or delinquent.

Change Postulates

The previously discussed practical rationale and theoretical assumptions about deviant behavior provide a basis for an approach to rehabilitation and the treatment program of the halfway house.

1. The deviant system should be made the target of change.

The program of the halfway house should recognize the intrinsic nature of the deviant system and, therefore, direct change to that system rather than to the individual.

⁴⁵Gresham M. Sykes and David Matza, "Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency," The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency, edited by Marvin E. Wolfgang, Leonard Savitz and Norman Johnston (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962), 251-52.

⁴⁶Ohlin and Cloward, op.cit., 251-252.

If the individual acquired deviant behavior from a group with which he identifies, he cannot be treated individually without considering the persons or norms from whom he acquired it.⁴⁷

The treatment in the halfway house should concentrate on the "here and now" and the future. The individual may need some understanding of the way early events have affected his present behavior but this should not be the main concern of the treatment program. The past cannot be changed. What the deviant should be led to do is to explore his current adjustment and the present problems that affect that adjustment.

As Sykes and Matza point out, one of the techniques of neutralization is for the offender to deny responsibility "by learning to view himself as more acted upon than acting, the delinquent prepares the way for deviance from the dominant normative system without the necessity of a frontal assault on the norms themselves."⁴⁸

Glaser makes clear the approach the halfway program should follow in this:

We want to face reality, we must admit that we can never rewrite a person's history. No matter how much we can understand about the cruel and unusual circumstances which led to his behavior, . . . there is nothing this information can do for us or for him except

⁴⁷Empey, Newland and Lubeck, The Silverlake., op.cit., p. 9.

⁴⁸Sykes and Matza, op.cit., p. 252.

reinforce the concept that indeed he has a reason to break the law and excuse his transgressions on the ground that he is "sick." Therefore we emphasize what traditional therapy tries to ignore: No matter what happened to him, he still has the responsibility for what he does.

If we continue to accept the offender's irresponsibility because of his traumatic history we become trapped from a therapeutic standpoint.⁴⁹

It is the writer's opinion that reality therapy is of genuine relevance to the halfway house program both from the view of treatment as well as practical considerations. The majority of such programs are guided by the philosophy that the person should be returned to full community living as soon as possible. Individualized treatment is both time consuming and expensive. Reality therapy, if clearly understood, can be used not only by trained professionals but by everyone from the cook to the secretary in the halfway house and even more important by the resident group. As Glaser states:

Only a consistent method of treatment, an approach that can be used to some extent by everyone in corrections, will help young people in trouble.⁵⁰

Until the individual can accept responsibility for what he did in the past as well as for what he will do in the future, there can be little effective treatment. The "crux of the theory of reality therapy is personal responsibility."⁵¹

⁴⁹William Glaser, M.D., "Reality Therapy," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 10, No. 2 (April, 1964), 137.

⁵⁰Ibid., 135.

⁵¹Ibid., 137.

and this should be the goal of the halfway treatment program. It comes about through an emphasis upon the positive rather than upon reinforcing the negative in the individual.

This recognition of responsibility should come normatively through the group. A program should recognize that the acceptability of conventional behavior to a deviant will depend in all probability upon its acceptability to other participating deviants. It is a mutual conversion. If an individual can see others changing he is more likely to change himself. The objective, therefore, is to create a process by which a group can examine and, hopefully, find some non-delinquent alternatives to its present delinquent standards, reactions and points of view. This is of course what Cressey was talking about with the process of "retroflexive reformation":

. . . . in attempting to reform others, the criminal almost automatically accepts the common purpose of the group, identifies himself closely with other persons engaging in reformation and assigns status on the basis of anticriminal behavior.⁵²

The pressure for change comes through the group not through authority figures of treatment personnel. "Both reformers and those to be reformed must achieve status within the group by exhibition of "pro-reform" or anticriminal values and behavior patterns."⁵³

⁵²Donald R. Cressey, "Changing Criminals. . . , op.cit. 400.

⁵³Ibid., p. 399.

This implies a marked reduction in the social distance between staff and those to be reformed. The individual would be faced with a clear choice and be provided the motivation for a shift in value identification.⁵⁴

If the individual can be led to an identification with a socially conforming role, then rehabilitation is close at hand. Cohen, in his discussion of self, role theory and deviant behavior makes this clear with the following statements:

We are susceptible to those associations and learning opportunities that we sense are relevant to success in the roles we would like to assume; their impacts are more intense. Once we are "hooked" on a role; we are ready to adopt, on very slight association, whole bundles of behavior that are expressive or supportive of that role. Once we are converted to another role, we may shake off whole bundles of behavior because they are no longer consistent with the claims of the new self.⁵⁵

The group, then, is the target for change. McCorkle in dealing with factors which serve to contribute to successful group interaction stated that groups should not exceed twenty in number and ideally should range from six to twelve persons:

Too small a group increases friction between members and too large a group presents too complicated a web

⁵⁴Lloyde Ohlin, "Modification of the Criminal Value System," The Sociology of Punishment and Correction, edited by Norman Johnson, Leonard Savitz and Marvin E. Wolfgang (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), 179.

⁵⁵Cohen, Deviance and Control. . . . op.cit., p. 101.

of interpersonal relationships to be handled by one person.⁵⁶

These small groups serve as a medium through which each person is able to come to grips with his own problems and those of his group. The halfway house should avoid the tendency toward institutionalization. The atmosphere should be one of a home. The larger the group the more difficult it is to maintain a cohesive primary group atmosphere characterized by informal interactional patterns.

2. Conflict and ambivalence are means by which to precipitate involvement in a change process.

It was mentioned earlier that sociological literature suggests that every individual has internalized some values of conventional society. Whether consciously or unconsciously, these values are present and create ambivalence in the individual about his deviant behavior. It may be true that deviant associations provide the offender with some social status and acceptance but this status and acceptance is limited only to other deviants.

The halfway house program can utilize this ambivalence in the rehabilitation process. Through interaction with other program members an effort should be made to reveal the fact that the individual is not alone in his uncertainty

⁵⁶Lloyd W. McCorkle, "Group Therapy with Offenders," The Sociology of Punishment and Correction, edited by Norman Johnson, Leonard Savitz and Marvin E. Wolfgang (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), 201.

about his deviant behavior. An opening wedge might be introduced into his affective and ideological dedication to deviant standards. There would be an opportunity to reassert feelings for conventional values.⁵⁷

This does not come about easily. The members of the group must feel free to express their feelings in support of deviant behavior. It would be necessary for the group to recognize that such candidness should be confined to the internal group due to the position of the program in the community.

This means that the protection and rewards provided by the treatment system for candor must exceed those provided either by delinquents for adherence to delinquent roles or by officials for adherence to custodial demands for "good behavior". Only in this way can delinquent individuals become aware of the extent to which other delinquents share conventional as well as delinquent aspirations and, only in this way, can they be encouraged to examine the ultimate utility of each.⁵⁸

This type of atmosphere is difficult to maintain. There tends to develop in an institutional setting a tacit agreement on the part of all that no one will rock the institutional boat. Feelings are submerged or denied, or allowed expression only in clearly legitimate ways. If this occurs, the group sessions tend to turn into sessions dealing with trivia. If the staff is not careful it falls into this trap

⁵⁷Empey, Newland and Lubeck, The Silverlake. . . . op. cit., p. 12.

⁵⁸Empey and Rabow, The Provo Experiment. . . . op. cit., 683.

because it is the easy way out. As previously mentioned, such a situation under the permissive system should not occur. Such tranquility obviously inhibits rather than encourages change.

Conflict should be expected. Ohlin notes this with the following statement:

It is likely that marked personal conflict will take place before an individual is prepared to make a major shift in value identification. It must become clear to the individual that adherence to a deviant system is a defeating and frustrating experience; whereas behavior controlled in terms of conventional norms not only will receive the support of the staff and a majority of the group, but will lead to the satisfaction of personal needs, to status' and prestige awards, and to the achievement of goals which are culturally supported and sanctioned.⁵⁹

Conflict disturbs the status-quo and should precipitate the search for methods by which staff and resident alike can work toward the common goal of law-abiding behavior. "This disjunction may lead the resident to reduce it by abandoning the role for another role. They can quit the game, so to speak, and find some other game at which they can win without violating the rules."⁶⁰

3. An effective program must develop a unified and cohesive social system in which staff and offenders have a functional rather than a caste-like relationship to each other.

The staff and the participants in the halfway house program should be united as a group to accomplish their common

⁵⁹Ohlin, op.cit., 180.

⁶⁰Cohen, Deviance and Control. . . . op.cit., p. 102.

pursuit of rehabilitation. There should exist a strong sense of belonging for both staff and participants. "The more cohesive the group, the greater the members' readiness to influence others and the more relevant the problem of conformity to group norms."⁶¹

The halfway house should exist as a therapeutic community. There is a great deal of similarity between the goals of Dr. Maxwell Jones' concept of the therapeutic community and those of the halfway house treatment program:

The therapeutic community views treatment as located not in the application by specialists of certain shocks, drugs or interpretations, but in the normal interaction of healthy community life.

On the Unit we have tried to be as objective as possible in developing our therapeutic community and to become conscious of our motives when establishing a pattern of behavior expected from the staff or patients. Along with this we have paid special attention to communication throughout the entire Unit population, together with free discussion of any problem affecting the community. This has meant considerable distribution of responsibility.

. I have seen what appears to be a most sincere attempt to give the patient the best possible treatment, spoilt by a failure to distinguish between a hospital role and a normal community role. The result was that frequently the patient was unable to settle down when discharged to his home and he soon found his way back to the hospital. . . . The cultural pressure of the Unit community is directed towards this acceptance of a more useful social role, which may then appear desirable because of his group identification with the group.⁶²

⁶¹Cressey, "Changing Criminals.", op.cit., 399.

⁶²Maxwell Jones, The Therapeutic Community (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1953), 158, 160.

The basic concept of treatment involved in Dr. Jones approach is the idea that corrective treatment, in a behavioral or social science sense, cannot be effectively administered piecemeal but must be presented as a correlated effort by all persons acting within the institution- both residents and the institutional personnel. This approach automatically rejects emphasis upon authoritarian administration. The responsibility for treatment rests within the offender as well as the staff. Using this approach to treatment, the social distance and lack of communication which normally exists between staff and participants is usually reduced.⁶³

Goffman describes the typical situation in the total institution:

Social mobility between the two strata is grossly restricted; social distance is typically great and often formally prescribed. Even talk across boundaries may be conducted in a special tone of voice. . .so, too is the passage of information, especially information about the staff plans for inmates. Characteristically, the inmate is excluded from knowledge of the decisions taken regarding his fate. . .The staff-inmate split is one major implication of the bureaucratic management of large blocks of persons. . .⁶⁴

The halfway house program dealing with small groups in a homelike atmosphere should make every effort to avoid an

⁶³John M. Wilson, Ph.D., "The Role of The Therapeutic Community in Correctional Institutions of the Future," Key Issues: A Journal of Controversial Issues in Criminology, Vol. 2 (Chicago: St. Leonard's House, 1965), 63-68.

⁶⁴Goffman, Asylums. . . ., op.cit., p. 7-9.

excess of rules which call for authoritarian supervision. The resident should be informed not only about treatment plans but he should be an active participant in the formation of those plans. The lines of communication must be kept open and this is possible only when a minimum of rules and regulations are present.

As Goffman points out, "the barrier that total institutions place between the inmate and the wider world marks the first curtailment of self. Role dispossession occurs."⁶⁵ Not only should the halfway house maintain close communication between the staff and residents but every effort to facilitate the resident's communication with the wider community should be made. As Cressdy observes, "the majority of criminals experience great difficulty in securing intimate contacts in ordinary groups."⁶⁶ Various efforts on the part of staff can reduce this difficulty.

In changing the deviant's self-concept it is important for him to perceive evidence convincing him that the community evaluates him favorable. The staff of the halfway program acts as a positive force in aiding the resident to identify with law abiding roles. A job leads to further identification. He needs to have first hand contact with middle-class success, in a comfortable, accepting atmosphere,

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 14.

⁶⁶Cressey, "Changing Criminals. . . .", op.cit., p. 398-399.

in order to sense that at least to some degree this may be realistically possible for him. He needs to observe at first hand the rewards of such practice as postponement of immediate gratification for the sake of long-term goals, so that such long-term goals become modestly promising- at least better than prison.⁶⁷ Therefore, although the process of rehabilitation may begin in the halfway house the only real testing ground is in the community.

Conclusion

The halfway house approach to treatment, although grounded on practical imperatives, is also supported by sociological theory. On the basis of the practical and theoretical rationale presented in the preceding pages, it is maintained by the writer of this report that the four criteria outlined in the previous chapter for determining whether a facility is a halfway house in program are warranted. Those criteria were-small number of residents, close contact with the outside community, minimum rules and regulations, and a non-authoritarian staff with participation of residents in decision making.

⁶⁷Progress Report. The Crofton House Study: A Community Orientated Halfway Home for Local Offenders. San Diego State College, September 1, 1966.

CHAPTER III

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESIDENTIAL HALFWAY HOUSE

Introduction

Generally, when the individual considers a halfway house he thinks in terms of a residential program. It has already been noted in this report that the term, "halfway house," is used loosely and the concept itself does not necessarily mean a residential facility. However, the residential program does represent more closely the original concept of the "intermediate stage" program and is the most common type of program found. For this reason the following chapter was written to outline the general characteristics of the community residential program found under various auspices throughout the country.¹

¹There has been only one comprehensive survey done of residential halfway house programs for both adults and youths. This study was conducted by Benedict S. Alper and the original of the report, entitled Community Residential Treatment Centers, was acquired through the National Council of Crime and Delinquency which administered the study. This is a much quoted source of information. It was incorporated into the U.S. Bureau of Prison publication, Treating Youth Offenders in The Community, and was also used in the report, Trends in The Administration of Justice and Correctional Programs in the United States prepared by the Bureau of Prisons for the Third U.N. Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. Mr. Alper did not use specific examples but by necessity, generalized. This necessity for generalization was felt by the author in the following chapter but an

Locale and Community Relations

The location of the residential facility and its introduction to the community deserves careful consideration on the part of those in charge. To be fully useful to its residents, the house must air to integrate itself into the community. This is a particular area of concern where newly developing programs should learn from the mistakes of the past.

Crofton House, established in 1963, has been subjected to continued attacks by groups of near by property holders. Much of this problem could have been avoided if neighborhood support had been sought before the program was begun.² Typical of many programs, Crofton House found itself more successful in its relations with the wider community than with the nearby neighborhood.

Shaw Residence was particularly conscious of this problem when property was purchased in a predominantly residential area of northwest Washington. It was purchased shortly after the U.S. Bureau of Prisons had considered establishing a Pre-Release Guidance Center in southwest Washington. Because of the unfavorable reaction to that plan, Shaw

effort was made to cite some illustrations from specific programs and to utilize various articles giving a broad view of the halfway house program.

²San Diego State College Foundation. Bernard C. Kirby, Research Director. The Crofton House Study Progress Report. A Community Orientated Halfway Home for Local Offenders (San Diego, California, 1966), 39-41.

Residence made every effort to mobilize support for the project through various interviews and programs designed to gain the support of community leaders residing in the area. Their support and the support enlisted from religious and civic organizations has created an atmosphere in which little evidence of opposition exists.³

There is much difference of opinion regarding the desired location for a resident treatment program for offenders. This is limited by available sites and funds. There are some programs that have been established in rather opulent surroundings. Such an example is Synanon, a voluntary narcotics rehabilitation facility run by former addicts, which is set in an attractive beach area in Santa Monica, in one of the wealthier sections of the city of Los Angeles.⁴ When choosing such locations the program is faced with expectations of intense neighborhood opposition.

Some empirical evidence growing out of work on foster homes hints that it is more effective to relocate individuals in situations resembling, though somewhat better than, those from which they are taken.⁵ When the facility is located in

³The Bureau of Rehabilitation. Shaw Residence: A Community Residential Treatment Program For Men Released from Correctional Institutions Under Supervision. Progress Report March 1964-Sept. 1965. Washington, D.C., p. 6-8.

⁴Gilbert Geis, "The Community-Centered Correctional Residence," Correction in The Community: Alternatives to Incarceration. California Board of Corrections, Monograph No. 4 (June, 1964), 22.

⁵Ibid.

a transition area or an area characterized by rooming houses and semiprivate residences, the opposition tends to be less. Such was the case for the East Los Angeles Halfway House, a facility for former narcotics addicts located in Boyle Heights, as this program was virtually without opposition.⁶

A final answer to the question must await further research but the location, for practical purposes, should be in a central urban area where there are low cost transportation and centers of employment, particularly unskilled and semiskilled employment.⁷

Regardless of neighborhood location, every effort should be made to utilize community resources. Care should be taken to avoid duplication of services in the house that are readily available in the community. For instance, it is important that the residents go out into the community for their educational and recreational activities. The program should also encourage the general public as well as community leaders to visit the facility. "All available evidence indicates that community support is the most decisive factor in the successful establishment of a residential center."⁸

⁶Ibid., p. 23.

⁷Edward Blacker and David Kantor, "Halfway Houses for Problem Drinkers," Federal Probation, Vol. 24 (January, 1961), 22.

⁸Benedict S. Alper. Community Residential Treatment Centers. A Report prepared for the National Parole Institutes administered by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, April, 1966, p.9.

Physical Facilities

Residence. . . .As for physical characteristics, the half-way house should be and usually is a "family type" residence. There should be space for offices, meetings, a lounge, dining facilities, and sleeping accommodations. Depending on the availability of community recreation facilities, there should be a recreation area.⁹

There are a few exceptions, but most halfway houses bear no sign outside their doors to indicate their purpose. Only a house number, the same as others in the neighborhood, identifies the halfway house.¹⁰

Capacity. . . .In respect to sleeping accommodations, there may be a variety of arrangements. Usually, the new resident will begin in a dormitory arrangement and progress to a single room. This practice is sometimes used as added prestige through concrete recognition of the resident's progress.¹¹

⁹National Parole Service. The Halfway House. Standards Guide For Community Transitional Rehabilitation and Living Houses. Joint Committee of the Vancouver City Council, Vancouver, Canada, 1966, p. 5.

¹⁰John J. Galvin, (ed), Treating Youth Offenders in The Community. An Account of a new approach in correctional Treatment launched by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons in the Fall of 1961. (Washington, D.C.: Correctional Research Associates (June, 1966), 10.

¹¹Blacker and Kantor, op.cit., 18.

To encourage the home atmosphere and group interaction, the bed capacity should be kept below thirty-five;¹² however, most residences set the optimum number between ten and twenty-five. Provisions should be made for emergency cases and for former residents who feel they need a brief return.¹³

Dependency. . . . Bed capacity raises the question of dependency since long stays affect the bed capacity of the house and the admission of new residents. Emphasis during the last stages of the program should be placed on easing the member back into a less protected situation in the community. The period of residence is flexible but the usual range is between 30 and 90 days, with the average approximately 60 days.¹⁴ As one example, St. Leonard's House indicated that the average length of stay is sixty days allowing the program to work with 120 to 130 residents per year.¹⁵

Three months appears to be the desired optimum limit. The resident, upon arrival, should be informed of this and told it is necessary because of a waiting list. If the resident appears after a time to be overly dependent on the

¹²The Halfway House. Standards Guide.....op.cit., 6.

¹³Alper, op.cit., p. 18.

¹⁴Galvin, op.cit., 10.

¹⁵Fr. Robert P. Taylor, "Service Report-St. Leonard's House," October, 1966. (Mimeographed), p. 3.

program, efforts should be made on the part of the staff to foster readiness for independent living.¹⁶

The question of dependency upon the program and length of residence is even more relevant for those halfway houses dealing sociomedical problems such as alcoholism and drug addiction.

Sternberg contends that Synanon views itself more as an end than as a means and that the former addict has substituted his dependency on Synanon House for his former dependency upon drugs. "He is, in fact 'hooked,' albeit healthily and the overt manifestations of this secondary 'addictive' process we would term the 'Synanon Syndrome'."¹⁷

The program for youths at Daytop Lodge is patterned after Synanon and consists of three stages: When the addict first comes to the Lodge he is for the most part restricted to the property and is under close supervision. He participates in tasks involved in the maintenance of the residence. After approximately ten months he graduates to the "second stage" during which he works in the community but continues to live at Daytop. He is expected to pay a nominal rent-board fee. He usually remains in the second stage for two

¹⁶Shaw Residence, op.cit., p. 30-32.

¹⁷David Sternberg, "Synanon House-A Consideration of Its Implications for American Correction," The Journal of Criminal Law, Crime and Police Science, Vol. 54, No. 4 (December, 1963), 449.

months and then if considered ready moves to the third stage by leaving Daytop Lodge and taking residence in the community, but continues to remain active in the activities of the Lodge.¹⁸

Sternberg maintains that a very small percentage of Synanon residents had moved into stage three:

To the Writer's knowledge few individuals have yet reached the "third stage", Those who are at this level apparently live quite close to Synanon, e.g. in the Los Angeles area. Somewhere between 30 and 40 percent of Synanon residents come from the New York area. Yet, to date, only one person has returned to New York after a successful stay at Synanon. The main reason for inexact statistics here is that Dederick (originator of the program) and other leaders of Synanon have been unwilling to release complete population statistics.¹⁹

California has attempted a different approach through its California Rehabilitation Center Program for narcotic addicts. This program combines compulsory short-term treatment in a drug-free environment with follow-up, long-term supervision in the community. Once the person is committed, he is committed for a definite period even though he may have actually volunteered himself for treatment. The law now provides for a two and one half year commitment for volunteers and a seven year commitment for others. A minimum of six months, however, must be spent as an inpatient. He is then released to

¹⁸ Joseph A. Shelly and Alexander Eassin, "Daytop Lodge: Halfway House for Drug Addicts," Federal Probation, (December, 1964), 52-54. The first group of residents had moved into stage three but results are not yet available on their success in the community.

¹⁹ Sternberg, op.cit., footnote, p. 448.

outpatient status and if he remains free of drugs for three consecutive years, he may be discharged from his commitment and the criminal charges against him, if any, may be dropped. If drug use is detected by "nalline" tests made at both regular and irregular intervals he is returned to inpatient status.²⁰

This question of dependency, especially in halfway houses dealing sociomedical problems, deserves research. A semi-sheltered permanent home is not the goal of the vast majority of halfway house programs. However, such a protective community may prove necessary for certain individuals but it would no longer be viewed as a halfway house.

Program

Admission. . . . On entering the program the resident usually undergoes an orientation phase which may last several days. This gives the new resident time to become acquainted with the house, its rules and organization, and the staff time to formulate suitable plans for his future participation.²¹

Criteria and procedure for the selection or acceptance of residents varies widely according to the type of program. Dismas House is used as only one example:

²⁰Robert W. Wood, "New Program Offers Hope for Addicts," Federal Probation (December, 1964), 41-43.

²¹Black and Kantor, op.cit., 22.

Preliminary steps of admission are usually made through the mail by the prisoner while he is still in the penitentiary. All correspondence requesting such admittance to Dismas House is to be answered immediately. All applications, however, are not accepted. The applicant must fulfill the requirements demanded by the philosophy of Dismas House. Drug addicts, alcoholics, or sex deviants cannot be accepted because of the special treatment required by their condition. All other applicants fall under two categories; parolee or flat timer.

No man who has ever been in a workhouse, or who comes out of a city or country jail, is eligible for admission.²²

The restrictions in respect to drug addicts, alcoholics and sex deviants are fairly widespread through the halfway house programs with the exception of those programs particularly designed for this type of problem.

Regulations. . . . All centers prohibit the drinking of alcoholic beverages on their premises, or the keeping of liquor in the rooms. A rule against the keeping of any fire arms is likewise maintained.²³ If it is felt that a "lock-out" time or curfew is desirable, it should be realistic.²⁴ Most halfway houses make reasonable demands in this area, Dismas House appears more restrictive than most. The hours are 10:00 p.m. Sunday through Thursday and 12:00 p.m. on

²²Dismas House. Polices and Procedures Manual. St. Louis, Missouri. (Mimeographed), 7. Refer to the Appendix for exhibits of the forms and letters used by Dismas House during admission.

²³Alper, op.cit., p. 19.

²⁴Robert G. Meiners, "A Halfway House for Parolees," Federal Probation, Vol. 29 (March, 1965), 52.

Friday and Saturday evenings.²⁵

Every effort should be made to avoid an institutional atmosphere. Organized meetings at which attendance is mandatory should be kept at a minimum. Rules should be minimal and clearly explained.²⁶ For instance, most halfway houses require each resident to make his own bed and to keep his own possessions and sleeping area in order. He is also expected to do some maintenance work. Those residents who are not yet employed are expected to contribute more time in duties around the house until they are able to pay room and board.²⁷

Using principles of self-government, the residents themselves should exercise responsible authority in enforcing the rules which govern the behavior of residents.²⁸

Counseling. . . .The halfway house should be a therapeutic community. In the area of counseling, as with so many other aspects of the programs, there is considerable variation of practice. Some houses emphasize individual counseling almost entirely, while others place greater emphasis on group counseling or group interaction. Perhaps the majority use both.

²⁵Dismas House, op.cit., p. 9.

²⁶Meiners, op.cit., p. 52.

²⁷Galvin, op.cit., p. 14.

²⁸Black and Kantor, op.cit.

Provision is usually made by the halfway house for psychiatric consultation for those requiring it, through the services of outside specialists.²⁹ Guests can be brought into the group meetings to speak on employment problems, etc. Robert Bruce House has found that some of the most effective group meetings have been those at which former residents served as discussion leaders in relating their experiences in the community.³⁰ For those houses emphasizing group therapy, the sessions are generally limited to the residents and staff and tend to be required for all residents.³¹

Staff.This aspect of the program again varies widely according to the finances available and the program of the particular halfway house. Dismas House lists its staff as consisting of the following: executive director, personnel director, business manager, night desk man, two day desk men, first cook, second cook, dishwasher, maid, driver and secretary.³²

Blacker and Kantor developed what they considered the "model" halfway house staff for the halfway house serving the alcoholic offender:

The staff for carrying out the program should include a toplevel professional with training in the social or behavioral sciences who would be the director. He should have come experience in administration,

²⁹Alper, op.cit., p. 24.

³⁰Robert Bruce House, op.cit., p. 15.

³¹Alper, op.cit.

³²Dismas House, op.cit., p. 26.

supervision, institutional work, treatment, and research. An assistant director with similar qualifications although of less experience, would aid the director. There also should be a resident supervisor, perhaps a recovered alcoholic who has clearly demonstrated a capacity to assume responsibility. The latter individual is a key figure, for he must see that the affairs of the institution are run smoothly, and be available to meet the needs of the men in times of stress. The director, assistant director, and resident supervisor would be full-time. In addition there should be on the part-time consulting staff one psychiatrist, two social workers, and one researcher. These part-time consultants would do diagnostic work, and would plan and conduct treatment. All personnel must be equipped with warmth, maturity, and understanding.³³

One of the most important staff positions is held by the employment counselor. Regardless of whether or not such a staff position exists, all halfway houses generally have good contacts in job placement. The following is a statement of the Robert Bruce House:

With respect to employment there are opportunities which the residents have available to them as follows: the State Employment Service, self-acquired jobs, and House contacts. Relative to House contacts, it was felt initially that a resident could get off on the right foot if a job was waiting for him. As a result House employment contacts in the community have been cultivated with good results.³⁴

Costs

It is difficult to describe the typical costs of maintaining a halfway house program due to the wide difference in operating complexity. For the house with the minimum of and small number of residents, the costs are much less

³³Blacker and Kantor, op.cit., p. 22.

³⁴Robert Bruce House, op.cit., p. 8-9.

compared to a program such as St. Leonard's for which the monthly expenditures run "approximately \$4,000."³⁵

In comparison to the cost of confinement in the traditional correctional facility, the halfway house residence involves in the majority of instances, less cost. Alper provides the following summary for comparative purposes:

Purely on a capital expenditure basis. . .to provide one bed in reformatory or correctional institution say, of intermediate range. costs somewhere in the vicinity of \$15,000 to \$20,000. This includes land, buildings, equipment and facilities. Thus, at 5% per annum, there is a fixed charge of \$750 to \$1,000 per bed, to which must be added an annual cost of from \$2,000 to \$4,000 per inmate.

By contrast, care in residential centers can be a distinct bargain to the taxpayer. Adequate quarters for up to 25 person can be purchased on the current market for under \$50,000 for land and building, or rented at an annual cost of less than \$200 per resident.

The fixed charges of penal establishments of the stone and steel variety, once reared, cannot be reduced or eliminated-except by pulling the institutions themselves down. Community residences, on the other hand, may be leased or purchased at much more nominal prices. One fine house in a residential setting was bought and remodeled in 1963 for \$50,000. It accommodates 20 men at a time, for an average stay of two months each-or 120 men per year. The fixed cost here, in other words, is approximately \$2,500 per bed, as against six to eight times that amount in a traditional institution. And if this residential experiment should fail, the property can be sold at no great loss in market value because of the use to which it has been devoted. How many bidders would appear if a prison that failed were to be put on the block?³⁶

³⁵Leonard's House. "Cumulative Monthly Financial Report," June, 1966. St. Leonard's, Chicago, Illinois.

³⁶Alper, op.cit., p. 11.

Summary

The typical halfway house is located in a semi-residential, rooming house area. It is centered to provide easy excess to transportation, jobs, and commercial areas of the city. Although often meeting neighborhood opposition, there is evidence that such opposition can be lessened with a thorough public relations campaign enlisting the support of community leaders in the area before the house is established.

The physical facility is rarely luxurious but comfortable and providing a "home-like" atmosphere. Rules and regulations are usually minimum with the residents themselves doing much of the informal enforcement. The treatment program varies from one house to the next but usually involves a combination of individual counseling and group therapy. The number of staff and their professional experience depends on the size of the house and the finances available. Often residents themselves fill many of the staff positions.

Available information on costs indicates that the halfway house is less expensive to maintain than the usual correctional institution.

CHAPTER IV

PRE-RELEASE PROGRAMS

Introduction

In addition to those programs that can be defined as halfway houses, there are other types of programs that have proven effective in providing a transitional step between the institution and the community. These programs are varied, some very recent, others having been in use for a number of years. This chapter was written to review briefly a selected number of these programs. Alternatives do exist to the halfway house post-release program that may in the long-run be even more effective for the majority of inmates. In the future the majority of offenders may pass through a halfway-in or preventive halfway house leaving only a small number of offenders as residents of the traditional prison. The possibility of this remains in the future. If the halfway-out type of facility remains concerned with the "homeless man" leaving the prison, there remains a large number of men and women lacking support during the transitional stage. These inmates should receive the benefits of other types of programs designed to make their return to the community more successful. Some of these alternative programs are reviewed in this chapter.

The Work Camp

Work camps have been used for many years as a substitute for the traditional prison or training school detention. The state of California has used this type of program extensively both on the county and state level.¹ The Directory of State and Federal Corrections published in 1960, listed twenty-two state camps in nine states.² Only a portion of the camps in existence are organized strictly as prerelease camps. For the most part, these prerelease camps are organized by prison and parole authorities to prepare men for return to the community through use of group orientation programs and relaxation of custodial restrictions.³

As one example of such a program, the state of Michigan opened its first prerelease camp in April of 1953. Pre-parolees spend an average of three and a half weeks in camp before receiving a certificate of parole. Ninety-five percent of those men approved for parole pass through this camp. The camp, located about a half mile from the main prison

¹Ruth Shole Cavan, Juvenile Delinquency (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1962), 322-324.

²Directory of State and Federal Correctional Institutions of the United States, Canada, England, and Scotland. American Correction Association, New York, June, 1961. As cited in Cavan, Ibid., 324.

³Richard W. Nice, "Halfway House Aftercare for the Released Offender," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 10, No. 1 (June, 1964), 9.

building in Jackson, has a bed capacity of 125. The men in the camp never return to the main prison, except in the case of serious misconduct. Work, lectures delivered by professionals from the outside community, and group discussion sessions make up the program.⁴

Federal Pre-Release Guidance Centers

More than any other recent program, the establishment of the Federal Pre-Release Guidance Centers has given impetus to the rapid move toward programs designed as intermediate stage. Glaser gave a brief consideration to this Federal program which was initiated during his own research dealing with the effectiveness of the American prison system. He made the following statement:

The period in which our research program was conducted saw the beginning of what I believe will be the most important breakthrough in this century for increasing the rate of prisoner rehabilitation—that is, the establishment of pre-release guidance centers in the large urban areas from which most prisoners come, to provide an intermediate condition either between probation and prison or between prison and parole or expiration-of-sentence discharge.⁵

Although often referred to as halfway houses, these centers do not fit into this classification. The program shares much in common with the typical halfway house program

⁴Gus Harrison, "The Michigan Parole Camp," Focus, Vol. 33, No. 2 (March, 1954), 37-42.

⁵Daniel Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System (Indianapolis: The Boobs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1964) 415.

but emphasis is definitely on the fact that the residents are under custody. Although much freedom of movement in the community is allowed, they are still residents of an institution and legally confined. "Unauthorized absence from the project can result in the issuance of a federal warrant."⁶

Robert F. Kennedy, at that time Attorney General, in writing about the early formulation of the plan for pre-release centers made this comment:

We wanted more than just a shelter. We wanted to develop a center where in addition to the basic needs of food and a room the released inmate would be helped to obtain a job, where he would be given the support and guidance to enable him to live with his emotional problems, and where he might make the transition from institutional to community life less abruptly, less like slamming into a brick wall. We wanted a center which would be his sponsor in the "free world", introducing him to community life gradually and withdrawing when the process was completed. Ex-prisoners in all age groups need this kind of assistance, but we decided to start with the juveniles and youths.⁷

From this basic conception the organization of the program had its beginning. Early in 1961, the Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, recommended to the Congress that funds be appropriated to the Bureau of Prisons for the specific purpose of establishing a series of experimental projects to test improved methods for the treatment of juvenile and

⁶Nice, Op.cit., 10.

⁷Robert F. Kennedy, "Halfway Houses Pay Off," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 10, No. 1 (January, 1964), 3.

youthful offenders committed to his custody by the Federal Courts. The existing Federal Juvenile Delinquency Act and the Federal Youth Corrections Act gave the Bureau of Prisons the authority to establish and operate such programs, the only aspect needing legislative approval was in the area of appropriations.⁸ Title 18 of the U.S. Code- Crimes and Criminal Procedure is the only statute that actually recognizes the Pre-Release Guidance Center Program.⁹ This existing legislative authority is the reason the project was limited to juveniles.

The Pre-Release Guidance Center program, for American corrections and especially for the Bureau of Prisons, represented a major innovation. There was no traditional foundation of information to utilize. Previously existing private programs of the halfway house variety had little information of any depth to offer. So the program was pretty much a "start from scratch" operation and represented a "trail-blazing enterprise."¹⁰

⁸U.S. Bureau of Prisons. Project Design: Pre-Release Guidance Centers. Unpublished Memorandum: U.S. Department of Justice, Revised, 1965, p. 1.

⁹Interview with Gerald Collins, Director, Federal Pre-Release Guidance Center, Kansas City, Missouri, October 13, 1966.

¹⁰John J. Galvin, (ed), Treating Youth Offenders in The Community An account of a new approach in correctional treatment launched by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons in the Fall of 1961. (Washington, D.C.: Correctional Research Associates, June, 1966), 53.

The first center was established in the middle part of 1961 in Chicago. Space for the center is leased on the fifth floor of the Y.M.C.A. Hotel. Residents of the Center are members of the Y.M.C.A. and participate fully in all of the facilities and programs which are provided. They purchase their meals in the cafeteria and coffee shop located in the building.¹¹

In August, 1961 the Los Angeles Guidance Center was opened. It is located in a private building located in a residential neighborhood. This building is leased by the Bureau and has been renovated to provide suitable office, recreational, bedroom and kitchen space.¹² The building was formerly occupied by a small college and is ideally located near the downtown Los Angeles area.¹³

The Center in New York City is operated under contract with Springfield College, Springfield, Massachusetts. This college has long been associated with the training of staff to work in a variety of community agencies. Under the provisions of the contract, the college provides the staff for the Center from its faculty and alumni. Since July 1, 1964, the Center has been located on the third floor of the Christ

¹¹Interview with John T. Kilkeary, Director, Federal Pre-Release Guidance Center, Chicago, Illinois, October 25, 1966.

¹²Project Design: Pre-Release Guidance Centers, op.cit., p. 3.

¹³Ibid.

Presbyterian Church Community House.¹⁴

The staffs of the Los Angeles and Chicago centers were selected from among social workers and correctional officers who had worked for many years with juveniles and youths in Federal institutions. These two centers therefore reflected the orientation of the professional with direct experience with the offender. The New York Center was academic in its orientation, its staff being drawn entirely from the students and faculty of Springfield College.¹⁵

The fourth center was opened during January of 1963 in Detroit. The Detroit Center is operated as a joint project by the Federal Bureau of Prisons and Michigan Department of Corrections. A building formerly used as a children's home was leased and converted into space suitable for a center. One of the staff members is an employee of the Michigan Department of Corrections. The population and operating expenses for the center are contributed on an equal basis by the two agencies involved.¹⁶

Originally the Detroit Center was unique as a result of this joint state and federal involvement. However, experience revealed that there were too few youthful inmates in Federal

¹⁴Richard Heaney, "Corrections Today," Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference of Superintendents of Correctional Institutions for Girls and Women, (Nashville, Tenn., 1965), p. 4.

¹⁵Kennedy, op.cit.

¹⁶Galvin, op.cit., p. 49.

institutions from New York City to make full use of a twenty to twenty-five bed Pre-Release Center. With Bureau approval, Springfield College contracted with the New York State Parole Board to accept youthful state parolees into the program and this went into effect in the spring of 1964.¹⁷ This type of arrangement may become standard for most of the centers after more evaluation takes place.

A center was opened in Washington, D. C. in July 1965 as a cooperative project involving the Bureau of Prisons, District of Columbia Department of Corrections and the United Planning Organization, a community coordinating agency which administers funds from a number of government grants. Staff is contributed by each of the three agencies involved. The program is similar to the Chicago Center with considerable emphasis being placed on casework with residents and family members. The youths are also encouraged to involve themselves in the Y.M.C.A. where the center is located and in community activities.¹⁸

The sixth and last center was established in Kansas City, Missouri in the early part of 1966. It is located in the Y.M.C.A. building and is very similar to the Chicago Center program.¹⁹

¹⁷Galvin, op.cit., p. 49.

¹⁸Project Design, op.cit., p.4.

¹⁹Interview with Gerald Collins, op.cit.

In other words, three basic types of models of guidance center design have been utilized in the project. The first is an independent residential unit staffed and operated by the Bureau of Prisons; the second is a residential unit under the supervision of a private agency or institution with which the Bureau of Prisons contracts for services. The third design involves the establishment of a center jointly operated by the Bureau of Prisons and a state or local correctional agency.

As to formal research dealing with these centers, there has been only one major operational study. When the Detroit Center was established, additional finances were needed before it could be put into operation. The Ford Foundation was approached and a grant was received with the stipulation that a portion of the funds would be used for evaluative research. As a result, the Detroit Center was evaluated by faculty from the University of Michigan. The study procedures included: (1) interviews with staff and residents (2) direct participant observation (3) administration of a questionnaire (4) some review of the file material. The study was conducted during the formation period of the Center- January through August of 1963. All findings relate, therefore, only to that period of time and to the Detroit Center.²⁰

The most crucial issue in the Detroit Center was whether or not the Federal Government and a State correctional

²⁰Galvin, op.cit., p. 78-79.

department could successfully carry out a joint project. The evaluative study proved very positive on this question and, as has already been mentioned, paved the way for a similar program in several other centers.²¹

A few of the criticisms from the report were: (a) tendency for the program to move toward institutionalization as a consequence of seeking pragmatic solutions to short-run problems, (b) failure to relate the offender to the parole or probation office and their supervisory function, and (c) too great an emphasis upon employment problems resulting in the neglect of social needs.²²

Other than the Detroit study very little has been published along research lines. There are research projects taking place, particularly on the part of graduate students employed in the centers. This work is done in conjunction with thesis and desertation work but little has been published.²³

The basic principles underlying the Pre-Release Guidance Centers are the following:

²¹Ibid., p. 130-135.

²²Ibid.

²³Interview with John T. Kilkeary, op.cit. *After writing this chapter the writer received a copy of a research proposal for the Pre-Release Guidance Center, Kansas City, Missouri. The study is entitled "Guidance Center Procedures: Quantification and Appraisal". The results should prove informative when they are made available.

(1) Offenders transferred to the centers are limited to males,²⁴ the majority of whom have been committed under the provisions of the Federal Juvenile Delinquency Act or the Federal Youth Corrections Act. A maximum of twenty-five residents reside in center at any one time. With rare exceptions, only youths from metropolitan areas where the centers are located are accepted.

(2) The majority of offenders are in pre-release status and have established release dates, either by parole or by mandatory release. Occasionally, youths committed by Federal Courts for periods of study and observation are sent to the centers in order to meet specific needs they present, particularly in developing plans for supervision. Offenders transferred to the centers remain the custody of the Attorney General under conditions of minimum supervision. The average stay in the center prior to release to the community is from ninety to one hundred twenty days. Considerable flexibility is utilized in determining the actual release date depending on the needs of the individual offender.

(3) Youths who appear ready to return to the community but who need guidance and assistance in locating employment and in becoming established in socially acceptable patterns of community living are transferred to the centers. Selection is the joint responsibility of the Youth Division of the Board of Parole and the staff of the Bureau of Prisons. An occasional youth who presents very serious emotional problems, especially if he has a history of violent or extremely aggressive behavior may be excluded. The vast majority of offenders have been committed for offenses against property such as auto thefts, postal thefts and check forgeries.

(4) All youths residing in the centers are, as promptly as circumstances permit, assisted in locating suitable jobs in the community where they will work on a regular basis. Every effort is made to secure a job which is related to training received in the institution.

(5) With the assistance of the center staff, each resident is introduced to individuals and agencies in the

²⁴This obviously has been changed since the writer was informed during the visit to the Chicago Center that several rooms were being used by females. However, I have found no mention of this in the literature and the remark was only made in passing.

community which provide opportunities for community relationships in areas such as education, religion and recreation.

(6) The staff at the centers provide a continuing guidance and counseling program designed to assist the offender in resolving problems he encounters in his period of post-release adjustment.

(7) Early in the resident's stay at the center, he becomes acquainted with his United States Probation Officer who will supervise him in the community when he leaves the center. The Probation Officer assumes increasing responsibility for guidance and supervision during the period of residence at the center. All major program decisions and release planning are coordinated with the Probation Officer.²⁵

While the program provided at the six centers varies to some degree there is a fundamental uniformity in the program design as reflected in the previously quoted principles. In general, the project can be divided into three basic areas:

- (1) Employment placement.
- (2) Individual and group counseling.
- (3) Introduction to community agencies and resources.²⁶

As mentioned in the principles, the centers accept only those youths who are legal residents of the metropolitan areas in which the guidance centers are located. This policy was adopted because of the belief it would be inadvisable to relocate offenders in an urban area simply because there was a center available. In addition, it was found that community leaders were willing to accept the guidance center for young men from their own area, but were reluctant to accept

²⁵Project Design, op.cit., p.p. 1-2.

²⁶Heaney, op.cit., p. 5.

offenders from homes in other cities.²⁷ The center program is geared to reintroduce the offender gradually to his community so that adjustment occurs. This effort is, to a large, pointless when you are encouraging the resident to become a part of a community, both socially and economically, in which he will not remain.

One aspect of the program, for instance, is to gradually move the center residents back into their homes and neighborhoods by a progressive system of weekend privileges. These visits in the homes of parents, wives and other interested relatives are an integral part of the guidance center program. Under this system, residents spend more and more time away from the center as they move through the program and demonstrate their readiness for increased responsibility.²⁸ This aspect of the center program would prove almost impossible if the offender were not a resident of the metropolitan area.

The staff is usually made-up of the following: Center Director, Caseworker, Employment Specialist, Correctional Counselor, Secretary and Student Assistants.²⁹

The recidivism reports from the centers encourage support for the program. However, the first reports were

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Project Design, op.cit., 5-6.

²⁹Ibid., p. 7-9.

influenced by various factors. For instance:

The first selections for the program were very clearly screened. The program had to show success in the community. Many of the first residents could have succeeded if simply given \$100 and released on a city corner.³⁰

The program is unrealistic for all offenders- first offenders and others don't need this program. We are dealing with the bottom of the barrel- men who have no community resources and few personal resources. They need help in finding employment and residence and they have poor working relations with authority figures.³¹

The first statement reflects the caution characteristic of the beginning of the program. The second statement illustrates the confidence the centers now feel in dealing with poor adjustment cases.

Recidivism studies failed to show that during their first full year of operation the initial three centers had any measurable impact on the residents. The recidivism rate was 37.7 percent. After the second full year of operation the rate had fallen down to 30.3 percent. According to Richard Heaney, Deputy Assistant Director of the Bureau of Prisons at that time, this was a considerable percentage of successes when compared to the usual 50% to 60% success rate found in youth and juveniles released from institutions.³²

³⁰Interview with John T. Kilkeary, op.cit.

³¹Interview with Gerald Collins, op.cit.

³²Heaney, op.cit., p. 7.

This statement appeared in 1964 in a periodical:

During the two years of operation, only forty-nine of 396 boys helped in such centers were returned to prison for parole violations. Mr. Kennedy reports that, by contrast, 902 out of 1,923 youths judged to be comparable parole risks, who were released directly from prison, were soon back in again because of violations.³³

An article appearing in the October 10, 1966, issue of The Messenger concerning the Kansas City Center gave the following statistics:

Of the 30 releases from the center since its origin last spring, only two have allegedly violated. Thirteen residents have been re-transferred to correctional type institutions prior to release as not amenable to the center programs.³⁴

The re-transferred residents mentioned above illustrate the advantage of the Pre-Release Guidance Centers. These men are still in custody. If it is determined that they are poor risks they can be returned to an institution with parole deferred until a later date. This practice would affect the statistics of recidivism but at the same time it must be kept in mind that supposedly the centers are dealing with the "bottom of the barrel."

Although this program has had a great impact on the corrections field, it is too early to draw any firm conclusions as to the degree of success they have had. As was

³³"Halfway Houses," America, Vol. III, August, 29, 1964, p. 205.

³⁴Bill Brown, "Federal System Initiates Pre-Release Guidance Centers," The Messenger, Missouri Correction Association, Vol. 1, No. 3 (October 10, 1966), 3.

mentioned, only one operational study has been conducted. As more research is completed it will be possible to evaluate the program more conclusively. However, even at this point, most authorities are convinced such programs hold tremendous promise for prisoner rehabilitation.³⁵

The Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1965

On September 10, 1965, President Johnson signed into law the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act which authorizes furloughs to Federal prisoners for a variety of purposes, allows selected inmates to work at gainful occupations or study in the community with continuing residence in the institutions and enables the establishment of community residential centers. This act was the most important single piece of legislation to advance correctional practices in the Federal Government since the Bureau of Prisons was created in 1930.³⁶

The law gave the Department of Justice much needed additional latitude in dealing with the adult offender. Such latitude already existed in respect to the juvenile and youthful offender falling under the Federal Juvenile Corrections Act and the Federal Youth Corrections Act.

³⁵Refer to the Appendix for further information.

³⁶Myrl E. Alexander, Preliminary Progress Report on Use of Public Law 80-176- The Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1965. U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons. January 21, 1966, p. 1. Refer to Appendix for copy of Public Law 89-176.

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The residential community treatment center.--These centers, to which the Act authorizes the Attorney General to commit and transfer adult prisoners, will be similar to the Pre-Release Guidance Centers now operated for juvenile and youthful offenders. In the new Act there is no provision prohibiting the use of such centers for prerelease purposes. Offenders may be committed to a community center at any time during their sentence- even directly from the court. In effect, this represents a treatment concept intermediate between probation and institutions and between institutions and parole supervision.³⁷

The writer has found no facility established exclusively as a Federal residential community treatment center as of this date. What appears to be happening at this early stage is the entering of agreements or contracts by the Bureau of Prisons with already existing private or public halfway houses. For instance, in correspondence with Harry A. Manley, Executive Director of Shaw Residence, mention is made of a recent change in their intake policy:

. . . . our intake criteria have changed considerably in that we are currently taking individuals from the U.S. Bureau of Prisons and the D.C. Department of Corrections in pre-release and work release categories.

These changes in criteria enable us not only to accept new categories of offenders but also fulfill

³⁷Edward V. Long, Chairman, U.S. Senate Subcommittee on National Penitentiaries, "The Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1965," Federal Probation, Vol. 29 (December, 1965), 4.

the practical need we have to develop support for our Residence because in January, 1967, we will no longer have funds from MIMH.³⁸

The request for information from the Bureau of Prisons concerning this aspect of the program resulting from the passing of the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act has brought little result. When compared to the information furnished on work release and furloughs the writer receives the impression that these two areas are receiving the greater attention at this early stage. After more time has elapsed and if the Bureau of Prisons continues to contract with private half-way houses, it will be interesting to observe what effect this will have on the already existing programs of these facilities.

Unescorted furloughs.--Unescorted furloughs for inmates of Federal institutions are permitted as another provision of the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1965. Under the plan, an inmate may leave the institution without staff escort for a short period up to thirty days,³⁹ for constructive and worthwhile purposes. These include a visit to a dying relative, contacting a prospective employer and "any other

³⁸Letter from Harry A. Manley, Executive Director, Bureau of Rehabilitation, Shaw Residence, Washington, D.C., October 17, 1966.

³⁹Prior to the signing of the Act, an adult Federal prisoner who was permitted to visit a sickbed or attend a funeral had to be accompanied by a Federal officer. The transportation and other expenses of the officer were paid by the prisoner or his family.

compelling reason consistent with the public interest."⁴⁰

Briefly the guidelines in the furlough program are as follows: The Warden or Superintendant of each institution has the final responsibility for granting or denying a furlough. Prerequisite to consideration is minimum custody status, which is based on such factors as nature of offense, length of sentence and conduct within the institution. Inmates identified with organized criminal activities and those serving sentences for violent crimes are not considered eligible. Generally no more than four family furloughs per year will be granted to one inmate. When other furloughs are granted they are based on the particular needs of the offender involved. The inmate or his family will provide all funds for furlough visits but under the 1965 Act these expenses exist for the inmate alone. Time in the community on furlough is creditable to authorized sentence. When a furlough is authorized the U.S. Probation Officer in the District into which the prisoner will travel is notified and the inmate reports by telephone when he arrives.⁴¹

This program allows the inmate to go into the community to look for jobs during the weeks before release. It would permit him to take short-term training or vocation courses

⁴⁰Myrl E. Alexander, Policy Statement: Inmate Furloughs. U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons, Washington D.C. Sept. 1, 1965.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 2

in the community. The new furlough program involves no direct costs to the Government.⁴²

Work release.--Perhaps the most significant and far-reaching provision of the new law is that which allows the prisoner to work at paid employment or participate in training programs in the community. Under the plan, a prisoner may be authorized to work at private employment in the community during the daytime and spend his nights and weekends in the institution to which he was committed for service of his term of imprisonment.⁴³ It has already been noted that the prisoner may actually be placed in an approved halfway house facility while involved in this program.

The work-release concept, although more than fifty years old, has been accepted in many States only recently. The so-called "Huber Law", which was enacted in Wisconsin in 1913, is the pioneer legislation in this field. Since then, at least twenty-four States have made legal provision for some form of work-release.⁴⁴

These state programs are primarily for misdemeanants. However, North Carolina pioneered in extension of the program to felons in 1957.⁴⁵ In 1964, the State of Maryland

⁴²Long, op.cit., p. 6.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Galvin, op.cit., p. 25.

⁴⁵Ruth Shonle Cavan, "Emphasis for the Future-Social Absorption," Key Issues: A Journal of Controversial Issues in Criminology, Vol. 2 (1965), 52.

made its program applicable to any inmate, regardless of the length of sentence.⁴⁶

The following statement, concerning the California work-release program appropriately illustrates the general approach by most states having the program:

Under a cooperative state-local program, selected state inmates may be transferred to local jails. They are permitted to leave the jail during working hours in order to hold a job. Their earnings pay confinement costs, help in family support, and are applied to other obligations. Work furlough is designed to cut correctional and welfare costs while providing realistic training, retention of family ties and a controlled transition to community life.⁴⁷

An Amendment was added to the work release provision of the Federal Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1965 intended to insure that the plan will not contribute to local unemployment problems nor undercut locally prevailing wage standards and working conditions.⁴⁸

In summary the following are guidelines for the program: The inmates must volunteer for the program and must apply on a prescribed form.⁴⁹ Full minimum custody is a prerequisite in all cases. The program is not intended to be made available to all who may be technically "eligible."

⁴⁶Long, op.cit.

⁴⁷California Corrections: A Program Summary, Youth and Adult Corrections Agency, Department of Corrections, Sacramento, California, June, 1964.

⁴⁸Long, op.cit.

⁴⁹Refer to Appendix for sample of the forms used in the Federal Work-Release Program.

There must be indicated need. Preference is given to candidates whose residence is in the vicinity of the institution or for whom release plans in the vicinity are reasonable and appropriate. However, inmates may be recommended for transfer to another institution operating a Work Release program. No general restrictions are imposed on the kinds of Work Release jobs for which the inmate may be considered. Work Release inmates pay their share of transportation costs and reimburse the institution for their board, etc. Inmates in Work Release status live in specially designed quarters. All inmates admitted to Work Release status remain in the technical custody of the Attorney General. Any inmate who willfully absconds shall be considered to have escaped from custody. Only the Warden or Superintendent is empowered to admit an inmate to Work Release status and to remove him. These actions are based on the recommendations of the Classification Committee.⁵⁰

To summarize the progress of this program after one year of operation, the following statements are taken from a report submitted to the White House by Myrl E. Alexander, Director of the Bureau of Prisons:

More than 95 percent of the 1,400 participants have either successfully completed the experience or are continuing to participate at the close of the first year. That is, less than 5 percent have been removed for any reason.

⁵⁰Myrl E. Alexander, Director, Policy Statement: Work Release Policies and Procedure. U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons, Washington D.C., Sept. 27, 1965, p. 1-8.

A survey of the 27 institutions which have participated in the work release program shows that the inmates earned \$762,260.

They have paid \$79,656 in Federal, state and local taxes, and have paid \$28,650 into the social security trust fund.

In addition, they have forwarded \$137,797 to dependent family members, enabling some dependents to leave the public welfare rolls.

These work releasees also have contributed \$186,400 to the economies of the communities in which they work, with the majority of expenditures going for transportation, food, work clothing and similar needs.

Since June 1, 1966, they have also reimbursed the government at the rate of \$2 per day for their food and quarters within the institution, and \$12,793 has been returned to the treasury as miscellaneous receipts. This amount will be substantially larger in the future as the number of inmates on work release expands.

Finally, these inmates have accumulated in their personal saving accounts \$272,140 which will be made available to them upon release from confinement.⁵¹

The Work Release Program, although very young, has already shown great success both in terms of dollars and in facilitating the transition from the prison to community life.

Conclusion

The work camp, pre-release residential center, work furlough, and work release represent further efforts to bridge the gap between the institution and the community. These programs promise to contribute not only a reduction

⁵¹Myrl E. Alexander, Progress Report on Work Release Program-Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1965, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C., Sept. 21, 1966.

in recidivism rates but to a general improvement in the overall efforts of rehabilitation of the offender. Although some individual states may feel the costs of establishing pre-release centers to be prohibitive, the work furlough and work release programs are considered on the whole to be self-supporting programs. For this reason alone these programs should receive serious consideration from state correctional departments.

CHAPTER V

THE HALFWAY HOUSE MOVEMENT IN KANSAS

Introduction

This report was written as a broad general survey of the halfway house concept and its current application to the offender in the United States. Research into the halfway house movement revealed that particular states are moving rapidly to establish halfway programs. This chapter was written to bring attention to the status of the halfway house movement in Kansas and to review certain programs active in the state that serve to make the transition from confinement to the community more conducive to successful adjustment.

The Halfway House Program for Adult Offenders

It is evident that if any type of state sponsored halfway house program develops in Kansas it will take place on the juvenile offender level rather than for the adult offender. While state officials concerned with youth corrections appeared to be in favor of such a program, adult correction officials tended to be expressly neutral or negative.

In a recent interview, Mr. W. C. Henry, Director of the Kansas Board of Probation and Parole, expressed his position as neutral:

General opinion regarding halfway houses falls into three categories: very pro, very con, and a "wait and see" position. I prefer to wait and see what happens. These programs are very new and more time for evaluation needs to be allowed.¹

Mr. Charles McAtee, Director of the Kansas Penal Institutions, made his opinion of the future of such a program in Kansas very clear:

My opinion is negative and I see no such program being established in the future. A halfway house is just another institution. The prisoner who is basically capable of rehabilitation should never have been isolated and alienated completely from society to begin with- then no halfway house would be necessary.²

The state of Kansas has an infant program for adults that may eventually serve as a prerelease camp program. The camps are referred to as Honor Camps and are three in number: Toronto Reservoir, Tuttle Creek Reservoir, Pornona Reservoir. A similar but non-resident program exists at the Kansas State Reformatory where work details commute weekdays between the Industrial Reformatory at Hutchison and jobs at either Cheney Reservoir, Kanapolis Reservoir or the state fairgrounds at Hutchison.³

Other than a full work day there is no other type of rehabilitation program in evidence in these camps. At its inception the program was handled through the Kansas State

¹Interview with W.C. Henry, Director, Kansas Board of Probation and Parole, Topeka, Kansas, October 12, 1966.

²Interview with Charles McAtee, Director, Kansas Penal Institutions, Topeka, Kansas, October 12, 1966.

³Lynn Holt, "Honor Camps Offer 'Chance to Mature'," Walls and Barriers, A Series on Kansas' Penal System, 1965. The Wichita Eagle, November 14-December 22, 1965), 59.

Reformatory and budgeted as a separate activity of the Reformatory. All men assigned to the program came through the Reformatory. Even if the specialized services of an inmate in the state penitentiary were needed, he had to first be transferred to the Reformatory, then to the honor camp. Originally designed for the placement of the younger first offender assigned to the Reformatory, the program was opened to transfer of older inmates from the state prison.⁴

From the interview with Mr. McAtee, Director of Kansas Penal Institutions, it was apparent that little formal organization of the program exists. The program itself was only recently transferred to his office from the Kansas Industrial Reformatory. When a request was made for literature on the program, the author was informed that none existed with the exception of the one article appearing in the Wichita Eagle. Mr. McAtee made the following statement concerning the Honor Camp program:

There has never been any substantive legislation approved for this program. Its existence was recognized only through appropriations to the Reformatory and Park Service. The program has only recently been transferred to this office.⁵

The future of the program at this point is vague. However, future efforts could very well utilize the present

⁴Ibid., p. 61.

⁵Interview with Mr. Charles McAtee, op.cit.

beginnings to develop a prerelease camp program similar to that of Michigan and other states.

Inquiries into the existence of privately supported halfway house programs for adult offenders proved fruitless. Only one such program appears to exist in this section of the state and efforts to secure information from this program have not produced any response as yet. The program is known as The Halfway House of Topeka, Inc., located at 1619 W. 6th and is supposedly a halfway house for male alcoholics.⁶

Halfway House Programs for Youths

A survey report done in the spring of 1964 gives some indication of the direction and status of state programs for youthful offenders. The report was based upon replies from twenty-nine jurisdictions. The report will be briefly summarized with emphasis placed on those facts relating to the halfway house question in Kansas:

A growing concern about juvenile delinquency and an increased emphasis upon treatment was evident from reports by the states of new treatment programs initiated during the past two years or so. With few exceptions, states participating in this survey reported that they had begun new treatment programs and also strengthened and expanded some

⁶Mr. W.C. Henry first mentioned a halfway house did exist in Topeka but he could provide no information. Through a telephone conversation with the Topeka 7th Step Chapter the address was acquired but no response to inquiries for information have been received.

existing ones. Though the interest in the halfway houses was great, only five of the responding jurisdictions said they had such facilities in operation at the time of the survey. They were: California, Michigan, New York,⁷ Puerto Rico, and Washington. Slightly over one-half of the responding states said that they operated camps for delinquent youth- Kansas was not among them.⁸ Ten of the reporting twenty-nine jurisdictions had plans to establish halfway houses. Kansas was listed as simply stating a plan to examine the need for halfway houses.⁹

During the two years that have elapsed since the above survey was made, a halfway house program for juveniles has been established in Kansas.

The following statement was taken from the original proposal submitted to the Kansas legislature for the establishment of halfway houses. The houses were to be in the larger towns under the supervision of the Boys Industrial School and the State Department of Social Welfare:

Finances are requested to establish two group residences or "halfway houses." Some children cannot return to their own homes because of personality, age,

⁷These programs were mentioned in Chapter I of this report.

⁸The Honor Camps mentioned earlier were established for youthful offenders the year following this survey.

⁹Some Developments in State Juvenile Delinquency Programs. A Report Based on Questionnaire results Collected by the Advisory Committee of State Officials to the National Governors' Conference Committee. (January, 1965), 1-7.

or family problems. Neither can some of these children adjust to the typical foster home. The halfway houses, staffed appropriately, can be used until independent living can be effected. These group residences, generally for the older boy, can allow considerable freedom in community movement, with rules and work responsibility within the residences. Boys can be helped to secure employment toward eventual independence or assisted in completing a plan for school work on either academic or vocational basis. The halfway house may also serve as an interim period for return to the family. It is a valuable asset in the rehabilitation process as it serves to strengthen the boy's ability to establish new and healthy friendships and group associations.¹⁰

According to Mr. Jack C. Pulliam, Superintendent of the Boys Industrial School, the legislature agreed this was a good idea, but the state had two vacant ten-bed cottages at the Kansas Children's Receiving Home in Atchison, so it was suggested that these be used.¹¹

Thus with the approval of the state legislature, these two cottages were designated for use in the pilot program that began July 1, 1965. The boys are transferred from the Boys Industrial School in Topeka to Atchison.¹²

At present there are eighteen boys in residence, all attending school in Atchison. The staff consists of five cottage parents and a Psychiatric Social Worker I.¹³

¹⁰Proposal for After-Care Services. Boys Industrial School. Fiscal 1966 Budget Request. (Mimeographed), p. 4.

¹¹Letter from Jack C. Pulliam, Superintendent, Boys Industrial School, Topeka, Kansas, December 1, 1966.

¹²Lynn Holt, "14 Boys Test Pilot Plan In Homelike Atmosphere," Walls and Barriers, op.cit., p. 43-44.

¹³Letter from Jack Pulliam, op.cit.

In an earlier article, Mr. Pulliam expressed concern over the lack of job opportunity in Atchison as the most critical problem. At that time he made the suggestion that halfway houses be established at Wichita and Kansas City, where more jobs would be available.¹⁴ However, in a copy of the budget requests for the next two years, no mention was made of expanding the present program beyond the two cottages in Atchison.¹⁵

In addition to the above pilot program there are private facilities in the state of Kansas that fit the criteria of halfway house. One such group is sponsored by the Episcopal Church and is known as The St. Francis Boy's Homes. The first St. Francis Boys' Home was established at Ellsworth, Kansas in 1945. Three years later, a second home was founded near Salina, Kansas. In 1965 the third home, named Camelot--A St. Francis Boys' Home--was founded near Lake Placid, New York.¹⁶

The homes were established to help boy offenders-- particularly boys involved in the early stages of delinquency. The boys came from different states and are between the ages of twelve and eighteen.

¹⁴Lynn Holt, "14 boys Test Pilot. . . .," op.cit.

¹⁵Mr. Pulliam forwarded to the author rough draft copies of the proposed 1967 and 1968 budget requests.

¹⁶Your Guide to The St. Francis Boys' Home Program, Salina Kansas (January, 1966), 1.

¹⁷Ibid.

In correspondence with Rev. William E. Craig, Director of the Homes, it was clear that they do not feel the term "halfway house" is appropriate to their program:

Instead of a transition program between reformatory or penitentiary and normal community life intended to help a person make that transition, the St. Francis Boys' Homes are instead an alternative to the reformatory and intend to so re-educate and socialize our clients that they can make a satisfactory return without the need of a halfway program. . . .¹⁸

It was evident from this letter that Rev. Craig conceives a halfway house as dealing with offenders after they have been confined. As pointed out in the first chapter of this report, this represents only one category of halfway house. Under the criteria set forth in this report, the St. Francis Boys' Homes are classified as halfway houses falling in Category I- a residential facility used as an alternative to placement in a correctional institution and used often as a condition of probation.

The program meets each of the four criteria stipulated in this report: the homes care for a maximum of 26 boys, the boys are encouraged to participate in normal community life under supervision, there exists a minimum of rules and no formal restraints, and the staff is non-authoritarian with the boys encouraged to participate in decision making.¹⁹

The program is open to all faiths and the boys are referred to the Homes by parents, social agencies and the

¹⁸Letter from Rev. William E. Craig, ph.d., Director, St. Francis Boys' Homes, Salina, Kansas, November 14, 1966.

¹⁹Your Guide to The St. Francis Boys' Home..., op.cit., 1-12.

courts. The actual cost of care is currently \$375 per month. Some social agencies are able to provide \$200 per month for placement in the Homes.²⁰ The facilities at these homes are definitely above average as the cost per boy indicates. On the basis of the material collected the program appears rather exceptional.

The Seventh Step Foundation

There is one program under private direction that deserves consideration in this chapter-first, because it had its origin in Kansas and has spread throughout the country and second, if the statistics quoted are valid, it has been very successful in the rehabilitation of criminals and lastly, because it has drawn such strong criticism on the part of some professionals in the field of corrections.

The 7th Step Foundation- popularly known as Freedom House- had its birth in the mind of one man, Wilbur Power Sewell, now known as Bill Sands. An exconvict himself, Sands spent over two years in San Quentin Prison for the crime of armed robbery. While there, Sands was greatly influenced by Warden Clinton T. Duffey and upon release Sands went "straight." He is author of the current best seller, My Shadow Ran Fast.²¹

²⁰Ibid., p. 3.

²¹Bill D. Schul, "7 Steps to Permanent Freedom," The Elks Magazine, (August, 1966), 10.

In this book, Sands relates how he became interested in helping inmates still in confinement. This involvement became official over twenty years after his release. In the fall of 1963, he convinced the Kansas Department of Penal Institutions and the Warden at Lansing that he should start a pre-release class inside the state prison for the prisoners who would soon be leaving the institution.²²

The class began and today approximately 98% of the inmates given a release date have voluntarily joined the class meeting once a week. Patterned after Alcoholics Anonymous, the convict leaders talk about general problems and encourage the class members to get up and talk about their specific problems.²³

The first class at Lansing developed a creed of seven steps:

1. Facing the truth about ourselves and the world around us, we decided we needed to change.
2. Realizing that there is a Power from which we can gain strength, we have decided to use that Power.
3. Evaluating ourselves by taking an honest self-appraisal, we examined both our strengths and our weaknesses.
4. Endeavoring to help ourselves overcome our weaknesses, we enlisted the aid of that Power.

²²Bill Sands, My Shadow Ran Fast (New York: The New American Library, 1964), 180-181.

²³Schul, op.cit., p. 11.

5. Deciding that our freedom is worth more than our resentments, we are using that Power to help free us from those resentments.

6. Observing that daily progress is necessary, we set an attainable goal toward which we could work each day.

7. Maintaining our own freedom, we pledge ourselves to help others as we have been helped.²⁴

Later a move was made to establish a post-release program. In January, 1965, Freedom House, now officially incorporated as the 7th Step Foundation, was born in Kansas City, Kansas, twenty-five miles from Lansing, Prison. Freedom Houses do not provide room and board. The halfway house concept was vetoed by Sands on the grounds it would develop dependency. The facility usually consists of offices, meeting rooms and a room that serves as a recreational area. Regular post-release meetings are held each Wednesday evening, attended by both the exconvicts and persons from the community interested in helping.²⁵

The sponsorship arrangement of this program has already been discussed in Chapter one of this report. A person from the community sponsors a parolee through financial assistance and help in job placement. The money must be repaid before the sponsor can help another man.²⁶

²⁴Sands, op.cit., p. 183-184.

²⁵Schul, op.cit., p. 34.

²⁶Ibid.

As the 7th Step Foundation grew, it was necessary that it be incorporated as a nonprofit organization and that local boards of directors be established wherever clubs exist. Three clubs presently exist in Kansas- Topeka, Kansas City, and a recently established chapter in Wichita.²⁷

Bill Sands recently stated that during the four years since the program began, 4,000 inmates have graduated from the pre-release classes and 90.3% have been successful on parole.²⁸

During the process of collecting information on half-way houses, the author of this report always asked the opinion of those interviewed concerning the 7th Step program. In all instances, it was skeptical if not negative. The following comments illustrate the strong negative attitude held by several professionals in the field of correction: "we never mention our program in the same breath as the 7th Step Foundation;" "Sands is an expert con artist and Warden Duffey has been duped."

W.C. Henry, Director of the Kansas Board of Probation and Parole, did not make such a strong statement as those above, but his attitude was clearly one of criticism. Among those items mentioned by Mr. Henry were the following: "some of the ex-cons in charge are unstable. Funds are not accounted

²⁷Ibid., p. 35.

²⁸Radio Interview with Bill Sands on the Art Linkletter "House Party Show", November 10, 1966.

for adequately. Their advice often conflicts with that of parole officers. Released offenders who would return to their home communities are persuaded to remain here. It is a place to meet and associate with other exconvicts. False statistics are used."²⁹ Whether these criticisms are just or unjust, the 7th Step Program at this stage appears to be succeeding in filling a very real need in Kansas. A final evaluation of the program must await research study.

In one area, the 7th Step Foundation is in clear agreement with the Director of Penal Institutions in Kansas:

The "hard nose" or "solid" convict won't be reached by a halfway house. . .it is a "headquarters for failure." A guy comes right out of one institution into another. . .it is a crutch. . .we want the men to go to work, integrate back into society. Ten men are helped in our program to the one man in the halfway house and it's a lots cheaper our way.³⁰

The authorities appear willing to grant one major contribution made by the 7th Step program, the program has done more to inform the public about the problems faced by the exconvict than any program sponsored by government agencies in the state of Kansas. The result has been an aroused public interest and involvement that did not exist before the program began.

²⁹Refer to the Appendix for a copy of a memo sent out by the Board of Probation and Parole to all state parole officers concerning the 7th Step Program.

³⁰Interview with Joe Wallace, Director of the Kansas City Chapter of the 7th Step Foundation, October 13, 1966. Kansas City, Missouri.

Summary

The halfway house movement has made little progress in the state of Kansas but it has gained a foothold. It appears to be characteristic of the movement to originate in programs sponsored by the state for juveniles and youths and then to receive greater interest and involvement from correction agencies dealing with adult offenders. This may prove to be the case in Kansas.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

In spite of a good deal of activity in the halfway house field or movement, there has as yet not been an adequate presentation of methods, problems, innovations, experiments, much less results obtained. Much of this lack of information is due to the youth of the movement. When the individual glances over the dates of origin for the programs studied in the preparation of this report, the majority have been established only in the last several years. For those programs existing for a longer period of time, little if any evaluative research was done until recently, with perhaps the exception of the Highfields study. In other words, each new facility opened must still, in a sense, pioneer and learn from experience.

Only two studies have been done to attempt to provide a broad general conception of what is happening on a nationwide basis in the develop of halfway house facilities. The study done by Benedict S. Alper has been used extensively as a source of general information on the subject by students of the movement, and the study by Oliver J. Keller is yet to be published. Both of these studies made no attempt to review the theoretical implications of the halfway house concept. The author of this report outlined these implications and sought to formulate a theoretical framework justifying the approach of the intermediate stage program.

As indicated in the introduction, this report was designed as a wide range investigation of the halfway house concept, the movement based on that concept and its contemporary application to the offender. Due to the fact that the application of this concept is viewed by many as the next major development in the correction field of this country, the author maintains this report has great relevance to the student of criminology and penology.

It was apparent after determining the origin of the halfway house concept and its basic role as a community based transitional step that much confusion existed over the use of the term, "halfway house". The author of the report organized the various types of labels and programs into six categories in the attempt to provide an organized picture of the manner in which the term was being applied. This automatically led to differentiating criteria by which a program could be termed halfway house in approach. The author utilized the criteria formulated by Oliver J. Keller in his study of halfway houses for youthful offenders in the United States. However, the author went further by developing practical and theoretical rationales to justify their selection. These criteria and their application pose an area for further research.

After giving a review of the general characteristics of the residential halfway house, the author then turned to possible alternatives to the halfway house program. These

alternatives are pre-release in nature. The pre-release work camp has been used for a number of years but as of 1960 they were present in only nine states. The federal Pre-Release Guidance Centers for youth Federal offenders begun in 1961 represent the first move of the Federal Government into the area of the community-centered rehabilitation program. The year 1965 marked the passage of the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act providing for unescorted furloughs, work release and the establishment of community residential centers for adult Federal prisoners. These programs and their eventual acceptance and expansion on state level may decrease the need for various categories of halfway houses.

Finding no mention of Kansas in the literature dealing with halfway houses, the author sought to determine the present status and possible future of the halfway house movement in that state. Various private facilities exist and the first effort on the part of the State government to establish halfway homes for youths have taken only within the last year. No plans exist at this time to expand this program to establish halfway houses for adult offenders.

Special mention was made of the Seventh Step Foundation and its program. Although conclusions as to its lasting value must await research study, it is a bold experiment into the use of ex-offenders in the rehabilitation of offenders.

The halfway house movement in its youth and variety of programs presents real difficulty when attempting to measure

its success by recidivism rates. Most programs for public relations reasons alone must provide statistics of success in regard to recidivism. The author found few of these statistics to be based on valid research utilizing control groups. (A small number of programs proved the exception.)

Research is taking place but the author found only two studies with comparative data available at the date of this writing. Although the results are tentative since the programs have been in existence for only the last two to three years, these results have direct bearing on the conclusions reached by the author in respect to the halfway house movement.

Crofton House in San Diego, California found no evidence of any difference (at all) between their experimental and control groups in post-release behavior. The Silverlake Experiment found that in terms of overall success, the control group had a slightly lower recidivism rate than the experimental group. The difference was not statistically significant and it was determined that thus far the two groups are doing the same.

No conclusions may be validly drawn from only two very young programs but their early results should produce caution. The present halfway house movement has a faddish quality about it. As mentioned earlier in this report, on face value it seems a "good thing" for society to provide the released offender with the opportunity to make a gradual transition

from incarceration to a full responsible position in the community. The halfway house approach probably could be justified on humanitarian and practical grounds without even mentioning recidivism rates.

The author noted various areas throughout the report that pose further subjects for research. The question of the development of participant dependency on the halfway program should be studied. The degree of stigmatization attached to participation in such a program should be evaluated and its effect upon successful community adjustment measured. The Seventh Step Foundation has received little study by students of criminology and corrections but it provides a variety of possible research questions. As the programs reviewed in this report gain further maturity, comparative studies of the pre-release type of program and the post-release type of program should be made to determine which is the more effective.

The correspondence, interviews and other sources utilized in the writing of this report were drawn almost entirely from those individuals directly or indirectly involved in the administrative side of the programs studied by the author of this report. As a result, the approach and the conclusions drawn in the report are based upon evaluations of administrative personnel. If the participants in these programs had been interviewed, the views and tentative conclusions drawn by the author regarding the halfway or intermediate stage approach might possibly have been altered.

The author concludes that a final evaluation of the halfway house approach must await the result of further research. If the result proves favorable, as is expected by students of the subject, it is also expected that the governments on both state and federal level will become increasingly involved in sponsoring such programs, either through direct operation or through contracts with private agencies and halfway houses.

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APPENDIX I

INTERNATIONAL HALFWAY HOUSE LISTING

INTERNATIONAL HALFWAY HOUSE ASSOCIATION

Dismas House
Rev. Fred Zimmerman, SJ
903 Cole Street
St. Louis, Mo.

Bridgehaven
1423 South 4th Street
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dismas House
Louisville, Kentucky

Houston Halfway House
Ed Lowrey
2521 Calumet Drive
Houston, Texas

Halfway House
Lutheran Young Adults
823 East 54th Street North
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Oregon Halfway House
Archibald Dry
0245 S.W. Bancroft
Portland, Oregon

Emmanuel House
Mr. Stevenson
304 So. "L" Street
Tacoma 5, Washington

Roncalli House
Brother De Paul
P.O. Box 348
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Martin Inn
Daniel O'Riley
534 No. College Ave.
Indianapolis, Indiana

Alexandrine House
4139 Second Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

308 House
Robert G. Crosswhite
308 West Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Robert Bruce House
Anthony Salerno
139 Clinton Avenue
Newark, N.J.

Watkinson House
Connecticut Halfway Houses, Inc.
10-12 Irving Street
Hartford, Connecticut

Shaw Residence
Bureau of Rehabilitation
Ed Johnson
1770 Park Rd. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Gavin House
James D. Mullen
Director, Arch Foundation
167 Center Street
North Easton, Massachusetts

IN-AS-MUCH, Inc.
Halfway Facility for Young
Men
P.O. Box 3171
Seattle, Washington
John T. Dalton, President

Pre-Release Guidance Center
Gerald Collins
404 East 10th Street
Kansas City, Missouri

This is not a complete listing of all halfway houses in this country, nor do all those listed have a paid membership in The International Halfway House Association. The list includes halfway houses for the mentally ill, alcoholics, drug addicts and offenders.

Halfway Houses- Illinois Massachusetts Maryland Iowa Maine

St. Anthony's Inn
Rev. Phillips Marquard, OFM
110 W. Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois

Pre-Release Guidance Center
YMCA
826 So. Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

St. Leonard's House
Father R. Taylor
2100 Warren Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois

Brooks House
Mass. Halfway Houses, Inc.
Bryan Riley, Executive Director
79 Chandler Street
Boston, Mass.

Halfway House
Mrs. Ward Murphy
P.O. Box 190
Showhegan, Maine
(Women)

Friends of Farmingham
32 Charlotte Street
Dorchester, Mass.

Flynn House
21 West Preston Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Dismas House
Father Francis Tobey, S.J.
101 S. Mount Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Friendship City
Prisoners Rehab. Service
Rev. Orsealyes M. Roberson
925 W. 9th Street
Des Moines, Iowa

American Friends Service Committee
Iowa Halfway House
4211 Grand Avenue
Des Moines, Iowa

St. Anthony's Inn
St. Francis Businessmen
334 South Loomis Street
Chicago, Illinois

Canada

Halfway Houses (2 facilities)
United Church of Christ
Dennis Wignition
549 Burrows Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Before- "553"
After- "549"

St. Lawrence House
Montreal Transition Houses, Inc.
1160, 1245 Sherbrooke St. W.
Montreal 25, Quebec

Harold King Farm
Harold King
P.O. Box 31
Keswick, Ontario

Elizabeth Fry House
20 Maitland Street
Toronto 5, Ontario
(Women)

St. Leonard's House
Rev. T.N. Libby
491 Victoria Avenue
Windsor, Ontario

Beverly Lodge
Capt. Wallace Corey
427 King Street E.
Toronto 2, Ontario

Opportunity Halfway House
E.C. Stacey
716 Bathurst Street
Toronto 4, Ontario

B.C. Borstal Association
5 East Broadway
Vancouver 10, B.C.

Canada (con't)

Hilltop House
9807-107 Street
Edmonton, Alberta

Mel-Mark Farm
Keith Branton
400 Princess Street
Kingston, Ontario

St. Faith's Rehabilitation Centre
Miss Kathlee Hill
P.O. Box 480
The Pas, Manitoba

Sancta Maria House
Mary Ellen Doyle
671 Broadview Avenue
Toronto, Ontario

Wayside House
Box 82 C
Hamilton, Ontario

Plewman and Associates, Ltd.
Richard Plewman
119 George Street
Oakville, Ontario

New York Ohio Pennsylvania

Isaac T. Hopper Home
Doris Whitney
110- 2nd Ave
New York, 3, N.Y.

Springfield Guidance Center
Frank Eldridge
344 W. 36 Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Aftercare Clinic
2 West 13th Street
New York 11, N.Y.

Talbert House
Mr. John M. McCartt
921 Dixie Terminal Bldg.
Cincinnati, Ohio

Vander Meulen House
John G. Woods
R.D. 1
Lucas, Ohio

Hill House
2138 Fairhill Rd.
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Helping Hand Halfway House
Rev. James Redding
1839 E. 85th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

Friends Neighborhood Guild
703 North 8 Street
Philadelphia 23, Pa.

Walton Village
Central YMCA
1420 Arch Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

St. Joseph's House of Hospitality
(St. Vincent de Paul Society)
Pittsburgh, Pa.

The American Baptist House
Mission Society
Valley Forge, Pennsylvania

California

Elizabeth Fry Center
Thomas Nelson
1847 Crenshaw Blvd.
Los Angeles, California
(Women)

Fellowship House
Allied Fellowship
1851 Tenth Ave.
Lillian Stodick
Oakland, California

Austin McCormick House
American Friends Service
1251- 2nd Avenue
San Francisco, California

Howard House
Berkeley Partway House, Inc.
1905 Grove Street
Berkeley, California

Harness House
Mrs. Alice Harness
3310 E. Anderson Street
Stockton, California

California (con't)

Crofton House
Mr. and Mrs. Mark Schiffrin
3000 E. Street
San Diego, California

Residence Club
Salvation Army- Ed Boyle
615 Manhattan Place
Los Angeles, California

Pate House
Santa Clara Halfway House
44 Reed Street
San Jose, California

Midway Center
Volunteers of America
1907 W. 6th Street
Los Angeles, California

Penninsula Halfway House
Rev. Harry Baulch
130 Bayshore
San Mateo, California

North Bay Halfway House
P.O. Box 1575
Richmond, California

Kemp House
J.A. Bouchard
716 South Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles, California

Crittenden Center
2229 Grove Street
Eugene Luttrell
Oakland, California

Federal Pre-Release Guidance Center
Bureau of Prisons, U.S. Dept. of Justice
560 So. St. Louis Street
Ken McDannell
Los Angeles, California

Neighborhood House
Douglas Rigg
1707 Truman Street
Richmond, California

Boys Republic- L.A. Residence
Tony Manocchie
1815 Radcliff Street
Los Angeles, California

East Los Angeles Halfway House
Calif. Dept. Corrections
E.M. Lundberg
244 North Breed Street
Los Angeles, California

Normandie House
CYA Neighborhood Youth
107 South Broadway
Los Angeles, California

CYA Part Way House
Jim Miyano
Crenshaw Blvd.
Los Angeles, California

Mission Neighborhood House
CYA
3410- 19th Street
San Francisco, California

Parkway Center
Community Correctional Center
1212 So. Alvarado Street
Los Angeles, California

Vinewood Center
Miss De La Vigne
1831 Vine Street
Los Angeles, California

APPENDIX II

FEDERAL PRE-RELEASE GUIDANCE CENTERS

The following materials include the U. S. Bureau of Prisons Directory containing a listing of all centers, their locations and directors, a sample of the regulations sent out by the Chicago Center to prospective residents and a sample of a bi-monthly report from the Kansas City Center.

U. S. BUREAU OF PRISONS
 DIRECTORY
 October, 1966

UNITED STATES PENITENTIARIES

Atlanta, Georgia 30315	Olin G. Blackwell	Warden
Leavenworth, Kansas 66048	John T. Willingham	Warden
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania 17837	Jacob J. Parker	Warden
Marion, Illinois 62959	J. A. Mayden	Warden
McNeil Island: Steilacoom, Wash. 98388	Raymond W. Meier	Warden
Terre Haute, Indiana 47808	Preston G. Smith	Warden

FEDERAL REFORMATORIES

Alderson, West Virginia 24910	Gladys V. Bowman	Warden
El Reno, Oklahoma 73036	Arnold E. Pontesso	Warden
Petersburg, Virginia 23804	David M. Heritage	Warden

FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Danbury, Connecticut 06813	Frank F. Kenton	Warden
La Tuna: Anthony, New Mexico-Texas 88021	John E. Moran	Warden
Lompoc, California 93438	Olin C. Minton	Warden
Milan, Michigan 48160	Paul P. Sartwell	Warden
Sandstone, Minnesota 55072	John J. Norton	Warden
Seagoville, Texas 75159	Lawrence Carpenter	Warden
Tallahassee, Florida 32304	Henry J. Davis	Warden
Terminal Island, California 90731	Greig V. Richardson	Warden
Texarkana, Texas 75502	Loren E. Daggett	Warden

YOUTH AND JUVENILE INSTITUTIONS

Federal Youth Center, Ashland, Ky. 41101	Joseph B. Bogan	Director
Federal Youth Center, Englewood, Colo. 80110	Allen Childers	Director
National Training School, Wash., D. C. 20013	Roy Gerard	Supt.
Federal Youth Camp, Box 5087 Tucson, Ariz. 85703	Joseph C. Butner	Admin.

FEDERAL PRISON CAMPS

Eglin Air Force Base, Florida 32542	Stewart K. Reeves	Supt.
Florence, Arizona 85232	Otis Ara	Admin.
Montgomery, Alabama 36112: Maxwell AFB	Warran A. Wirth	Supt.
Safford, Arizona 85546	Paul T. Walker	Admin.

MEDICAL CENTER FOR FEDERAL PRISONERS

Springfield, Missouri 65802	P. J. Ciccone, M. D.	Director
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FEDERAL DETENTION HEADQUARTERS

New York, New York 10014: 427 West St.	Walter W. Fitzpatrick	Warden
Florence, Arizona 85232	Otis Arndt	Admin.

PRE-RELEASE GUIDANCE CENTERS

Chicago, Illinois 60605: 826 S. Wabash Ave.	John T. Kilkeary	Director
Detroit, Michigan 48216: 1950 Trumbull Ave.	Elwood O. Toft	Director
Kansas City, Missouri 64106: 404 E. 10th St.	Gerald A. Collins	Director
Los Angeles, Calif. 90033: 560 S. St. Louis St.	Kenneth McDannell	Director
New York, New York 10018: 344 W. 36th St.	Frank C. Eldridge	Director
Washington, D. C. 20000: 1816 12th St. N. W.	Clarence Guienze	Director

FEDERAL PRE-RELEASE GUIDANCE CENTER
826 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

DATE _____

NAME _____

THE FOLLOWING RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE GUIDANCE CENTER WILL BE FOLLOWED BY THE RESIDENTS AT ALL TIMES. FROM TIME TO TIME ADDITIONAL RULES MAY BE ADDED, BUT THESE WILL BE THE VERY MINIMUM NECESSARY TO INSURE ORDERLY OPERATION OF THE CENTER. WHEN IN DOUBT, CONSULT WITH ONE OF THE STAFF. WE ARE ALL HERE TO BE OF ASSISTANCE.

1. Each resident must remember that he is completely responsible for the accuracy of the sign out log. This must be fully completed at each sign out and it must truly reflect the time the resident left, the correct destination, the purpose of the sign out and the estimated time in. No resident shall leave until the log has been initialed by a member of the staff.

2. Should a resident who has signed out find it necessary to change his plans and return later than planned or to travel to a different destination, he will immediately telephone the Center outlining the change. This is extremely important.

3. Each resident will be required to remain within the Y.M.C.A. Building unless he has properly signed out and has authorized business elsewhere.

4. New residents will remain in the Y.M.C.A. Building on the first 2 days here. For the balance of the week and the second week you may leave the building at staff discretion. On Saturday OR Sunday of the first week you may be given a pass from 8:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. On Saturday AND Sunday of the second week you may be given a pass from 8:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.

During the third week you will have Y.M.C.A. Building privileges, free time evenings after work to 11:00 p.m. when Center programs are not scheduled; pass 8:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. Saturday and Sunday.

5. After a resident has obtained full time work or is enrolled in some other Center approved program, he is eligible for an overnight pass if he is otherwise eligible and has been

in residence here at least four (4) full weeks. Weekend passes from Friday evening until Sunday evening will be considered the 7th weekend in residence. Exceptions to this may be made in the cases of individuals on accelerated programs. All requests for overnight passes must be made out in writing and turned in the Wednesday before the pass is to be effective. Forms are available in the office for this.

6. It is the responsibility of each resident to attend such group meetings as are scheduled. No one shall be excused from these meetings except by a staff member. When hours of employment conflict, the resident should discuss this with the Counselor and undoubtedly will be excused from the meeting.

7. No resident will be permitted to drive a vehicle of any type while at the Center due to the liability which could result to the government in the case of an accident. Also, no resident can purchase, make down payment or in any other way acquire an interest in an automobile while at the Center. You can, however, enroll in the Driver Education Course, where you may drive while under the supervision of the Driver Education Instructor.

8. A resident will be permitted to make one (1) telephone call to his parents the day of his arrival. Thereafter, the telephones in the Center will be for business O N L Y. Any outgoing calls will have to be approved by a staff member.

9. Since you are living in the Y.M.C.A., maid service is provided to maintain a general cleanliness of each room. However, you will be required to see that your clothing is hung up properly and that your bed is made each morning as soon as you arise. Keep your room locked at all times, since you and you alone are responsible for your personal property. Also, do not loan or borrow money or clothing from other residents.

10. Each resident must keep an accurate account of his finances. We will take care of your needs until you receive your first full paycheck. After that you are expected to budget your money and provide for your own food costs, clothing needs, recreation, transportation, etc.. We will continue to pay your room rent at the Y.M.C.A. and take care of most of your medical needs. We have found that the average resident can live well and take care of these needs on \$45.00 per week. We will expect that what you earn over this each week will be placed in your savings account. Paycheck stubs must be turned in to the Counselor. No resident will be permitted on pass the weekend following pay day until he has

discussed his savings program with a staff member. Every resident will open a savings account in a bank designated by the staff. Bank deposits will be made within 6 days after pay day. Staff permission must be obtained to make a withdrawal or to close out an account.

11. No smoking in bed. Anyone doing so is subject to immediate and extended restriction (3 weeks). Keep your radios low. They should be turned off by 11:30 p.m. and lights out at the same time on week days.

12. While each resident is urged to seek employment on his own, do not accept, change, or quit a job without prior approval from the Employment Officer.

13. Each resident must remember that he is here to achieve some very simple goals---employment, savings, personal stability, working relationships with his family and generally good communication with the community in which he will be living. Dating, leisure-time fun, and other non-essential activity is permissible wherever it does not interfere with the principal purpose of your being here at the Center.

NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THE ABOVE REGULATIONS CAN RESULT IN YOUR RETURN TO AN INSTITUTION. IN ADDITION, ABSCONDING FROM THIS FACILITY OR ABSENTING YOURSELF FOR ANY UNAUTHORIZED PURPOSE CAN RESULT IN YOUR BEING PROSECUTED FOR ESCAPE FROM FEDERAL CUSTODY.

JOHN T. KILKEARY
Director

JTK:ML

To: Myrl E. Alexander, Director Date: April 1, 1966
Federal Bureau of Prisons
Washington, D. C.

From: Gerald A. Collins, Director
Pre-Release Guidance Center
Kansas City, Missouri 64106

Subject: Bi-Monthly Report

It seems appropriate that this report be dictated on April Fools Day since there is a Puckish quality to the misfortunes which have befallen the Kansas City Guidance Center in its first two months of operation.

From February 1st until February 24th our carefully planned design seemed to be operating perfectly, and the residents were reacting in a positive fashion, with a few exceptions. However, by 6 A.M. on February 24th, the illusions were gone. In the short period between 6 P.M. on the 23rd and 6 A.M. on the 24th, we had placed two men in custody and were diligently searching for two others. Two of the men, Cassens and Walker, had slipped out after the midnight curfew to have a few drinks and to meet local ladies of easy virtue. They were placed in custody as they returned to the Center. Wyatt and Eaton left us with no intent of returning. Wyatt has since been successfully prosecuted on an escape charge, and has received a one year sentence consecutive with the FJDA sentence he is presently serving. Eaton is still at large.

Although the activity in March was not quite as concentrated, we still managed to lose one man, McCullough, by escape, and returned two others, Harrington and Jones, for further training and treatment. While it can be argued that each of these men was an extremely poor risk, the fact remains that our business is dealing with poor risks.

Lest the impression be given that all is cloudy and overcast at the Kansas City Guidance Center, an observation seems valid: The poorer risks among our population seem to be falling like wormy apples from a tree, but the more stable residents are doing extremely well. It seems to us that those whom we haven't lost at this point are functioning in a more mature manner than the majority of the resident populations in the other Centers where we have worked. If this observation is substantiated in the months ahead we may have learned something very significant. This learning may lead to an effective selection process which could enable us to not only determine which men would profit from a Guidance Center experience, but would also enable us to determine within which type Guidance Center an individual might most effectively function.

Through the diligent efforts of Bob Nicholas, the Classification and Parole staffs of sending institutions, and the District Probation Offices of Western Missouri and Kansas, our daily population has been somewhat higher than we had predicted. During February and March the accumulated total

of 688 man-days translates into an average daily population of 11.5 residents. This is more than two residents per day over the projected daily average contained in our previous report. However, it appears that we will have a turn-over equal to about two-thirds of our population during April. This means that we will need an intake of more than ten men during April just to maintain the 11.5 daily average. While this is not an impossible goal, we suspect that for the next few months we will need to conduct a rather diligent search for individuals who could function in our population.

The public attitude toward the Guidance Center, and the reception we have received from the employment community is still too good to be believed. As this report is dictated, we have active requests from nearly a dozen employers who are unable to fill vacant positions within their company. We have found it necessary to refer many of these employers to the United States Probation Offices in both Missouri and Kansas and have passed along several referrals to the institution at Leavenworth.

While the public reaction to the Guidance Center operation has been quite positive, we detect some signs of concern on the part of the F.B.I. and the United States Attorney. These were the gentlemen, possibly of the "lock them up and throw away the key" school, who wondered if we couldn't possibly be a little more attentive to our business. One wonders if they don't have a point.

The budget seems to be in fine shape, but we have a few items of equipment still undelivered, and will have some larger travel expenses during the next two months. However, estimates indicate that we will have several thousand dollars of budget surplus at the end of the fiscal year.

In summation; our heads are bloodied, our armor is dented, but after an "agonizing reappraisal" we must say, with John Paul Jones, "damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead"; or was it "don't give up the ship"; or maybe "we have not yet begun to fight"; anyway, you know what we mean.

APPENDIX III

U. S. PRISONER REHABILITATION ACT OF 1965

The following materials include a copy of Public Law 89-176 and forms used in the Work Release Program.



Public Law 89-176
89th Congress, H. R. 6964
September 10, 1965

An Act

To amend section 4082 of title 18, United States Code, to facilitate the rehabilitation of persons convicted of offenses against the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 4082 of title 18, United States Code, is amended to read:

U. S. prisoners,
rehabilitation.
62 Stat. 850.

“§ 4082. Commitment to Attorney General; residential treatment centers; extension of limits of confinement; work furlough

“(a) A person convicted of an offense against the United States shall be committed, for such term of imprisonment as the court may direct, to the custody of the Attorney General of the United States, who shall designate the place of confinement where the sentence shall be served.

“(b) The Attorney General may designate as a place of confinement any available, suitable, and appropriate institution or facility, whether maintained by the Federal Government or otherwise, and whether within or without the judicial district in which the person was convicted, and may at any time transfer a person from one place of confinement to another.

“(c) The Attorney General may extend the limits of the place of confinement of a prisoner as to whom there is reasonable cause to believe he will honor his trust, by authorizing him, under prescribed conditions, to—

“(1) visit a specifically designated place or places for a period not to exceed thirty days and return to the same or another institution or facility. An extension of limits may be granted only to permit a visit to a dying relative, attendance at the funeral of a relative, the obtaining of medical services not otherwise available, the contacting of prospective employers, or for any other compelling reason consistent with the public interest; or

“(2) work at paid employment or participate in a training program in the community on a voluntary basis while continuing as a prisoner of the institution or facility to which he is committed, provided that—

79 STAT. 674.

“(i) representatives of local union central bodies or similar labor union organizations are consulted;

79 STAT. 675.

“(ii) such paid employment will not result in the displacement of employed workers, or be applied in skills, crafts, or trades in which there is a surplus of available gainful labor in the locality, or impair existing contracts for services; and

“(iii) the rates of pay and other conditions of employment will not be less than those paid or provided for work of similar nature in the locality in which the work is to be performed.

A prisoner authorized to work at paid employment in the community under this subsection may be required to pay, and the Attorney General is authorized to collect, such costs incident to the prisoner's confinement as the Attorney General deems appropriate and reasonable. Collections shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts.

“(d) The willful failure of a prisoner to remain within the extended limits of his confinement, or to return within the time prescribed to an institution or facility designated by the Attorney General, shall be

Pub. Law 89-176 - 2 - September 10, 1965
 79 STAT. 672.

18 USC 751-757. deemed an escape from the custody of the Attorney General punishable as provided in chapter 37 of this title.

Definitions. (e) The authority conferred upon the Attorney General by this section shall extend to all persons committed to the National Training School for Boys.

(f) As used in this section--
 "the term 'facility' shall include residential community treatment center; and

"the term 'relative' shall mean a spouse, child (including step-child, adopted child or child as to whom the prisoner, though not a natural parent, has acted in the place of a parent), parent (including a person who, though not a natural parent, has acted in the place of a parent), brother, or sister."

Sec. 2. The chapter analysis of section 4082 of title 18, United States Code, is amended to read:

"Sec. 40-2. Commitment to Attorney General residential treatment centers, extension of limits of confinement; work furlough."

62 Stat. 734;
 77 Stat. 834.

Sec. 3. Sections 751 and 752 of title 18, United States Code, are amended by inserting the words "or facility" following the word "institution".

Approved September 10, 1965.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 694 (Comm. on the Judiciary).
 SENATE REPORT No. 613 (Comm. on the Judiciary).
 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 111 (1965):

Aug. 2: Considered and passed House.
 Aug. 19: Considered and passed Senate, amended.
 Aug. 25: House concurred in Senate amendment.

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 APPLICATION AND AGREEMENT FOR ASSIGNMENT UNDER
 THE WORK RELEASE PROGRAM

Attachment 1
 Page 1
 7500.20
 9-27-65

NAME _____ NO. _____ AGE _____ RACE _____

OFFENSE _____ SENTENCE _____ DATE OF SENT. _____

TYPE OF RELEASE _____ DATE OF RELEASE _____

PURPOSE OF WORK ASSIGNMENT _____

EMPLOYMENT

NAME OF FIRM _____ ADDRESS _____

TELEPHONE NO. _____

SUPERVISOR _____ NATURE OF BUSINESS _____

LOCATION OF WORK _____ JOB TITLE _____

APPROXIMATE WAGES _____ WORKING DAYS PER WEEK _____

SCHEDULE OF WORK HOURS _____ BEGIN _____ END _____

DEPENDENTS: (Persons who will receive portion of inmate's earnings. Show name of adult with whom minors live).

NAME	AGE	RELATIONSHIP	ADDRESS
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

I respectfully ask the full assistance of the Employment and Work Release service, other employees of the Federal Correctional Institution, and/or the U. S. Probation Service in locating and securing employment; and hereby authorize that my official records, or any portion thereof, be revealed to prospective employers at the discretion of such persons; and hereby exempt such authorized persons from any and all liability thereof. I agree to abide by all regulations concerning my assignment to the Work Release Program.

This the _____ day of _____ 19_____

INMATE

WARDEN

WITNESS

DATE TO BE PLACED _____

Attachment 2
 Page 1
 7500.20
 9-27-65

MONTHLY REPORT OF WORK RELEASE

INSTITUTION _____ MONTH _____ YEAR _____

1. No. on W.R. at start of month _____ No. on W.R. at end of month _____
2. No. placed on W.R. this month _____; No. removed from W.R. this month _____

For pre-release purposes _____	By release _____
For dependency purposes _____	For cause _____
For training purposes _____	By request _____
For other purposes _____	Other reasons _____
3. No. of W.R. placements this month directly related to institutional training _____
4. Total costs of operating W.R. this month _____

Clothing _____; Transportation _____; Personnel _____; Other _____
5. Total amount earned by W.R. inmates this month _____

Remitted to dependents _____; Placed in savings _____

NARRATIVE: Write a narrative summary of each of the following items, starting below and continuing on the reverse side and additional pages as necessary.

- a. Adjustment of inmates on W.R.:
- b. Acceptance of W.R. by employers and others:
- c. Operating problems:
- d. Effect of W.R. on institutional operations and programs:
- e. Effect of W.R. on Parole Board decisions and release planning:

 WARDEN

 DATE

REPORT OF REMOVAL FROM WORK RELEASE

INSTITUTION _____ DATE _____

NAME _____ NO. _____ DATE REMOVED _____

REASON FOR REMOVAL (CHECK ONE):

- (A) FOR REPLACEMENT ON WORK RELEASE _____
- (B) BY RELEASE _____
- (C) FOR CAUSE _____
- (D) BY REQUEST _____
- (E) OTHER REASONS _____

REMOVAL FOR ANY REASON OTHER THAN (B) MUST BE EXPLAINED FULLY BELOW.

WARDEN

EXPLANATION:

APPENDIX IV

THE SEVENTH STEP FOUNDATION

The following pages contain a copy of the memo sent out to all Kansas State parole officer concerning the 7th Step Program and a copy of the organizational outline of the Kansas City Seventh Step Chapter.

KANSAS BOARD OF PROBATION AND PAROLE
Topeka, Kansas

September 21, 1966

TO: All Parole Officers

RE: 7th Step Program

You perhaps see occasional news items, or receive inquiries about the 7th Step Program, formerly referred to as the Freedom House Program. In order to keep you informed of the current status, the following information is being furnished at this time:

A pre-release program at the Kansas State Penitentiary was started by Mr. Bill Sands in 1964 with approval of the State penal officials. The operation of the program is not unlike Alcoholics Anonymous, with prisoners reciting before others their past problems and future good intentions. Citizens from the outside community have become interested, attend meetings, participate as speakers, and may offer to employ or sponsor prisoners on release. The penal officials consider the program beneficial and feel that it reaches some prisoners who do not respond to other forces. Undoubtedly, it has proved a new experience for some prisoners, a break in the routine, with unusual opportunity for association with outside individuals.

Outside 7th Step Clubs have been established in Kansas City and Topeka for graduates of the pre-release classes who are paroled or conditionally released. Other ex-prisoners may attend but are expected to complete certain training. Sponsors, employers, and other community workers also attend these outside meetings which are held once a week and run in the same manner as the pre-release classes. Certain "rehabilitated" ex-prisoners serve as counselors, and are on the 7th step payroll at good salaries. These counselors also give speeches to churches, schools, civic groups, etc., and engage in fund raising to provide financial support for the program.

Realizing that this program involved soliciting the support of business men to assist in obtaining jobs and giving encouragement to releasees, our Board permitted parolees to participate in the outside meetings provided our parole officers had access to the meetings and there was no interference with their supervisory duties. We also

stipulated that a civilian employee, not an ex-prisoner, should be in charge of the outside program, and we suggested that some responsible system of accounting for donated funds should be developed.

Our experience thus far with the outside program has raised many questions about its value. Its main asset is the involvement and support of community leaders and businessmen who show concern for the problems and needs of offenders. It has the potential asset of changing behavior patterns through a form of group therapy in the weekly meetings and by individual counseling by ex-prisoners, but there is considerable doubt as to how much change is accomplished, and that all of it is for the better. A serious drawback is that parolees and ex-prisoners congregate and fraternize, and we have had some adverse consequences to this. The program encourages nonresidents to resettle here and adds to our police and economic problems. It also encourages men to drop their personal efforts to obtain jobs for themselves and look to the 7th Step Club to do it for them. Incidents of ex-prisoner counselors giving conflicting advice and disturbing the parole officer's supervisory plans come up from time to time.

The Kansas City Club opened with considerable fanfare and rather extravagant plans for development and expansion but soon leveled off and began retrenching and now is in rather shaky circumstances, as we understand. The Topeka Club opened more recently with vigor and enthusiasm but seems to have continuing financial problems and shows signs of cutting back, and there is no longer a civilian director for the program. Unfortunately, many of the statements and claims attributed to this program are misleading, exaggerated and harmful to the efforts and achievements of other forces operating on the prisoner's behalf. One brochure claims a maximum success percentage of 98.1 and a minimum success percentage of 91.9, and states "recidivism rates more than reversed in less than one year". They advertise it costs \$8,000 to keep a man incarcerated, whereas their program can rehabilitate him for \$250. Our study of all penitentiary releases during fiscal year 1965 showed no substantial difference in the return rate for graduates and nongraduates; in fact, the success rate for nongraduates was slightly better.

We continue to watch the operation of this program with considerable caution. Until there has been more time to study it and compare statistics, we feel that we are not in

a position to recommend its adoption in other jurisdictions, and certainly not until some of the operational problems are placed under better control.

W. C. Henry
Director

THE SEVENTH SETP FOUNDATION
Kansas City, Kansas, Chapter
1966
Program of Work
&
Itemized Responsibilities of Committees
for the
Seventh Step Council & Seventh Step Club

This information is intended to serve as the official action Program for the Kansas City, Kansas, Chapter of the Seventh Step Foundation during the year 1967. Committees are requested to study their projects and goals, implement them as necessary and activate their personnel along the general lines contained herein. In the interest of clarity, this outline is divided into two parts, one for the Council and the other for the Club. Inasmuch as certain areas of duplication exist, it is suggested that at least the chairmen and vice-chairmen of Club committees be invited to serve on appropriate Council committees and vice versa. It is suggested that this will assist the Chairmen in coordinating and correlating their programs and actions. Chairmen are urged to encourage the actual participation of all members on one or more committees.

SEVENTH STEP COUNCIL

Program

Secure and maintain a high degree of interest of the memberships of both the Council and Club by:

1. Cooperating with the Club officers and committees in operations of the Club, meeting and counseling rooms and schools in improvement of these facilities.
2. Developing programs for each group of such quality as to encourage attendance and invite favorable press comment.

Finance

Assist in the effort to achieve financial solvency by:

1. Cooperating with the membership committee in securing financial support from businesses, foundations, organizations and individuals.
2. Determining the needs and preparing a suggested budget for the Council and advising those charged with the budget for the Seventh Step Club of Kansas City, Kansas.
3. Regularly auditing the Councils' financial records.

Employment

Help qualify men for parole and help keep post-release men free through program of:

1. Interesting employers in sponsoring and/or hiring eligible men and women.
2. Assisting the sponsors committee in counseling with both Pre- & Post-release men in an effort to assist them in getting and holding jobs.
3. Cooperating with the Kansas State Employment Service (as well as with the Missouri agency) in development and maintenance of a standard procedure for referral and agency processing.

- 163
4. Developing a personal, close relationship with placement officers of agencies, seek to add them to the committee, and work for maximum rapport.
 5. Working with Personnel Directors and the Personnel Management Association to develop employment relations.
 6. Helping members secure credentials, references and other job aids.
 7. Working to provide--or secure through government channels, apprentice, on-the-job, or work/study training opportunities, as keyed to individual needs.

Membership

Build a Council that can effectively finance and otherwise aid the Seventh Step Club through:

1. Selling memberships and/or soliciting financial support for the Seventh Step Council of business, foundations and individuals.
2. Cooperating with the program committee in arranging meetings and other activities of interest to council members.
3. Presenting awards and otherwise publicly recognizing the work of outstanding members.
4. Seeking to have all members actively participate in the programs on the theory that an active member is the most likely to continue to be a member.

Public Relations

In cooperation with the club public relations committee, sell the Seventh Step program to the public and establish a favorable climate for obtaining revenue by:

1. Publicizing the activities of all committees.
2. Preparing news releases, including feature material, for all news media.
3. Issuing a news-type publication for members, prospects and sponsors.
4. Developing material for sales presentations, speeches, posters, bulletins, newspapers, and radio and television stations. These can include colored slides, flip charts, graphs, brochures, etc.
5. Arranging special functions, such as dinners, exhibits & lobby displays.
6. Cooperating with the membership committee in developing an award system to publicly honor members on all levels for outstanding support and/or activities.

Sponsors

Avoid the problem of men serving "dead time" in prison and assist in the effort to keep them free by:

1. Cooperating with the employment committee in securing sponsors and jobs.
2. Continuing the assembly and study of meaningful examples and case histories too in order to show graphically the problems and develop clear-cut experience guide-lines.
3. Cooperating with the Club committee in teaching men how to stay out of prison.
4. Encouraging & counseling post-release men when called upon.

Speakers Bureau

Build a favorable image of the Club and the Council with the members, civic governmental organizations and the general public by:

1. Recruiting members who have ability in public speaking.

2. Working to improve speech material, short presentations, effective use of aids, radio and television techniques, and otherwise preparing all available speakers to be able to perform at maximum effectiveness.
3. Serving as, or securing, top speech teachers and make classes available to interested members.
4. Working with Public Relations committee to develop as many speech opportunities as possible. Seeing that the talks have major possible press coverage.
5. Booking speakers, usually in teams of two (Club and Council) to civic and to neighborhood clubs.

SEVENTH STEP CLUB

Facilities (House)

Make the Club and other rooms as inviting as possible by:

1. Supervising all Club operations.
2. Encouraging all members to participate in planning and operating the facilities.
3. Evaluating and maintaining the present facilities. Also, planning future growth.
4. Being constantly aware of the needs and developing a facilities program that will meet the needs of all Club members as well as serve as a worthy showpiece for prospective and actual Council members.
5. Establishing the necessary Club Rules.

Program

Achieve maximum use of the Clubs' facilities by:

1. Developing programs of such quality as to encourage attendance and interest which will provide information, inspiration, entertainment, and recreation for members.
2. Encouraging leisure-time use of Club by continued improvement of facilities.
3. Seek to encourage participation by members in planning, responsibility of operation, and personal involvement in programs, and committees.
4. Encourage interest in public-relations, press notices, bulletins, and posters. Work with Public Relations committee.
5. Cooperate with the facilities committee in planning and keeping the physical plant at the top possible level.

Employment

Assist the Council employment committee in its planned placement program through:

1. Work to insure mistakes will not be repeated, that the good work is continued.
2. Keep close one-for-one contact with all job seekers and newly employed.

Membership

Build as strong a membership body as possible with:

1. A careful follow-up of releases to encourage them to join a post-release and qualify for Club membership.

2. A warm welcome to all visitors and members encouraging them to join in supporting Foundation activities.
3. A personal follow-up for Club membership, explaining and showing programs and aids available.

Finance

Assist in developing financial solvency for the Foundation by:

1. Cooperation with the Council and Club membership committees in securing financial support from businesses, foundations, organizations and individuals.
2. Encouraging all Club members to share in assuring fiscal responsibility.
3. Preparing a suggested budget gaining understanding of the financial problems and interpreting them to the membership.

Speakers Bureau

Cooperate with the Council Speakers Bureau in building the Foundation image and developing support and aid Club members to upgrade their communications abilities by:

1. Supplying speakers from the Club to make public appearances with Council speakers.
2. Continuing to offer the Dale Carnegues and Success courses and academic courses from the first grade of elementary school through the sophomore year of college.

Public Relations

Support the Foundations' contacts with current, past, and prospective, members, employers and donors, and general public by:

1. Working with the Council Public Relations in the preparation of mens releases, sales material public and in all phases of the assignments listed 1 through 6 of the outline for the Council Speakers Bureau.
2. Securing material, case-histories, personalized facts for use in committee programing.

Pre-Release

Work for continued improvement of the pre-release program by:

1. Encouraging broad participation.
2. Securing as many case histories and examples as possible.
3. Pooling the information with the appropriate committees, especially public relations.

The successful implementation of this program of work depends upon the acquisition of a broad and representative membership. The operation of the council will then be based upon the use of the thinking and talents of these members. Maximum benefit from the vase energies available in the time and minds of its members requires the appropriate use and distribution of these talents. This program of work is an effort to blueprint the responsibilities within the committee system that will fulfill this requirement.

APPENDIX V

EXHIBITS OF DISMAS HOUSE INTAKE MATERIALS

Dismas Clark Foundation

MORRIS A. SHENKER
PRESIDENT

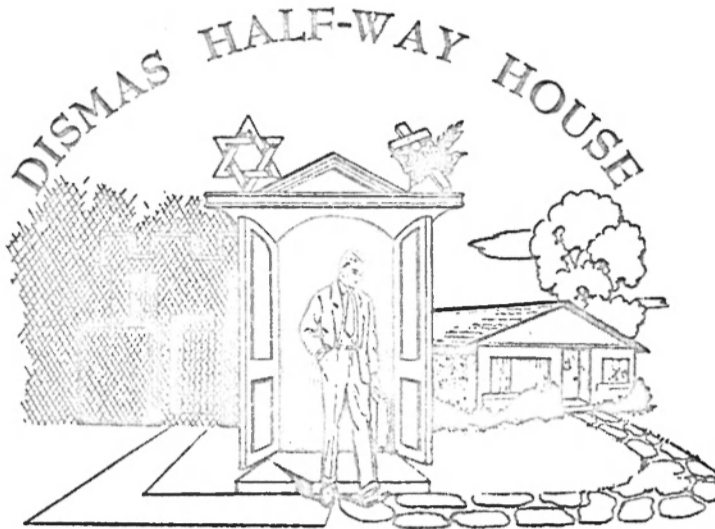
GEORGE DUNCAN BAUMAN
VICE PRESIDENT
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

THE REV. LINUS J. THRO, S.J.
VICE PRESIDENT

FATHER FRED L. ZIMMERMAN, S. J.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND TREASURER

THE HON. D. W. FITZGIBBON
VICE PRESIDENT

L. B. BARIS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY



Dismas Clark Foundation
903 COLE STREET
ST. LOUIS, MO. 63101

Date _____

QUESTIONNAIRE

(To be filled out with the help of a prison officer by applicants for residence at Dismas House)

Name _____

Serial No. _____

Institution _____

1. What is your age? _____ years.

2. How much time have you done? _____

3. Have you done time in other penal institutions? _____

4. Which, if any, relatives of yours have a home in St. Louis? _____

5. Would these relatives give you lodging? _____

6. Have you ever had a serious alcoholic problem? _____

7. Have you ever had a serious narcotic problem? _____

8. Have you ever been convicted of a sex offense? _____

9. Do you seriously intend to rehabilitate yourself? _____

10. Would you be willing to be employed and take a steady job? _____

(OVER)

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

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PRESIDENT

GEORGE DUNCAN BAUMAN
VICE PRESIDENT
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

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VICE PRESIDENT



Dismas Clark Foundation

903 COLE STREET
ST. LOUIS, MO. 63101

The above-named man has applied for admittance to Dismas House, which is a community program designed to assist former inmates of correctional institutions in their effort to reestablish themselves in the community.

Subject's application is pending before the Selection and Admitting Board of Dismas House until sufficient information can be obtained concerning his background to evaluate him.

In our attempt to assist this man, we shall appreciate it if you would please send us his admission summary, classification reports, institutional progress and conduct reports, and any other pertinent information which you feel would be necessary and helpful to us in this endeavor.

In order to reply to subject here mentioned, we would like to have this information at your earliest convenience.

I wish to thank you for your fine cooperation and the many courtesies you have rendered to Dismas House. May I extend to you a personal invitation to visit Dismas House whenever you might have an occasion to be in the St. Louis area.

Sincerely yours,

Fred L. Zimmerman

Fred L. Zimmerman, S. J.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Having full knowledge of the Dismas House request for information from my institutional records, I give my approval and authorization for the release to Dismas House of all information which has been requested.

Signed _____

Dismas Clark Foundation

MORRIS A. SHENKER
PRESIDENT

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Dismas Clark Foundation

903 COLE STREET
ST. LOUIS, MO. 63101

DISMAS HOUSE IS INTERESTED IN HELPING YOU.
THE FOLLOWING REGULATIONS HAVE BEEN
ADOPTED FOR YOUR WELL-BEING AND ARE
DEEMED NECESSARY FOR YOUR SECURITY.

1. Dismas House is a home for the ex-convict without a home. Only men over 21 who have been in a penitentiary are eligible. Chronic alcoholics, drug addicts and sex offenders are excluded because Dismas House has not the facilities to care for them.
2. Each resident is encouraged to save his money for personal necessities when he leaves Dismas House.
3. Each resident is expected to contribute his share of support to the house. Those employed will be expected to contribute three dollars a day for room and board. All items of clothing will be charged to the individual and he will be expected to reimburse the house for these items.
4. All residents are expected to comply with house regulations on cleanliness. Each man will be expected to do his share in keeping the house clean and also to be careful about personal hygiene. Clean, neat clothes are to be worn at all times.
5. Until a resident is assigned to employment outside of the house he will be given work in the house. When work is assigned to an unemployed resident he will be paid for every eight hour day. Idleness is to be avoided by all who reside at Dismas House.
6. All unemployed residents are to remain on the premises until 3 P.M. to be available for work calls and interviews. No one should leave the house during the day without signing the register.
7. All residents will arise at 6 A.M. and are required to be home not later than 11 P.M. THIS CURFEW WILL BE STRICTLY ENFORCED. VIOLATION MAY MEAN EXPULSION.
8. All residents should retire at the curfew hour. Those who come into the dormitory after this hour should be quiet and considerate of those sleeping. NO SMOKING IN THE DORMITORY.
9. DRINKING WILL NOT BE TOLERATED AT DISMAS HOUSE. Bringing liquor into the house MEANS AUTOMATIC AND IMMEDIATE EXPULSION. Residents should not loiter in taverns. We feel that we afford sufficient opportunities for wholesome recreation. Men who feel that taverns are a necessary part of their daily life do not fit into our program.
10. During residency at Dismas House each man should carry an identification card. This will prevent any undue harassment by police.
11. When you are away from Dismas House on business, employment, etc., you are expected to avoid association with other ex-convicts, or places which might reflect on your serious intention to rehabilitate yourself. There should be no reason to do anything which would endanger your future.
12. Residents of Dismas House are encouraged to go to the church of their choice. Check with the desk for the location of your church.
13. No overnight passes will be issued except in extreme cases. Staying out all night without permission is reason for expulsion from Dismas House.
14. I have read these regulations and agree to abide by them. I understand that violation means that I must leave Dismas House.

(Signed): _____

Dismas Clark Foundation

MORRIS A. SHENKER
PRESIDENT

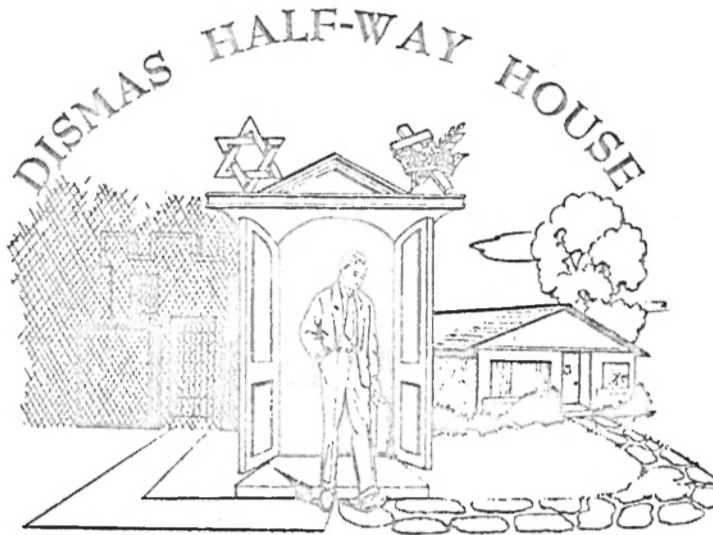
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Dismas Clark Foundation

903 COLE STREET
ST. LOUIS, MO. 63101

At the regular meeting of the Board of Directors today your case was presented for consideration. I am happy to inform you that you have been approved for admission to Dismas House.

Although our Board of Directors has approved you for admission, the Missouri State Parole Board makes the final decision as to approval or denial.

If the Parole Board approves your application to come to St. Louis and reside at Dismas House, you are to report here directly upon your arrival in St. Louis.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

F. L. Zimmerman, S. J.
Director-Treasurer

Dismas Clark Foundation

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PRESIDENT

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Dismas Clark Foundation

903 COLE STREET
ST. LOUIS, MO. 63101

At the regular meeting of the Board of Directors today your case was presented for consideration.

I am sorry to have to inform you that it is the final decision of the Board that your request for admission to Dismas House be denied.

If you happen to be living in St. Louis after your release, you will be welcome to visit Dismas House. There may be some way to assist you in obtaining employment.

Sincerely yours,

F. L. Zimmerman, S. J.
Director-Treasurer

THE HALFWAY HOUSE CONCEPT: CONTEMPORARY
APPLICATION TO OFFENDERS

by

NANCY JANE OGLE

B. S., Phillips University, 1959

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S REPORT

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY

Manhattan, Kansas

1967

This report was written as a wide range investigation of the halfway house concept, the movement based on that concept and its contemporary application to the offender.

Although halfway houses have been used in Europe for more than a century, they received little attention in the United States with the exception of a small number of privately supported facilities. However, the "intermediate stage" rehabilitation center in the last few years has made an impact upon the field of correction in this country. Many view this approach as the next major development in the correctional field.

This report is based on extensive correspondence with those people presently connected with the movement, the collection of materials and reports from halfway programs throughout the country, personal interviews and visits to centers and halfway houses in Kansas City, St. Louis, Chicago and Topeka.

The report sought to determine the origin and development of the halfway house concept and the role the concept plays in the rehabilitation of offenders in this country. Due to the confusion that exists over the use of the term "halfway house", the author organized the various programs into meaningful categories, presenting criteria to be applied in determining whether a facility or program should be defined as a halfway house. Further effort attempted to in-

corporate the halfway house approach within practical and theoretical rationales.

There are alternatives to the halfway house approach. Among the more successful of these alternatives are pre-release programs. The Federal Government has moved rapidly in this area with the establishment of Pre-Release Guidance Centers for youthful offenders, community residential centers for adult offenders, work release and unescorted furloughs, the last three programs having existed only a year.

In respect to Kansas, the author found little state government activity in the halfway house movement. The only program being in existence is sponsored by the Department of Social Welfare and the Boy's Industrial School of two halfway cottages at the Kansas Children's Receiving Home in Atchison. There appears little inclination on the part of authorities to expand the present program or to develop halfway facilities for adult offenders.

The present trend is away from the traditional type of prison and toward community centered programs of rehabilitation. Although the halfway house appears to be a "good thing", the majority of the present programs have not existed long enough for conclusive evaluation based on authoritative research. Preliminary results of early studies utilizing control groups, indicated little or no significant difference in recidivism rates after six months in the community for those offenders involved in community treatment when compared

with offenders released in the usual manner.

The author suspects that the present movement has a somewhat "faddish" quality about it. While the present movement appears to be in a theoretically sound direction for rehabilitation treatment, caution seems advisable prior to establishing new programs of this type until more results are available from existing programs. If the results are as anticipated, there will be an increasing involvement on the part of government sponsored correctional programs, either through direct operation or by contracting for services provided by privately operated agencies and halfway houses.