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THE EFFECTS OF A COEDUCATIONAL CORRECTIONAL
FACILITY: A CONTINUED ANALYSIS

A THESIS
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ABSTRACT

THE EFFECTS OF A COEDUCATIONAL CORRECTIONAL EXPERIENCE: A CONTINUED ANALYSIS

This study was divided into three general areas of investigation--a recidivism analysis; an analysis of selected programs; and, a completion/non-completion analysis.

Recidivism Analysis

The comparison between the expected recidivism rate (30.6%) and the actual recidivism rate (15.4%) revealed a significant reduction in recidivism for the first 156 men and women who were released from Framingham since it became a coeducational facility. The impact of the Framingham program on recidivism was much more significant for women--from 33.9% (expected rate) to 15.2% actual rate--than it was for men--from 22.3% (expected rate) to 15.9% (actual rate). The Framingham program was also found to be especially effective in reducing recidivism for men and women who had histories of drug abuse.

Program Analyses

The present study also examined the effects of four programs offered at MCI-Framingham (Furlough Program, Work Release Program, Education Release Program, and Counseling Program) on the rate of recidivism. In general,

all of the programs except the Counseling Program seemed to have a positive effect on the rate of recidivism. Only the results of the Work Release data were statistically significant, but the trends of the Furlough Program and the Education Release Program were in the positive direction.

These results were consistent for both men and women.

The trends indicated from the Counseling Program data were not expected, but the results were not significant and several possibilities explaining the results are presented.

Completion/Non-Completion Analysis

Completion/non-completion data identified a profile of distinguishing characteristics of those men who did not successfully complete the Framingham program. This profile could be used as an aid to decision making in the process of screening men for transfer to MCI-Framingham.

Those individuals within these high risk groups can be scrutinized more carefully or programs may be tailored more specifically to the individual needs of men within this group. It is important to note that this profile should not be used in a mechanical way. It should be considered as an aid for judgment, not a substitute for judgment.

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CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Correctional institutions in the United States today contain in widely varying degrees anachronistic as well as futuristic attributes. MCI-Framingham, while certainly bearing the markings of attitudes towards crime and its punishment that date back to medieval times, clearly leans toward the furthermost reaches of the latter. Its emphasis is towards rehabilitation and reintegration of the offender involving optimum utilization of the community within which the institution is located.

To best prepare for the multi-level analysis of MCI-Framingham, our review of the literature will take on a five-fold focus. To begin with we will look at the writings and opinions of certain authors who have recently felt that rehabilitation or "treatment" seems to have little or no effect in reducing recidivism. Robert Martinson will serve as the chief proponent of this perspective which provides this analysis with its null hypothesis. Secondly we will discuss problems in conducting research in corrections and how these problems may affect this and similar studies. Thirdly, we will aim to sketch the historical developments in the field of corrections that brought us to present day

of MCI-Framingham itself and the Massachusetts Department of Correction. Lastly this review will look at the specific programs that MCI-Framingham provides, with particular emphasis on those that will be specifically dealt with in our research efforts.

The Effect of Correctional Treatment

Martindale writes that:

In a very broad sense, the workings of societies may be viewed as a dialectic between two sets of forces: one tending to sustain a degree of order, continuity and structure and the other producing change and departures from the expected.

(Martindale, '60)

The deviant is defined as the individual who departs from social norms that the society establishes from and between these two forces. Traditionally, the instrument for the enforcing of the adherence to this norm has been criminal law. Interestingly, inherent in this description is the idea that as the definitions of illegal behavior change, so do the methods of dealing with it. (Kittre, '71 p. 3)

While United States corrections represent a broad mixture of both progressive and outmoded practices, (Dean, '73, p. 3), there seems to be fairly universal agreement that what has been done up until now has not worked. The

threat of punishment in its pure form or laced with various methods of rehabilitation within the institution seems to maintain or provoke more of the behavior that it had hoped to control. (Zimring, '73, p. 5) Ramsey Clark points out in his Crime in America that criminal justice's most significant statistic is that 80% of all serious crime is committed by people convicted of crime previously. (Clark, '70, p. 215) Considering this fact, it becomes readily apparent that it is fully appropriate for research efforts to study the reaction of this high risk group who are subjected to some variation of punishment. (Zimring, "73, p. 236)

Martinson states that when reform of prisons is discussed, five traditions emerge and that the modern corrections institution contains all of these attitudes or traditions in varying degrees. These traditions are:

- (1) Prisons are designed for punishing offenders;
- (2) Prisons are vicious instruments of revenge and should be abolished;
- (3) Prisons are necessary to defend civilization, but should be less punitive and more humane;
- (4) Prisons should be transformed into effective instruments of rehabilitation; and,
- (5) Prisons are necessary to some stages of civilization, but can be replaced by milder forms of control to the degree permitted by democratic crime prevention. (Martinson, '72, p.23)

A brief summation of Martinson's attitude toward today's system of corrections is his statement that the system provides "minimum protection for the public and maximum harm to the offender." (Martinson, '72, p. 22) McCorkle and Korn tend to agree with his statement. Although their position is not as extreme, they write:

The bleak fact is that just as the monstrous punishments of the Eighteenth Century failed to curtail crime, so the more humane handling of the Twentieth Century has equally failed to do so.

(Korn, '59, p. 474)

Apparently, these writers and others feel that the confinement theory of corrections only exacerbates crime through its lack of self determination, exploitation due to material deprivation and criminal education through association. (Kassebaum, '71, p. 12) "Therapeutic punishment" only transforms "bad men" into "sick children," thus justifying total control. In fact, "therapeutic punishment" is seen by some as being identical to traditional punishment, differing only in the issue of responsibility for the offender's acts. (Smith, '74, pp. 113-114)

Specifically, Martinson in his treatment evaluation survey, which analyzed the studies made of correction treatment from 1945 to 1967, found that:

The present array of correctional treatments have no appreciable effect--positive or negative--on the rates of recidivism of convicted offenders.

His review of existing research included studies of individual and group psychotherapy as well as vocational and classroom education held within the correctional institutions.

Martinson points out that his findings reveal that while early release programs may be slightly helpful in the lowering of recidivism rates for some offenders, psychiatric treatment as well as the use of halfway houses actually increased the rate of recidivism for others. (Martinson '72, pp. 14-15)

The crux of the Martinson thesis is that despite the fact that corrections appeared to have reached a high water mark of sophistication in what he calls this century's "Age of Treatment," the criminal continues to suffer irreparable damage to his or her "life cycle process" due to the continued deprivation of liberty. (Martinson, '72, pp. 24-25)

Glaser agrees that whatever rehabilitation techniques are used or whatever training is conducted within the traditional prison setting, recidivism has not been reduced. "Community centered treatment," which means the simulation of the real world done completely behind the walls of the prison, is doomed to failure. (Hardy, '73, p. 16) In this arrangement the offender continues to be isolated on two planes: physical isolation, (walls, bars, etc.) and psychological isolation (control of visits, correspondence,

interaction with fellow inmates and general routinization.

(Korn, '59, pp. 465-466) Inmates have no real life situations in which to exercise and build on the benefits they have received from treatment in general. (Korn, '59, pp. 535-536)

Problems in Correctional Research

The proving or disproving of a thesis in the field of corrections, for various reasons, presents some interesting challenges, especially, as Korn and McCorkle put it, "in a nation where...the total number of municipal and county jails and lockups is not even approximately known."

(Korn, '59, p. 459) By its very nature and design, the criminal justice system and its administration, with its "powerless subjects, economic excuses for resistance to research and an administrative incentive to avoid the testing of longheld beliefs" greatly discourages any type of evaluative action.

Add to these obstacles the normal difficulties of research and it is not difficult to reason why criminal justice research, in general, is sparse, and evaluative work regarding an innovative coeducational institution such as MCI-Framingham is practically nonexistent. (Zimring, '73, p. 44) Lack of funding is a primary factor in this regard. It is understandable that our criminal justice knowledge is

deficient when less than 1% of our total national expenditure for crime control has, in the past, been allocated to research. (U. S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, '67, p. 273).

In the research that has been done in corrections, several serious and fundamental issues have surfaced.. Some of them demand scrutiny in this exercise. To begin with, nearly every study that has made its focus the effectiveness of a punishment and/or treatment program, has made the absence of reconviction as the primary criterion for success. Consequently, these studies have not been able to distinguish if the results were due to the treatment or punishment that was given. (Hovland, '53, p. 172)

Hovland, among others, also points out that the duration of the follow-up period for determining recidivism in most research projects has been uniformly short. (Hovland, '53, p. 172) There is also the unknown variable of the number of offenders that commit crimes during the follow-up period but do not get arrested for these actions. (Hoods, '70, pp. 54-61) Also, most researchers have found that chances of recidivism are greater the younger the age of the offender is. Therefore it is important to realize that the

"success stories" of certain punishment and/or treatment programs have merely aged and moved out of the more crime prone age group. (Zimring, '73, p. 235)

This research effort endeavors to come to grips with two fundamental issues. First of all, it fully recognizes and accepts the already indicated idea that trusting "common sense" or intuition in regard to correction policy and program development is not enough. The research scientist must find his rightful place in the field of criminal justice, despite the more than usual number of obstacles and hazards encountered in that effort. Secondly, the methodological and qualitative aspects of the research efforts in corrections can be improved. Improvements can be made using two methods: through the use of base expectancy categories--i.e., research tools that have been derived from samples of inmates, to enable accurate prediction of the rates of success or failure upon release of the offender (Carney, '69, pp. 110-111)--and by extension of the scope of previously completed, empirically sound research efforts. (Zimring, '73, pp. 280-283)

Zimring points out that the extending of a short run, before and after study not only lends credibility to the original study and its findings, but also, as the time span increases, enlarges the "possibility that changes due

to factors other than punishment policy will assume prominence." (Zimring, '73, pp. 280-283) Specifically, this study will extend the work of Almy, et al., which focused on MCI-Framingham. Their aim, in brief, was to see if the coeducational design and extra prison programs did or did not reduce recidivism. The research efforts of Almy et al., were directed in three general areas:

- (1) the social climate of the facility with focuses on communication and information flow, punishment and reward, inmate subculture, sexual relationships, and relationships with the outside community;
- (2) inmate perception of programs; and,
- (3) recidivism follow-up of the former residents.

From this research project emerged several important conclusions about MCI-Framingham's unique program. To begin with, while males felt that communication between themselves and staff members was less than at the more structured institutions, they did feel that they were more able to participate in the decision making process of the institution.

In regard to punishment and staff treatment, both males and females felt that infraction of the institutions rules would be met with punishment from the staff but also that punishment by fellow inmates was less likely to occur. The inmates also stated that the Framingham staff was more

likely to praise their positive actions.

From the research it was clear that within the facility there was a much less rigid subculture among the men than the women. Outside of the institution, males tended to view their relationship with people more positively than females.

Lastly, in regard to sexual functioning and thinking, with the exception of female homosexuality, which was openly acknowledged and generally accepted, the inmates attitudes on sex roles were quite traditional. Sexual relationships within the facility were viewed by both men and women as being no different than what they had known outside the facility.

Almy, et al., recidivism follow-up involving the comparison of the expected recidivism rate (17.3%) and the actual recidivism rate (11.6%) revealed a substantial reduction in recidivism for the first 121 persons who were released from Framingham since it became a coeducational facility.

Besides the work of Almy, et al., there exists little empirical evidence on the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of rehabilitation or treatment programs carried on outside of the correction institution itself, especially those

emanating from a coeducational facility. Our research efforts will be aimed at extending the follow-up period at Framingham and seeing if it, with its work release, education release, furlough and counseling programs does reduce recidivism. More specifically, we will be interested to see what specific programs achieve the most positive results with what type of individual. These findings, or at least the direction in which they point, will be particularly noteworthy since so much of the evaluative research on these programs has been based on what Carney calls the "panacea frame of reference", i.e., the feeling that all inmates would benefit from all programs. (Carney '69, p. 115)

Historical Perspective on Corrections

If one is to analyze MCI-Framingham to see if, and to what degree, it reduces recidivism and how, if so, it accomplishes this objective, it is necessary and appropriate to look at the history of that institution. We have already stated that MCI-Framingham, like virtually all other correctional institutions, contains various, often juxtaposed elements and aspects of different attitudes toward crime and punishment. What are these historical characteristics and how did they get to MCI-Framingham? Ramsey Clark writes that "crime reflects the character of

a people. This is a painful fact we do not want to face."

(Clark, '70, p. 15) To best understand our present character and its attitude toward crime, punishment and treatment, we begin by looking at Medieval times.

Smith and Fried, among other writers, point out that "theories of revenge, restitution and rehabilitation have been said to characterize penal methods in the Middle Ages, Enlightenment and Modern Period respectively." (Smith, '74, p. 1)

It was not until the 8th century, when the concept of private jurisdictions crystalized with the church and state beginning to shoulder the responsibility of the punishment of wrongdoers, that jails emerged. However, at this time, they were used only as a place for awaiting trial or for the receiving of immediate punishment. (Sellin, '26, pp. 104-112) Prior to this, offenders were dealt with on a more individual basis, receiving punishment in terms of penance and fines. (Krisberg, '75, pp. 137-138) In the latter part of the Middle Ages, corporal and capital punishment became much more the frequent response to misbehavior. By the 14th century, death was the most common penalty noted in continental records. Mutilation in the forms of dismemberment, disfigurement, castration and blinding, was the second most common response. Both

banishment and corporal punishment were less frequently used, although the latter continued to be used with children.

Imprisonment, at this time, with the exception of the treatment of certain categories of heretics was not viewed as a punishment. It was used chiefly for the individual awaiting trial. (Korn, '59, pp. 395-398)

These types and methods of punishment continued to be used as the Renaissance gathered momentum. As feudalism gave way to nation states, criminal procedure became synthesized. Korn and McKorkle write:

The centralization of political power was accompanied and promoted by a widespread movement toward consolidation and standardization of judicial procedures compatible with the growing absolutism of the rulers....this consolidation took its inspiration from the inquisitorial procedures of imperial Roman law, revived and perfected by the Church in its assault on heresy. (Korn, '59, p. 399)

By extending judicial rights and centralizing power and authority, individuals consolidated and strengthened their political power.

In England by the mid-16th century, two interesting institutions were initiated: the workhouse, designed to relieve the plight of the "honest poor;" and the house of correction, created to take care of the dishonest poor.

In a very short time, the scope of the two agencies became one and the same: putting the idle to work in tasks such

as cloth making, weaving, milling, etc., so that they would meet their own needs, serve as an inspiration to others and lead themselves back to society. (Korn, '59, pp. 406-407)

By the 17th century, houses of correction were very common, providing work for a motley group which usually included convicts, orphans, paupers and lunatics.

Interestingly enough, as Krisberg points out, the houses of correction flourished until the introduction of machinery. At this time the factory replaced the house of correction as a source of labor. Free labor could produce more than prison labor. As the value of human labor went down and less work could be found for inmates, a re-examination of the purpose of imprisonment was carried out. Individuals pondered whether punishment meant a deprivation of liberty or work for work's sake. (Krisberg, '75, pp. 152-156)

It was the "Great Law" passed by the Quaker Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1682 that foreshadowed the new direction that penal philosophy would take. The "Great Law" declared that imprisonment should supplant all punishments for major crimes except homicide. And although this act would be temporarily repealed, it heralded a new age in corrections. (Korn, '59, pp. 410-411)

By the end of the 18th century, it was clear that there were two very formidable movements in the field of criminal justice: the attack on antiquated methods of punishments; and, the attack on antiquated criminal law which grew out of the Enlightenment. Undoubtedly, the writer who had the greatest impact in this regard was Cesare Bonesana Beccaria who in 1764 wrote an essay, On Crimes and Punishments. This essay contained as its core concept the new relation between man and the state, based on the theory of the "social contract" as delineated by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. Voltaire added weight to Beccaria's argument and soon the monarchs of Europe responded by reviewing capital punishment, establishing juries and the rights of the accused and putting an end to torture. (Korn, '59, pp. 402-405) The utilitarian philosopher, Jeremy Bentham, perhaps more than anyone else, represented the union of the interests of law reform and penal reform. The imprisonment trend met both of these needs. (Korn, '59, p. 411)

A very significant concept that emerged from the "Rights of Man" period for criminal justice was that of the beginning of differential treatment of prisoners; ranking of offenders according to the risk of escape and dangerousness. (Hardy, '73, p. 5) This attitude marked a real difference from earlier primitive ideology that

saw offenders as a homogeneous group that, despite individual degrees of legal violation, forfeited their membership in society. In 1870 another type of prison emerged, the reformatory, which had as its focus youthful offenders. (Barnes, '59, p. 329)

At the onset of the 19th century, imprisonment had become a coercive measure in itself; a means to an end. Fletcher sums up the mood at the time.

The mitigation of harsh penal laws was to be expedited by strict and conciliatory attention to the morals and health of prisoners and (by) introducing a system of solitary confinement for certain crimes and establishing of penitentiary houses. (Fletcher '39)

The "penitentiary" was a new term in corrections, rooted in the word "penitence", meaning to be sorry for sin. The Quakers had much to do with this idea of being left alone and contemplating the error of one's deeds. Consequently, solitary confinement was a major component of corrections at this time. It was felt that the penitentiary would provide a new environment which would erase the influences of the old. The model for corrections in the 19th century was the Auburn System of New York State which instituted solitary confinement at night and collective labor for profit during the day. Good behavior at Auburn was measured by the amount of work accomplished. (Krisberg, '75, p. 158)

Interestingly, it was in 1817 that New York State became the first state in the nation to attempt to deal with the problem of recidivism. It passed the first habitual criminal law which began the precedent of giving harsher sentences for third and fourth offenses. (Barnes, '59, p. 58)

By the mid 19th century, the gradual movement from feudal society to a bourgeois political economy culminated in two quite modern and progressive concepts: one, that coercion, which was basic to the idea of punishment, was to be exercised exclusively by the state; and two, that exact calculable punishments were to be affixed to specific offenses. (Smith, '74, pp. 18-19)

As the 19th century faded into the 20th, it became increasingly apparent that there existed a dilemma within this country's correctional philosophy: the concept of state coercion clashed with the doctrine of the rights of man in the liberal state. The solution to this problem could be found in viewing offenders as being psychologically, morally and possibly physiologically different from the self-determining individual for whom the state existed. Punishment and/or treatment would restore the abilities to the offender that were necessary for free and moral action. (Smith, '74, pp. 22-23)

While many proponents of the "Traditional" school continued to advocate the "get tough" policy of offender treatment, the feeling that the criminal suffered from a treatable disease that prevented him or her from doing the correct thing increased in popularity. As this opinion grew, although often intertwined with punishment theories, the seeds of the Era of Treatment or Rehabilitation had been sown. (Korn, '59, pp. 581-586)

With the onset of the Era of Treatment, modern corrections ideally had shifted its emphasis to the rehabilitation of the offender and his or her return to society, but attempted to achieve this through the traditional system of penalties. (Kittre, '71, p. 37)

The poor success rate of the modern American prison with its potpourri system of confinement, treatments and fines makes it apparent that:

The label of 'treatment' masks the inability of American prisons to fully commit themselves to either simple unaffected punishment or genuine rehabilitation. (Smith, '74, p. 112)

It is the "correctional community", the compromise between punishment, i.e., confinement, and treatment that characterizes much of what is today's American system of corrections. (Fenton, '67, pp. 1-2) But, as Alper and others point out, high recidivism rates indicate that

contrary to what is hoped, "the convicts' motivation for anti-social behavior remains untouched, frequently it is strengthened." Confinement mixed with in-institution rehabilitation only produces "good actors, dissemblers and hypocrites." (Alper, '74, p. 58) With this arrangement, prisoners are not only ill-prepared for re-entry into society in the way of employability and psychological skills, but also the social stigma of the offender is not reduced. In many instances it is increased. (Shoham, '66, pp. 12-13)

Now that we have analyzed carefully the historical roots of the system of corrections that we know today, it is appropriate that we return to Robert Martinson's null hypothesis. Through this historical sketch we have been able to better appreciate and more clearly visualize the various attributes or components of our prisons as they reside in the Era of Treatment. It is just this era, or error of treatment, as he undoubtedly would label it, that Martinson feels has profoundly failed to demonstrate any ability to make a better citizen out of the prisoner than before he or she passed through the institution's gates. To reiterate: Martinson's review of all the studies done on correctional institutions' treatment techniques between 1945 and 1967 paints the very vivid picture that confinement coupled with in-prison treatment

or rehabilitation of any quality or quantity does not improve the offender as evidenced by recidivism rates.

Martinson sums up his position nicely when he writes that:

The goal of the system of criminal justice in America is punishment instead of rehabilitation, the creation of fear rather than respect, and the deprivation of liberty rather than the creation of opportunities. (Martinson, '72, p. 235)

"True" treatment or rehabilitation has not been achieved. Torture, mutilation and death gave way to imprisonment, but recidivism statistics tell us that no matter what is done with the offender within the walls, true change for the better has not come about. "The Era of Treatment remains stalled at the threshold, an age still clamoring to be born." (Korn, '59, p. 588)

MCI-Framingham

A correction institution of a type that was not included in the extensive review of the treatment studies made by Martinson or in the criticism of many recent writers is Massachusetts Correction Institution, Framingham.

Ramsey Clark writes that the goal of modern corrections must be rehabilitation, and that every other consideration of the correction program must be subordinated to it.

(Clark, '70, p. 220) As we have already discussed, however, all previous attempts at rehabilitation, including the

"correctional community" approach with its sophisticated training programs and its attempts to develop more open and free interaction, have generally been within the prison walls. The result is an artificial and overly controlled facsimile of the real community: the town, city or area in which the institution is located. (Shoham, '66, p. 152) MCI-Framingham with its coeducational design and programs that allow offenders to spend a considerable number of hours of the day away from the institution, working or studying in the community perhaps has the best chance to send the offender back to society rehabilitated because he or she has been rehabilitated in it.

Protection of society is cited as a major goal of the Massachusetts Department of Correction according to its Philosophy of Reform, 1972. Protection, however, is best achieved, according to this same philosophy by providing:

a truly corrective experience for sentenced offenders so that they will be better equipped to lead productive and law abiding lives..... Our goal is to return a man to society with the knowledge and skills necessary to earn an honest living, with a reasonable sense of social responsibility and self value and with an increased capacity for self control, judgment and realistic optimism. (Powers, '73, p. 181)

To best achieve these goals, the Massachusetts Department of Correction, as of 1972, instituted the idea of community based treatment. Specifically, this program would

allow certain offenders to participate in work, education and furlough programs in the community in which the institution was situated. The criteria for the choosing of these participants are: the offender must have served a reasonable length of time, have demonstrated that he or she is "responsible and deserving", and be within eighteen months of his or her parole eligibility date. (Powers, '73, p. 178)

MCI-Framingham, in addition to offering these beyond the prison walls programs, was also designed to provide a more natural environment for residents. It was to be coeducational: housing men and women in separate units within the same walls and allowing free interaction during meals and recreation, being separate only at night.

(Alper, '74, p. 94)

Originally, MCI-Framingham was built in 1877 as the nation's second exclusively female correctional institution. Women who were convicted and sentenced for any crime, in any court in Massachusetts, unless otherwise indicated by the Commissioner, were sent to Framingham. Until 1973 drunkenness was the major cause for sentencing to Framingham. Other major reasons for commitment there were: felonies over \$100.00, narcotic drug violations and drug related crimes, prostitution and manslaughter.

(Powers, '73, pp. 216-217)

In time the female population of the Women's Reformatory at Framingham (MCI-Framingham) decreased due to the establishment of halfway houses and other community settings as well as the decriminalization of drunkenness. It was at this time in the early 1970's that it was decided by the Massachusetts Department of Correction that Framingham's empty spaces would be filled by specially selected males who would be transferred from other Massachusetts Correction Institutions for an experimental coeducational program. The first group of men arrived at MCI-Framingham in March 1973. (Alper, '74, p. 94)

Several correctional treatment programs are in operation at MCI-Framingham. Four have been selected for this study: furloughs, work release, education release and counseling.

Furlough Program. A furlough can be defined as a purposeful, temporary, usually unsupervised, release from a correctional facility. Furloughs are consistent with the community-oriented trend in corrections in that they enable gradual reintegration into the community prior to final discharge from custody.

In Massachusetts, the furlough program was first implemented in November, 1972, through legislative action. (Section 90A, Correctional Reform Act, a.k.a. Chapter 777)

The purposes for which furloughs may be granted are:

- (1) to attend relatives' funerals;
- (2) to visit critically ill relatives;
- (3) to obtain medical and social services not available within the facility or through hospitalization;
- (4) to contact prospective employers;
- (5) to obtain post-release housing;
- (6) for any other reason serving a reintegrative function.

Eligibility is based on the amount of time served and type of commitment. This can range from immediate qualification for those within 18 months of parole eligibility, to a five year wait for those serving a life sentence for first degree murder. An inmate may receive a maximum of 14 furlough days during the year. Emergency situations can bring about immediate furloughs, under guard if close supervision is deemed necessary. Furloughs are granted through application to a furlough coordinator and are based on the recommendations of a furlough committee and authorized by the facility Superintendent, or in the case of special offenders (certain sexual and violent crimes), the Commissioner of Corrections. Those classified as "sexually dangerous persons" have only recently been allowed furloughs under Federal Court order.

Prisoners who fail to return within two hours of their designated time are considered escapees and appropriate law enforcement action is undertaken. (Farrington, 1975, pp. 1-6).

Between November 1972 and June 28, 1975 a total of 20,290 furloughs were granted in Massachusetts. A total of 311 inmates were declared escapees, for an overall escape rate of 1.5%. Excluding 86 inmates who returned voluntarily within 24 hours, 225 did not return voluntarily (1.1%) and 52 of those remained at large. (Farrington, September 1975, p. 9)

At MCI-Framingham a total of 1,715 furloughs were granted and 18 inmates were declared escapes, for an overall escape rate of 1.0%. Nine inmates did not return voluntarily within 24 hours (.5%) and four remained at large. (Farrington, September 1975, p. 9)

Based on data from an earlier survey (November 1972 to December 31, 1972) 90.3% of all Massachusetts furloughs had a "favorable" outcome, and 9.7% had an "unfavorable" outcome: escape, late arrival (less than 2 hours), new arrest, etc. Framingham furloughs were 86.8% favorable and 13.2% unfavorable. However, 10.6% of Framingham unfavorables were due to late arrival, as compared to

7.1% of the total. Framingham listed a 1.4% escape rate vs. a 1.7% rate for all other Massachusetts facilities.

(Farrington, September 1974, p. 17)

The apparent success of the Massachusetts furlough program is not unique. A recent survey of nationwide furlough programs indicated that such programs exist in 29 states, 16 states have plans for implementation, and only 6 states have no plans for furlough programs. Of the states allowing furloughs, 23 or 82% reported minimal or no serious problems. (Markley 1973, pp. 19-26) In the District of Columbia, during a 16 month period, 1,000 furloughs were granted, and there were 21 escapes for a 98% success rate. (D.C. Citizen's Council for Criminal Justice, 1971; cited in LeClair, p. 10)

Studies measuring the impact of furloughs on post-release behavior are few. In one such study, Holt and Miller reported that 40% of furlough participants experienced difficulties while on parole, as compared with 58% of non-participants. (Holt et al., cited in Markley, 1973, pp. 19-26)

In a section of their 1975 study of MCI-Framingham, Almy, et al., surveyed inmates' perceptions of rehabilitative programs. Ninety-two percent of the men and 62% of the

women in the sample of 50 prisoners had been on furloughs. The administrative goals of the program were found to be consistent with the benefits expressed by inmates; i.e., furloughs enabled one to maintain or re-establish family and community contact. Forty-three out of 50 inmates rated the program and their experiences with it as positive. (Almy, et al., 1975, p. 125)

It is hoped that the analysis of the MCI-Framingham furlough program will shed new light on the effectiveness of furloughs as a rehabilitative tool. The data suggests that furlough programs pose little or no threat to the community. Yet it remains to be seen whether or not furloughs ultimately effect a more positive re-integration into the community.

Work Release Program. Work release (also referred to in the literature as work furlough or day work) can be defined as the temporary release of an inmate from a facility for the purpose of employment in public and private industry. The inmate is required to return to custody at the completion of the work day. First utilized in Wisconsin under the Huber Law of 1913, work release has become increasingly popular as a rehabilitative method. It is another manifestation of the trend in

corrections toward community-based "treatment".

In addition to rehabilitative goals, work release programs are often touted by "reformers" as cost savers, and studies have borne this out. (LeClair, no pub. date, pp. 5-7)

Variations of work release have existed in Massachusetts since 1880, when female inmates were indentured or released in citizen custody for day work. (Ayer, 1973, p. 187) In 1972, the Correctional Reform Act repealed all such previous legislation. Any offender in a state facility demonstrating responsibility and deservedness during confinement (at least 30 days), and within 18 months of parole eligibility may participate in work release.

Committees of correctional staff members in each institution make recommendations on applications to the Superintendent. The Commissioner of Corrections is the final authority, especially in cases of those serving life sentences for certain sexual and violent crimes. Failure to return to the facility constitutes "escape" and subjects the inmate to possible prosecution and further sentencing. (3-5 years and loss of "good time"). (Powers 1973, pp. 178-179)

Inmates on work release are required to pay the state for room and board on a per diem basis. In certain circumstances a portion of their wages is deducted for support of dependents and payment of debts.

Based on data from the October 1975 "Monthly Statistical Report on Massachusetts Correctional Programs," 82 inmates or 6.5% of the 1,269 total inmate population (excluding pre-release centers), participated in work release programs. At MCI-Framingham, 21 out of 124 inmates or 16.9% participated. During the month of October, the following changes occurred within its program: there were eight admissions, three inmates paroled or discharged, two removed for disciplinary reasons, three transferred to pre-release centers, and four quit their jobs voluntarily.

Studies of work release programs are more numerous than other rehabilitative programs, though there is by no means an overabundance. Of those evaluations in existence, Jeffery and Woolpert have leveled several criticisms:

- (1) control groups are inadequately matched for criminal record and social background variables;
- (2) the criteria for selection of work release participants favors those most likely to "succeed" regardless of program impact;
- (3) work release is all too often used as a reward for good behavior

Each situation affects the reliability of the data in measuring recidivism. (Jeffery, et al., 1974, p. 406)

Jeffery and Woolpert studied prisoners who were committed for misdemeanors in San Mateo County, California.

After a 4 year follow-up, there was a 34% recidivism rate for work releasees compared with a 72% recidivism rate for the control group. A significant finding was that those in so-called "high risk groups" (unskilled, unmarried, under 35 years of age, three or more prior convictions) benefited most from work release. (Jeffery, et al., 1974, p. 413)

Another California study, based on a one year follow-up period of persons committed for felonies, resulted in a 12.3% recidivism rate for work releasees vs. a 21% statewide recidivism rate. (California Dept. of Corrections, 1968, cited in LeClair, p. 3) Similar results were obtained in Pennsylvania. After 18 months post-release, 90 work releasees showed an 8% recidivism rate, compared with a 14% recidivism rate for 69 randomly selected controls. The work releasees tended to be older, non-white, married, and skilled workers. (Newman, et al., 1968; cited in LeClair, p. 4)

A 1972 evaluation of the Concord Day Work program compared 78 work release program completees with base expectancy data derived from 152 Concord prisoners. A 12 month follow-up period showed no significant difference (30.76% work release recidivism rate vs. a 32.23% control

recidivism rate). However, a 21 month follow-up of 47 completees resulted in a 31.91% recidivism rate for work releasees compared with a 44.73% recidivism rate for the control group. (LeClair, p. 14)

An interesting result of a differential impact analysis from the above study delineated a "negative impact group;" that is, those whose participation in work release was associated with an increased recidivism rate. This group consisted of inmates who:

- (1) had serious disciplinary records; and,
- (2) were young and had long criminal records.

The recidivism rate for the negative impact group was 64%, vs. 21% for controls with similar backgrounds. (LeClair, p. 14)

Program completion rates are another area of interest. Work release programs are typically administered according to strict rules and regulations. For example, prisoners must not drink alcohol or use drugs, not contact friends or relatives, and must return to the facility within time limits. These rules, coupled with the comparatively high degree of freedom for work releasees, can bring about violation and subsequent termination from the program.

In 1967, 1,896 or 10.5% of persons committed for

misdemeanors in Minnesota participated in work release.

Seven percent absconded, 6% escaped, and 82% were judged successful in terms of program completion. (Minnesota Dept. of Corrections, 1970; cited in LeClair, p. 1)

In another Minnesota study, 74 out of 154 felon participants (59%) were defined as successes. (Minnesota Dept. of Corrections, 1971; cited in LeClair, p. 1)

The in-program failure rate in a District of Columbia study was 37%. Those who were successful tended to be older (30 years of age or older) and with either a grammar school or post high school education. Over represented among the failures were those aged 20-30 and with an 8th to 11th grade education. (District of Columbia Corrections Dept., 1970; cited in LeClair, p. 1)

At MCI-Framingham, based on the data of Almy,et al., 32% of the inmates sampled had been on work release.

Forty-eight out of 50 viewed the program as a positive experience and agreed that the benefits were reintegrative in nature. The difficulties they cited included statutory restrictions, lack of job development for women, poor communication between prison administration and employers, and having to pay 15% of wages earned to the state. (Almy,et al., 1975, p. 130)

Based on a review of the literature, it would seem that the success of work release in reducing recidivism is fairly well documented. However, until such time that recidivism is reduced to tolerable levels by community standards, the need for further refinement of programs and predictability will exist. Program completion rates, negative impact groups, and the integration of work release with other rehabilitative programs are examples of problem areas.

Education Release Program. Institutional academic programs have long been included in the overall rehabilitation plan. However, with the advent of work release, it was recognized that the community offers many more opportunities for education and vocational training, particularly at the college and skilled labor level.

In Massachusetts the Correctional Reform Act authorized temporary release for course work at local academic and vocational institutions on the same basis as work release for employment. The eligibility requirements are the same as work release; that is, one must be within 18 months of parole eligibility. The academic program tends to be limited to college level courses. Considering that the average inmate has gone no further than the 9th grade, (in 1972, 71% of prisoners

at Framingham had not completed high school), (Powers, 1973, p. 187) a small number of inmates is eligible. The October 1975 Monthly Statistical Report lists only 47 prisoners attending 17 different educational/vocational institutions.

The effect of prison school attendance on post-release recidivism has been demonstrated in a Delaware study. Inmates who had attended prison school for at least two months showed a significantly lower rate of recidivism at three and five year follow-up periods, with the differences increasing over time. (Link, 1970, pp. 18-20)

In regard to education release, a survey of nationwide policies resulted in 38 states indicating that the program was helpful in the overall rehabilitation effort. No respondents indicated that it did not help. (Smith, et al., 1974, pp. 357-364)

The lack of evaluative data on education release is evident from the literature review. It is hoped that this study of Framingham can make a contribution in this area in terms of its impact on recidivism.

Counseling (Psychotherapy) Program. The existence of individual and group psychotherapy programs within a facility is logically consistent with the overall aim of

providing treatment instead of punishment. The general purpose is to enable a more successful reintegration into society upon discharge. However, some suggest that such programs provide the prison administration with yet another instrument of control over inmates during their period of confinement. (The Prison Research Project, 1974, p. 57)

Since 1965, psychotherapy in Massachusetts correctional facilities has been provided by the Division of Legal Medicine of the Dept. of Mental Health. The therapists, in addition to providing direct services, conduct evaluations and serve on classification teams. At MCI-Framingham there are five therapists: three social workers, a psychologist, and a counselor. All therapy is voluntary and may be either individual or group oriented. Three types of groups have been offered: short-term encounter, four hour marathon, and long-term therapy. Much of the individual work is brief, goal-oriented therapy, though some inmates are seen on a long-term basis. (Almy, et al., 1975, p. 81)

As is the case with most rehabilitative programs, few evaluative studies exist. In a study of the psychotherapy program at MCI-Walpole, Carney compared recidivism rates of program participants with expected recidivism

rates derived from base expectancy categories. The recidivism rate for participants was significantly lower (53% actual vs. 68% expected) after a four year follow-up period. It was also found that inmates with short records and older inmates (34 years of age or older) benefited more from psychotherapy than younger inmates with long records. Individual therapy was more effective for short-term treatment, while group therapy was more effective for long-term treatment. (Carney, 1971, pp. 367-370)

In a study of a group psychotherapy program in a medium security prison in California, Kassebaum, et al., found that after 36 months, parole performance was not significantly different for participants than for non-participants. (Kassebaum, et al., 1971, p. 242) Another California evaluation of the PICO program compared prisoners who were "amenable" to treatment (based on the level and quality of anxiety) to those judged "non-amenable". Treated amenable had a lower rate of recidivism than non-treated amenable. Treated non-amenable were less successful in avoiding reincarceration than non-treated non-amenable. (Adams, 1962, p. 213)

Clanon, et al., in evaluating the effectiveness of group psychotherapy in a California correctional facility

for "mentally ill" offenders, found that after one year, treated inmates performed better on parole than inmates in control groups. However, after four years, the positive effects of treatment had disappeared. (Clanon, et al., 1972, p. 239)

Almy, et al., uncovered a great deal of inmate ambivalence toward the Framingham counseling program. Sixty-two percent of those 50 inmates sampled had been in treatment. Eighteen inmates were ambivalent, 14 believed the program to be negative, and only 14 felt the program to be a good one. The majority of the inmates believed that their negative or ambivalent attitudes were shared by other inmates. In spite of these attitudes, nearly half of the sample believed that counseling afforded a chance for emotional help, self-growth and knowledge, and general personal development. Problems perceived by inmates included such issues as confidentiality, lack of staff interest, and the ineffectiveness of counseling for inmates' problems. (Almy, et al., 1975, pp. 132-135)

While psychotherapy has been shown to have positive effects on recidivism in certain instances, this has not been consistently established in the literature. An important issue that has been delineated is that psycho-

therapy programs have a differential impact on particular types of inmates.

This concludes our review of the literature. Attention will now be turned to a discussion of the methodology for this research.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

METHODOLOGY

The methodology section is divided into three parts.

In the first part the method used for the general recidivism analysis is presented; in the second part the method used for the analysis of four Framingham programs is presented; and, in the third part the method used for the comparison of the men who completed the Framingham program and were released from that facility vs. the men who did not complete the Framingham program and were returned to an all-male institution is presented.

Methodology for Recidivism Analysis

A primary thrust of our study was to determine whether or not a relationship exists between the co-educational experience at MCI-Framingham and the recidivism rate.

Definition of Recidivism. In order to provide consistency, the definition of recidivism used in our study was essentially the same as that employed by Almy, et al. Any individual returned to a Federal or State Prison or to a County House of Correction or jail for 30 days or more was considered a recidivist. At the time of the Almy, et al. study, a follow-up period of only six months was possible. In our analysis, the follow-up period was extended from six months to one year from the date of an inmate's release. We also made an attempt to identify the degree of seriousness of the offense of the recidivist.

Sample. The sample for the recidivism analysis consisted of the original men and women identified by Almy, et al. as well as an additional 35 individuals. The original sample was composed of 121 male and female inmates released from MCI-Framingham between May 1, 1973 and June 30, 1974. Through reviewing the Framingham

Release Book, 35 individuals were identified as having been released between July 1, 1974 and October 31, 1974.

It was possible to increase our sample to include these individuals and still maintain a one year follow-up period. Thus, the sample included 156 individuals--112 women and 44 men.

Data Collection. The information previously collected by Almy, et al., was available for our use. In addition, the booking and probation information maintained on pre-punched data cards by the Department of Correction provided us with data on the background characteristics and criminal history of each inmate.

To extend the follow-up period to one year, it was necessary to review the master cards at the Department of Correction and Parole to determine whether or not any of the original 121 individuals were recidivists. The master cards of the additional 37 men and women were also examined.

For those individuals who were released at the expiration of their sentence or for whom parole had ended, any re-arrest information would not have appeared on the master cards. Therefore, it was necessary to identify those individuals for further investigation at the Board of Probation.

Once all of the pertinent data had been collected on the entire sample, a code was devised. The information was subsequently coded and keypunched.

Data Analysis--Base Expectancy Design. As noted by Almy, et al., in any relatively innovative program such as MCI-Framingham it is possible that those individuals selected to participate will constitute those most likely to succeed. This factor is of particular importance when looking at the male inmates at MCI-Framingham since only a small number of the total male prison population in Massachusetts is housed at MCI-Framingham. To provide a systematic way of separating the effects of the selection process from the actual impact of the program at MCI-Framingham, predictive tables called Base Expectancy Categories were used. (Carney, 1967 & 1971) The Base Expectancy Categories were developed from those factors that had been found to be most highly associated with recidivism. The relative probability of recidivism has been identified for various categories of inmates and the categories range from the lowest to the highest risk groups. Therefore, if an overrepresentation of the lowest risk group appears at Framingham the expected recidivism rate will also be low. Consequently, if a significant difference is found between the actual and expected rate

of recidivism for the Framingham sample, this is a good indication that the difference is related to the program rather than the inmate population. The Base Expectancy Categories were available at the Department of Correction and were based on all persons released in 1971.

The expected recidivism rate for the Framingham sample was determined and comparisons were made to the actual return rate. For the males, the combined and validated Base Expectancy Categories of the male institutions, Walpole, Concord, Norfolk and forestry camps, were used to determine the expected rate of recidivism. For the female subjects, the Base Expectancy Categories of MCI-Framingham were used. An overall expected rate of recidivism was then obtained by combining the expected rates from each of the categories in our sample.

Background Characteristics and Recidivism. Again, coinciding with the Almy, *et al.*, study our approach was to derive cross tabulations of background characteristics and recidivism rates for men and women. In doing this it allowed for us to examine the relationship between a number of background variables and recidivism.

Recidivism rates of Framingham releasees will be compared with rates of men and women released from Department of Correction facilities in 1971 with the

background variables held constant. These cross tabulations will indicate whether or not the Framingham experience had a differential impact on recidivism rates with various types of inmates.

Methodology for Program Analyses

In investigating some of the variables influencing recidivism, the present study undertook an analysis of four programs in operation at MCI-Framingham. These programs are:

- (1) Furlough Program;
- (2) Work Release Program;
- (3) Education Release Program; and
- (4) Counseling Program

The basic questions the study sought to answer are:

- (1) do certain programs have a greater (or lesser) impact on recidivism than do others?; and
- (2) do some types of inmates benefit more than others from different programs in terms of recidivism reduction?

Furlough Program. The subjects used to evaluate this program were all inmates in the recidivism sample who had received at least one furlough. For the subjects included in the sample, the following steps were necessary:

- (1) a list of names and numbers of all individuals in the recidivism sample was gathered;
- (2) a computer printout of furlough histories of all individuals in the recidivism sample was obtained;

- (3) a code was developed for furlough data (Appendix); and,
- (4) furlough data was coded and keypunched.

Work Release Program. The subjects for this sample included all inmates participating in the Work Release Program. These steps were followed for the subjects included in the study:

- (1) a list of names of individuals involved in the Work Release Program was obtained;
- (2) a code for Work Release Program data was developed (Appendix), and,
- (3) Work Release data was coded and keypunched.

Educational Release Program. The subjects for this sample included all inmates participating in the Education Release Program. The following steps were followed for the subjects included in the study:

- (1) a list of names of individuals involved in the Educational Release Program was obtained;
- (2) a code for Educational Release Program data was developed (Appendix); and,
- (3) the Educational Release data was coded and keypunched.

In gathering material on Educational Release, there was the additional problem of limited information. This was due to the small number of individuals participating in the program.

Counseling Program

Subjects for this sample included all inmates participating in the Counseling Program. The following steps were undertaken for this sample:

- (1) several MCI-Framingham counselors were interviewed to determine if data would be available, and the extent and applicability of the data;
- (2) a list of names of individuals in the recidivism sample involved in the Counseling Program was obtained; and,
- (3) information for each individual on all available face sheet data was collected;
- (4) a code was developed and the data was coded and keypunched. (Appendix)

In gathering material on the Counseling Program there was the additional problem of limited information. This was also due to the small number of individuals participating in the program.

The general approach in evaluating the impact of each of these four programs was to examine the relationship between participation in the program (as well as the degree of participation) and recidivism.

Methodology for Program Completion/Non-Completion Analysis

General Research Questions. A comparative analysis of those men who successfully completed the coeducational program at Framingham and those who did not successfully

carried out. Such an analysis of the completion/non-completion population poses crucial programmatic questions. A research question that is central to the completion/non-completion study is whether or not there are distinguishing characteristics of the men transferred to MCI-Framingham which will result in them being more or less likely to complete the program. Implicit in this approach is a question of causation. What are the reasons for which some men fail to complete the Framingham experience? Can research into this area reveal a pattern of high, moderate, or low success/failure probability among certain types of residents?

The identification of variables which distinguish men who complete the program from those who do not complete the program is applicable and relevant in two ways. First, it may provide indicators to correctional administrators as to whether or not an inmate has a high, moderate, or low success/failure probability. This has implications for the selection of men for the Framingham program.

Identified high risk individuals may be screened out in order to avoid the possibility of failure in a setting that is inappropriate for them. A second and perhaps more creative aspect of the data yielded in research of non-completers could be its implication for program changes at Framingham. Indication of a potential resident's success/

more individualized treatment program. Identified high risk individuals could receive a more intensive and individualized treatment program. Such a differential treatment approach would allow for the development of programs tailored to the identified need of the residents.

Definition of Terms and Sample. It is important to define the concepts of program completion and non-completion in order to clearly and precisely analyze the data presented in the study. Completion refers to those men in the recidivism sample released between May, 1973, to October 31, 1974. Non-completion refers to those men who were transferred from Framingham back to an all male institution between March, 1973, and September, 1975. (The non-completion sample is comprised of 32 men transferred from Framingham between March, 1973, and September, 1975. The sample was collected from a review of the Framingham release book during this time period.)

Data Collection. There were two potential sources of data: statistical data and interviews with non-completers. Limitations of time prohibited us from including possible relevant data that may have been obtained by interviewing. As a result, statistical data became our source of data collection.

Statistical data is comprised of information collected from Correction Department records. Included in this data collection process were:

- (1) review of the Framingham release book;
- (2) selection of 32 non-completers from March 1973 to September 1975;
- (3) selection of data cards with personal background and criminal history data for the 32 non-completers;
- (4) review of case folders of the 32 non-completers; and,
- (5) the development of a code (Included in Appendix).

It is important to expound more fully on the steps involved in the data collection. Reviewing the Framingham release book provided us with a list of non-completers, their original committing numbers, the length of stay at Framingham, and the institution to which they returned-- i.e., Concord, Walpole, Norfolk. Those included in the sample were incarcerated at some time between March, 1973, when MCI-Framingham became a coeducational facility and September, 1975. After the sample population was established, background and criminal history information was collected from booking and probation data cards. A comparison could then be made between those who completed successfully (i.e., those men in the recidivism sample) and those who

did not complete.

Review of the case folders provided us with reasons why non-completers were transferred back to all male institutions. From the raw data, a code was constructed indicating the reasons of transfer. This was accomplished in two steps. First, the data was divided into five categories for reason of transfer. These included: institutional, furlough, work release, educational and miscellaneous. Each category was further divided into individual sub-categories to account for all possible reasons for transfer. The data was then attached to the individual background data to yield a profile of non-completers.

Data Analysis. The completion/non-completion data analysis will be approached in two ways. First, the non-completion sample will be compared with the completion sample with variables such as age, type of offense, prior criminal history, etc., held constant. (This will provide us with some understanding of the similarities and differences between completers and non-completers). Hopefully, an end result will be a profile of distinguishing characteristics. If significant similarities or differences emerge, the data will then be analyzed in terms of its further implication for the selection process and/or for changes in programming at MCI-Framingham.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

RESULTS

The results are presented in three sections. The first section is the recidivism analysis. This section includes a comparison of the expected and the actual recidivism rates for the Framingham sample, as well as a comparison of the recidivism rates of the Framingham sample and of the Comparison Group with a number of variables held constant. The second section contains the program analyses, and the third section includes the Framingham completion/non-completion analysis.

Results on Recidivism Analysis

Expected vs. Actual Recidivism Rates. As previously mentioned in the methodology chapter, the approach utilized in the recidivism follow-up will be to compare the actual recidivism rate for Framingham releasees with the expected recidivism rate. The data presented in the following table indicates that the actual rate of recidivism for our total sample of 156 releasees was 15.4%. This compares to an expected rate of 30.6%, a difference of 15.2 percentage points. ($\chi^2 = 16.96$, df = 1, $p < .001$)

Expected vs. Actual Recidivism Rates

for Framingham Releasees

	<u>N</u>	<u>Ex. R.R.</u>	<u>Actual R.R.</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Total Sample	156	30.6%	15.4%	15.2
Total Women	112	33.9%	15.2%	18.7
Total Men	44	22.3%	15.9%	6.4

When the total sample is divided into male and female releasees, the actual recidivism rate for women is 15.2% as compared to an expected rate of 33.9%, a difference of 18.7 percentage points. ($\chi^2 = 17.56$, $p < .001$) For the males in our sample, the difference was not as great. The actual rate is 15.9% as compared to an expected rate of 22.3%, a difference of 6.4 percentage points. ($\chi^2 = 1.03$, n.s.)

The following table presents the breakdown in terms of the seriousness of the behavior for which the recidivists were reincarcerated.

	<u>Framingham Releasees</u>		<u>Comparison Group</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Non-recidivists	132	85%	835	75%
Recidivists	24	15%	272	25%
Parole Violations	16	10%	246	23%
New Commitment	8	5%	26	2%

As can be seen in the above data, of the 24 Framingham recidivists, 1/3 were reincarcerated following a commitment for a new offense. Two thirds of the recidivists were reincarcerated for a violation of parole. In the comparison group, only 2% of the recidivists were returned on the

basis of a new commitment. The vast majority of recidivists in the comparison group were reincarcerated following a violation of parole.

In further breaking down the data, the following table shows the type of new commitment for the Framingham recidivists.

Framingham Recidivism Data

	Females		Males		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-recidivists	95	(84.8)	37	(84.1)	132	(84.6)
Recidivists	17	(15.2)	7	(15.9)	24	(15.4)
Parole Violators	12	(10.7)	4	(9.1)	16	(10.3)
New House of Correction Commitments	0		1	(2.3)	1	(0.1)
New MCI Commitments	5	(4.5)	2	(4.5)	7	(4.5)
Total	112	(100%)	44	(100%)	156	(100%)

As can be seen, the types of new commitment of the Framingham recidivists is substantially the same for the men and women. Parole violations accounted for 10.7% of the females in the sample compared with 9.1% of the males. The percentage of individuals with a new MCI commitment is 4.5% for both the males and females. New commitments to houses of correction accounted for only 2.3% of the

male sample, while no women were found to be in this category.

Differential Effects of Framingham Experience on Recidivism. In this part of the study, recidivism rates of Framingham releasees were compared with those of comparison group releasees with a number of variables held constant. The purpose was to attempt to determine what types of offenders seemed to benefit most (and what types seemed to benefit least) from the Framingham experience--at least in terms of recidivism reduction. The variables used in this analysis were broken down into three general categories: present offense; background characteristics; and, criminal history (see Appendices A & B).

A. Present Offense. In looking at the offense leading to the present incarceration for the men in our sample, none of the variables proved to be statistically significant. It should, however, be noted that those male subjects sentenced for drug offenses had a recidivism rate of 0% as compared with a recidivism rate of 29% for their counterparts in the comparison group. Although property offenses accounted for only 11% of the males in our sample, the recidivism rate for those individuals was

40%, whereas the comparison group was 29%.

Considering the same variables for the female subjects, the recidivism rate for drug offenders was 11% compared with a rate of 40% for drug offenders in the comparison group. This finding is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 6.65$, $p < .01$). Similarly, we find those convicted of property offenses to have the highest recidivism rate (28%). The comparison group rate of recidivism was 24%.

When the rates of recidivism for the male and female subjects with respect to present offense are combined, two variables are identified as being statistically significant. Those subjects sentenced for drug offenses had a recidivism rate of 9% as compared with the comparison group rate of 31% ($\chi^2 = 7.89$, $p < .01$).

In looking at age at present incarceration, those subjects who were 21 years or younger had a recidivism rate of 12% as compared with a recidivism rate of 27% for their counterparts in the comparison group ($\chi^2 = 5.05$, $p < .05$).

B. Background Characteristics. When we review the differential effects of background variables on the recidivism rates of our Framingham male sample vs. the

1971 male comparison group we find no distinguishing background variables that reach the .05 level of statistical significance. Of substantive mention, those that reach the .10 level of significance, are those under the variables occupational status, drug usage, and military service.

Under occupational status the recidivism rate of the Framingham male sample was 8% for manual laborers while the comparison sample's rate for this group was 26%.

In relation to drug usage, the Framingham sample's male heroin user had a recidivism rate of 10% as opposed to a rate of 39% for the comparison group's heroin users.

Under military service the recidivism rate for Framingham non-veterans was 13% while the 1971 male comparison group was 27%.

The remaining background variables, found in Appendix A, were not found to be statistically significant when comparing the two male samples.

When looking at the women's samples, the differential effects of several background variables are highly important. Again, the differential effects are seen when we look at the recidivism rates of our Framingham women's sample and the 1971 women's comparison group.

The variable, "time on most skilled job", was broken

down into several time periods. The most significant period was found to be "9 months or less". Our Framingham women's sample return rate was 13% while the 1971 women's control group rate was 37%. These percentages are very important since they reached the .01 level of statistical significance.

Also noteworthy of the women's background characteristics are marital status, last address, longest period on one job, and race. Each of these variables, which will be mentioned below, reached the .05 level of statistical significance.

Under marital status, the recidivism rate for the single Framingham releasee was 13% as opposed to 31% for their single female counterparts in the comparison group.

In relation to "last address" our Framingham sample had a recidivism rate of 15% for those who recorded Boston as their last address. The 1971 comparison group from Boston had a recidivism rate of 34%.

Another meaningful background variable, "longest time on one job," showed that the period 9 months or less was most significant. Our female sample in this grouping had a recidivism rate of 15% while the comparison group women had a recidivism rate of 37%.

Under the variable, race, the recidivism rate for Black Framingham women was 11% as opposed to a rate of 26% for the Black comparison group.

The remaining background variables for women were not of statistical significance.

When we look at the differential effects of certain background variables on the recidivism rates of the total sample, we find several statistically significant results.

Under the background variable, drug usage, we find that the combined male and female Framingham recidivism rate for heroin users was 15%. The entire comparison group's recidivism rate for heroin users was 39%. The difference then was 24 percentage points. The statistical significance of this variable was to the .01 level.

The variable, "longest period on one job", was statistically significant to the .05 level for the "9 months or less" group. The Framingham sample's recidivism rate was 17% for those employed less than 9 months. The comparison group's return rate was 32%.

For the variable, "length of time on most skilled job", the grouping "12 months or less" had a recidivism rate of 17% for the Framingham combined sample and 29%

for the comparison group. The statistical significance level was less than .05.

Under marital status in the background variables, single Framingham releasees had a recidivism rate of 14%, while their single counterparts in the comparison group had a recidivism rate of 25%.

For the race variable, the Black Framingham releasee had a return rate of 13% while the Blacks in the 1971 comparison group had a return rate of 24%. As with the background variable marital status, the race differential effects reached the .05 level of statistical significance.

The remaining variables having to do with the background characteristics of the two samples were not found to be statistically significant.

C. Criminal History Variables. In looking at the actual recidivism rates of the sample of Framingham men, when compared to recidivism rates of the comparison group men, two variables stand out in significance. For those with "one or more prior arrests for narcotic offenses", the Framingham sample showed a recidivism rate of 7% vs. 32% for the comparison group. ($\chi^2 = 4.28$, $p < .05$). For those with "one or more juvenile incarcerations", the Framingham sample had a

7% recidivism rate, compared to 33% for the comparison group. ($\chi^2 = 4.10$, $p < .05$). Since men with this criminal history typically have a very high recidivism rate, the results are especially noteworthy.

Other differences in the recidivism rate for our sample, though not as significant, appear in looking at "no prior arrests for drunkenness". The Framingham men showed a 4% recidivism rate compared with the comparison group's rate of 21%. ($\chi^2 = 3.75$, $p < .10$). Also, considering the variable, "no house of correction incarcerations", the Framingham sample again resulted in a lower recidivism rate, 7% vs. 20%. ($\chi^2 = 3.05$, $p < .10$). For those with "two or more prior arrests for person offenses", the Framingham men had a 12% recidivism rate compared to a 26% rate for the comparison group. ($\chi^2 = 2.73$, $p < .10$).

No significant differences were found between the Framingham sample and the comparison group when looking at: "age at first arrest", "number of court appearances", "prior arrests for property offenses", and "number of state incarcerations".

Comparing the recidivism rates of our sample of Framingham women with the rates of the comparison group, two criminal history variables were found to be highly

significant." Framingham women in the sample, with "fewer than two prior arrests for person offenses", had a 14% recidivism rate vs. 36% for the comparison group.

($\chi^2 = 8.87$, $p < .01$). In looking at the variable, "one or more prior arrests for narcotic offenses", our sample showed a 16% recidivism rate compared to the comparison group's rate of 45%. ($\chi^2 = 8.80$, $p < .01$).

A significant result was obtained in regard to the variable, "no juvenile incarcerations". Our sample of Framingham women had a 14% recidivism rate vs. 30% for the comparison group. ($\chi^2 = 5.98$, $p < .05$). Another variable, "one or more house of correction incarceration", is equally noteworthy; our sample again had a lower rate of recidivism--12% compared with 43%. ($\chi^2 = 5.54$, $p < .05$).

Those variables in which no significant differences were found are: "age at first arrest", "number of court appearances", "prior arrests for property offenses", "prior arrests for drunkenness", and "number of state incarcerations".

When the recidivism rates of the Framingham sample of men and women were combined and compared to the recidivism rates of the comparison group, several criminal history variables were found to be highly significant. Considering those with "one or more prior arrests for narcotic offenses",

our sample had a 14% recidivism rate vs. a 34% rate for the comparison group. ($\chi^2 = 10.47$, $p < .01$). In regard to the variable, "more than 10 prior court appearances", the Framingham sample showed a 14% recidivism rate compared with 31%. ($\chi^2 = 7.96$, $p < .01$). For those with "no prior incarcerations in state correctional facilities", the Framingham sample had a 12% recidivism rate vs. a 23% rate for the comparison group. ($\chi^2 = 6.94$, $p < .01$).

Significant results were obtained in looking at two other variables. The Framingham sample with "three or more prior arrests for property offenses", showed a 16% recidivism rate compared to a 30% rate for the comparison group. ($\chi^2 = 6.07$, $p < .05$). Considering those with "no prior arrests for drunkenness", the Framingham sample had a 13% recidivism rate vs. 22% for the comparison group. ($\chi^2 = 4.30$, $p < .05$).

Those variables in which no significant differences were found included: "age at first arrest", "prior arrests for person offenses", "number of juvenile incarcerations", and "number of house of correction incarcerations".

The tables on the following pages display those characteristics of the Framingham men, women, and total sample, respectively, that reflect the most significant findings when analyzed in relation to the comparison

DIFFERENTIAL EFFECTS ON RECIDIVISM: MEN

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Framingham Recid. Rate</u>	<u>Comparison Recid. Rate</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>Chi-Square</u>
1. One or more prior arrests for narcotic offenses	7%	32%	-.25	4.28**
2. One or more juvenile incarcerations	7%	33%	-.26	4.10**
3. Occupation: manual labor	8%	26%	-.18	3.81*
4. No prior arrests for drunkenness	4%	21%	-.17	3.75*
5. Heroin user	10%	39%	-.29	3.44*
6. No House of Correction incarcerations	7%	20%	-.13	3.05*
7. Non-veteran	13%	27%	-.14	2.76*
8. Two or more prior arrests for person offenses	12%	26%	-.14	2.73*
9. Present commitment for drug offenses	0%	29%	-.29	2.71*

* p < .10

** p < .05

DIFFERENTIAL EFFECTS ON RECIDIVISM: WOMEN

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Framingham Recid. Rate</u>	<u>Comparison Recid. Rate</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>Chi-Square</u>
1. Fewer than two prior arrests for person offenses	14%	36%	-.22	8.87**
2. One or more prior arrests for narcotic offenses	16%	45%	-.29	8.80**
3. Time on most skilled job: 9 mos. or less	13%	37%	-.24	6.72**
4. Present commitment for drug offense	11%	40%	-.29	6.65**
5. No juvenile incarceration	14%	30%	-.16	5.98*
6. Single	13%	31%	-.18	5.77*
7. Residence: Boston	15%	34%	-.19	5.56*
8. Longest period on one job: 9 mos. or less	15%	37%	-.22	5.55*
9. One or more House of Correction incarcerations	12%	43%	-.31	5.54*
10. Black	11%	26%	-.15	3.85*

* p < .05

** p < .01

DIFFERENTIAL EFFECTS ON RECIDIVISM: TOTAL SAMPLE

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Framingham Recid. Rate</u>	<u>Comparison Recid. Rate</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>Chi-Square</u>
1. Heroin User	15%	39%	-.24	10.47**
2. One or more prior arrests for narcotic offenses	14%	34%	-.20	9.99**
3. More than 10 prior court appearances	14%	31%	-.17	7.96**
4. Present commitment for drug offense	9%	31%	-.22	7.89**
5. No prior incarcerations in state correctional facilities	12%	23%	-.11	6.94**
6. Three or more prior arrests for property offenses	16%	30%	-.14	6.07*
7. Longest period on one job: 9 mos. or less	17%	32%	-.15	5.16*
8. 21 or younger at present incarceration	12%	27%	-.15	5.05*
9. Time worked at most skilled position: 12 mos. or less	17%	29%	-.12	4.89*
10. Single	14%	25%	-.11	4.58*
11. No prior arrests for drunkenness	13%	22%	-.09	4.30*

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Framingham</u> <u>Recid. Rate</u>	<u>Comparison</u> <u>Recid. Rate</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>Chi-Square</u>
12. Black	13%	24%	-.11	4.08*

* p < .05

** p < .01

group. Inmates with these characteristics in the Framingham sample tended to benefit more than their counterparts in the comparison group, at least when measured in terms of recidivism reduction. Thus, these tables summarize the differential effects of the Framingham experience on recidivism.

Results on Program Analyses

Furlough Data. 93% of the subjects in the sample had at least one furlough--91% of the women and 98% of the men. The data indicates a slight relationship, although not a significant one, between the total number of furlough hours and the rate of recidivism. 67% of the men and women had fewer than 200 furlough hours and their recidivism rate was 17%, whereas 33% of the total had 201 or more furlough hours, and their rate of recidivism was 12%. These results were consistent for both men and women. (Appendix C, Table 1).

The relationship between the total furlough hours at Framingham and the rate of recidivism was not significant, but the data was consistent with the earlier table. 80% of the men and women had 200 or fewer furlough hours at Framingham and their rate of recidivism was 17%. 20% of the men and women had more than 201 furlough hours at

Framingham and their recidivism rate was only 10%. These results were consistent for both men and women. (Table 2).

A slight relationship was indicated between the total number of furloughs and the rate of recidivism, but the results were not significant. 75% of the men and women had 6 or fewer furloughs and their rate of recidivism was 16%. The men and women who had 7 or more furloughs had a recidivism rate of 13%. These trends were consistent for both the men and the women. (Table 3).

The total number of furloughs from Framingham also had a slight relationship to the recidivism rate, although not a significant one. 21% of the men and women had either zero or only one furlough from Framingham, and their rate of recidivism was 18%, whereas 43% of the men and women had 4 or more furloughs from Framingham and their recidivism rate was only 15%. This relationship was also consistent for both men and women. (Table 4).

As in earlier tables, the data indicated a slight relationship between the number of successful furloughs and the recidivism rate, but the results were not significant. 78% of the men and women had 6 or fewer successful furloughs and their rate of recidivism was 17%. 22% of the men and women had 7 or more successful furloughs and had a recidivism rate of only 11%. Again, these trends were consistent for both men and women,

although more so for the women. (Table 5).

The relationship between the number of escapes on furlough and the rate of recidivism was not significant, but the data is especially noteworthy in that so few individuals escaped while on furlough. (0% of the men and 5% of the women, making a total of only 4%). The recidivism rate of the 4% who did escape was 33% whereas 89% of the men and women had furloughs but did not escape, and their rate of recidivism was only 14%. (Table 6).

The relationship between the rate of recidivism and the number of times late in returning from furlough approached statistical significance. ($\chi^2 = 2.76$, $p < .10$). 61% of the men and women had furloughs and were never late in returning. Their recidivism rate was only 12%. 32% of the men and women had furloughs and were late one time or more. Their rate of recidivism was 22%. These results were also consistent for both men and women. (Table 7).

When the number of escapes and times late in returning from furlough are combined, the results are even more apparent and are almost statistically significant. ($\chi^2 = 3.62$, $p < .10$). 59% of the men and women who had furloughs were neither late in returning nor did they

escape. Their rate of recidivism was only 11%. 34% of the men and women had furloughs and either did escape or were late in returning. Their recidivism rate was 23%. Again, these results were consistent for both men and women. (Table 8).

Finally, the relationship between the number of arrests while on furlough and the rate of recidivism was not significant. However, none of the men was arrested while on furlough and only one woman was. (Table 9).

Work Release Data. 62% of the men and women in the sample participated in the work release program. (91% of the men and 51% of the women). The relationship between eleven or more weeks on work release and the rate of recidivism was highly significant. ($\chi^2 = 5.71$, $p < .02$). 77% of the men and women had either zero or less than eleven weeks on work release, and their recidivism rate was 20%. The 23% of the men and women with eleven or more weeks on work release had a recidivism rate of only 3%. These results were consistent for both men and women. (Table 10).

Educational Release Data. Only 5% of the men and women in the sample participated in the Educational Release Program. (11% of the men and 3% of the women). There was a very slight, although not nearly a significant, relationship between participation in the program and the rate of recidivism for women and the total sample. The rate of recidivism for the men and women who did not participate in the Educational Release Program was 15%, and only 12% for those who did participate. This trend was consistent for the women, but, the rate of recidivism for the men participants was slightly higher than for the nonparticipants.

Counseling Data. Only 15% of the total sample had at least one counseling interview. (5% of the men and 19% of the women). The relationship between the participation in the program and recidivism rate was not significant, but the trend was not in the expected direction. The men and women who had one or more counseling interviews had a recidivism rate of 26%, and those who did not have any counseling interviews had a recidivism rate of 14%. These results were consistent for both men and women.

In view of the above results, the expected recidivism rates of the women who had some counseling and the women who had no counseling were determined. This was done to see if particularly "high risk recidivists" had participated in the counseling program. However, the expected recidivism rate of women with no counseling was 34%, while women having some counseling had an expected rate of recidivism of 32%. Although these rates are higher than the actual recidivism rates, they are not significantly different. (Table 12).

The relationship between the therapist's perception of the condition after treatment (either improved or unchanged) and the recidivism rate was not significant. 48% of the men and women in the counseling program were perceived by the counseling staff to have improved, and their recidivism rate was 36%. 52% of the men and women were perceived as unchanged after treatment, and their rate of recidivism was 16%. (Table 13).

Results for Program Completion/Non-completion Analysis

The results and findings of the completion/non-completion variables are broken down into four categories: present offense, criminal history, background characteristics, and other variables exclusive to Framingham.

Present Offense. There are three major variables included under the category of present offense: type of offense, minimum sentence, and institution committed to. A comparison of completers and non-completers with regard to type of offenses revealed no substantial or statistically significant differences. (Appendix D, Table A, 1). Types of offense were divided into those of person, sex, property, drug, and other. The minimum sentence category, which included indefinite sentence, 5 years or less and more than a 5 year sentence, also showed no statistically significant differences. (Table A, 2). The third major variable, institution committed to, included in our study Walpole and Concord, and again indicated an absence of statistically significant difference. (Table A, 3).

Criminal History. The category of criminal history included nine different variables, some of which proved to be statistically and substantially significant. The only statistically significant variable among the variables was the number of prior arrests. This category was divided into those men with ten or fewer arrests and those with eleven or more arrests. A comparison between completers and non-completers revealed that a greater

number of prior arrests is correlated with a higher incidence of non-completion. (Table B, 1). These results are highly significant. ($\chi^2 = 7.77$, $p < .01$). The data indicated that 64% of the completers and 31% of the non-completers had ten or fewer prior arrests.

Two other variables, drug use and number of state incarcerations, approached statistical significance and were substantially significant. The drug use variable was divided into heroin and non-heroin users. The data indicated that 23% of the completers and 44% of the non-completers were heroin users. (Table B, 9). These findings are substantially significant. ($\chi^2 = 3.79$, $p < .10$).

The second variable which approaches statistical significance and is substantially significant is the number of state incarcerations. This category was divided into either one or more state incarcerations or none. It was reported that 84% of the completers and 66% of the non-completers had no state incarcerations. (Table B, 8). This data indicates a substantial difference. ($\chi^2 = 3.50$, $p < .10$).

Those categories indicating neither statistical nor substantial significance are the following: prior arrests for person offenses, prior arrests for property offenses, prior arrests for narcotics, prior arrests for drunkenness,

number of juvenile incarcerations, and number of house of correction incarcerations (county). However, the data indicates for each of these variables with the exception of arrests for drunkenness, number of juvenile incarcerations, and the number of house of correction incarcerations (county) that the non-completion sample had a higher percentage of individuals in the subgroups which revealed a more serious criminal history record.

Background Characteristics. Background characteristics were divided into nine variables, three of which showed substantially significant differences.

The variable indicating length of time on the most skilled job showed that 45% of the completers held their most skilled job for one year or less. 45% held their most skilled job for more than one year, while no data was available for 9% of the completers. Sixty-nine percent of the non-completers worked a year or less on their most skilled job. (Table C, 6). ($\chi^2 = 4.07$, $p < .05$)

The second variable which proved to be substantially significant was length of time on one job. Forty-three percent of the completers spent a year or less on one job. 48% spent more than one year on one job, while 9%

of the completers' length of time on one job was not recorded on any Department of Correction statistics.

Sixty-five percent of the non-completers spent a year or less on one job. (Table C, 7). ($\chi^2 = 3.74$, $p < .10$).

The third substantially significant variable was level of education or last grade completed. The data indicated that 52% of the completers, while only 31% of the non-completers, had a 10th grade or higher level of education. (Table C, 8). ($\chi^2 = 3.33$, $p < .10$). The data suggests that those men with a higher educational level are more likely to complete the Framingham program.

The remaining six variables within the category of background characteristics were not substantially or statistically significant. These six variables included race, marital status, military service, last address, occupational status, and age of incarceration.

Other Variables. Additional variables pertaining to completion/non-completion data include the following: length of time spent at Framingham, reason for transfer, institution transferred from, and institution returned to. Thirty-one percent of the non-completers spent 0-2 months at Framingham. 41% spent 3-5 months, and 28% spent 6 months or more. (Table D, 1). The average length of

stay at Framingham for non-completers was 5.2 months.

The second variable which is exclusive to non-completers involves the reason for transfer from Framingham. (Table D, 2). Thirty-four percent of the non-completers were transferred from Framingham due to institutional infractions. Thirty-one percent were transferred due to work release difficulties. Six percent were transferred for reasons related to furlough. Nine percent were transferred for reasons related to educational release and finally, nineteen percent of the non-completers were transferred from Framingham due to other miscellaneous reasons.

An examination of the variable indicating the institution men were transferred from to Framingham revealed no statistical or substantial significant difference. (Table D, 3).

The last variable which relates specifically to non-completers indicates the institution where men were returned to upon transfer from Framingham. (Table D, 4).

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

DISCUSSIONRecidivism Analysis

In looking at the actual versus the expected recidivism rates, the results showed a significantly lower rate of recidivism for those in the Framingham sample. Although this trend was noted by Almy, *et al.*, it did not prove statistically significant at that point. The expansion of the sample size and extension of the follow-up period have made our results more conclusive. The actual recidivism rate for the Framingham sample is 15.4% as compared with an expected rate of 30.6%, a difference of 15.2 percentage points.

When the total sample is broken down on the basis of sex, we find that the results are less significant for the men in our sample. As in the Almy, *et al.*, study, our results point out that the coeducational experience at Framingham tends to have greater impact on the reduction of recidivism for the female inmates. This finding is of particular interest since the entire state female population is exposed to the Framingham institution, while only pre-screened males are included.

For the men in the sample, the actual and expected recidivism rates were higher for those subjects originally

committed to Concord. As pointed out by Alym, et al., this may be the result of more stringent screening procedures for Walpole transfers since they represent a population of more serious offenders. It also may reflect the fact that Concord men tend to be younger than Walpole men, and higher recidivism rates have consistently been found to be associated with younger offenders.

A. Present Offense. In relation to the present offense, few variables proved significant in determining the success rate for those individuals in our sample.

The Framingham releasees with the greatest chance for success tended to be those committed on a drug violation. This proved true for both the males and females in our study. In addition, those individuals who were 21 or younger at the time of their incarceration at Framingham showed a significantly lower rate of recidivism than their counterparts in the comparison group. These findings are noteworthy because drug offenders and young offenders are two subgroups of inmates that typically have high recidivism rates. Also, few correctional programs have been demonstrated to be effective in reducing recidivism with them.

B. Background Characteristics. When we look at the recidivism results in relation to the background characteristics of the Framingham sample, we can see what type of individual benefited most from the Framingham experience.

For males, the more successful candidate as evidenced by lower recidivism rates was a non-veteran who had been a manual laborer. Again, consistent with the other findings on drug usage, the male releasee who had former heroin involvement had a significantly decreased recidivism rate.

For women in our Framingham sample, the successful releasee was Black, single, and had previously resided in Boston. Also, this more successful candidate had less than 9 months on one job, as well as less than 9 months on any skilled job.

For our entire Framingham sample, males and females, it is very apparent the Framingham experience was very beneficial for those releasees with a history of heroin use. Other significant background characteristics of successful releasees included employment of less than 9 months on one job and less than 12 months on any skilled job. As was mentioned in relation to the women's

variable, those most likely to be non-recidivists were single and black.

C. Criminal History. By looking at the criminal history variables in the recidivism portion of our study, we can clearly see what type of individual succeeded most in terms of a lower rate of recidivism after completing the Framingham program. In general, the conclusions that can be drawn are significant and in accord with the findings and conclusions of Almy, et al.

For men, individuals with a history of narcotic offenses, as well as at least one incarceration as a juvenile fared very well at Framingham in regard to rates of recidivism. Interestingly, this successful individual characteristically had no prior arrests for drunkenness. Of all the variables tested in the recidivism study, the above three criminal history variables (narcotic arrests, at least one juvenile incarceration, and no arrests for drunkenness) were among the most important factors in spotlighting the types of men who were likely to benefit from the Framingham experience.

For women in the Framingham sample, a somewhat similar portrait of the successful inmate is painted. Women possessing a more limited record of prior arrests

for person offenses fared best in terms of recidivism.

Also, the more successful female, like her male counterpart, tended to have had at least one narcotic offense as a major aspect of her criminal history. Unlike the more successful male inmates, females who benefited most from MCI-Framingham tended to have no juvenile incarceration record. A record of one or more House of Correction incarcerations also characterized the low recidivist female at Framingham.

In looking at the total sample, in regard to criminal history, it becomes clear that the individual, male or female, who was most positively affected by the Framingham experience had a history of drug involvement and arrests for that involvement. The successful releasee of Framingham also had behind him or her a long list of prior court appearances--at least ten. Also, those who were serving their first correctional commitment tended to be more successful upon release than others. Other important characteristics included a history of at least three prior arrests for property offenses and no arrests for drunkenness. This is consistent with the finding that individuals with histories of drug abuse were very likely to benefit from the Framingham experience.

D. Summary. One generalization that clearly emerges from the data is that the Framingham experience was especially effective in reducing recidivism for drug offenders and those with histories of drug abuse. Three of the four variables that were most closely associated with recidivism reduction were drug related factors--i.e., history of heroin use, one or more prior arrests for narcotic offenses, and present commitment for drug offense.

This finding is similar to that of Almy, et al., who also noted a lower recidivism rate for drug users in the 1975 study of Framingham. Therefore, the Framingham experience can be said to have a very positive effect on drug users. Because furloughs and work/education release are extensively utilized, it may be speculated that the amount of exposure to real situations in the outside world while not on drugs helps to reduce recidivism. The coeducational aspect of Framingham may also be a factor in that more natural interpersonal relationships are possible in that setting.

Other factors which were significantly related to recidivism reduction for the Framingham sample are consistent with the characteristics of the typical drug user--i.e., one who is young, single, has a poor work

record and a large number of prior arrests, particularly arrests for property offenses.

Overall, the Framingham experience had a significant impact in reducing recidivism for both men and women. However, as Almy, et al., also noted, women tended to benefit more from Framingham than did the men. This difference may be partially explained by referring back to the findings on recidivism reduction for drug offenders. There was a substantially higher proportion of women than men in each of the three drug related categories mentioned above. For example, the percentage of women who were sentenced for drug offenses (33%) was more than twice as high as that of men (16%). Similarly, 38% of the women had histories of heroin use, compared to 24% of the men, and almost half of the women (49%) had prior arrests for narcotic offenses, compared to about a third of the men (34%).

An interesting finding, related to the seriousness of recidivism, is obtained when the reason for re-incarceration is broken down into three categories: parole violations, new House of Correction commitments, and new MCI commitments. Compared to comparison group rates for parole violators, our sample showed a 10% recidivism rate vs. 23%. This 13 percentage point reduction in

recidivism for parole violators could be due to changes in procedures for violations--e.g., better legal protection for those accused of parole violations. This reduction in the number of parole violators being re-incarcerated could account for some of the overall decrease in recidivism that we found, regardless of the impact of the Framingham experience.

Program Analyses

Furlough Program. Most subjects in the sample (93%) had at least one furlough. There were no significant relationships between the rate of recidivism and furlough data. However, all of the variables indicated a trend towards participation in furlough programs and lower rates of recidivism. This trend was consistent for men and women on all variables.

Although not statistically significant, this consistent pattern indicates a positive effect of inmates having furloughs. In all cases, the recidivism rate was lower for men and women who had more involvement in the Furlough Program than for men and women who had less involvement.

The relationship between the rate of recidivism and number of times late in returning from furloughs approaches statistical significance. In addition, when

the number of escapes and times late returning from furloughs were combined, the results were very near statistical significance.

Since virtually everyone in the sample had furloughs, it was not feasible to do a comparison of recidivism rates of those who participated in the program and those who did not. Rather, our focus was on those with a large number of furloughs and those with few. This type of comparison did not differentiate recidivism rates.

A noteworthy finding from the furlough data was the small numbers of inmates who escaped or were arrested while on furlough. Out of all those who had furloughs, no men and only six women escaped while on furlough. In addition, no men and only one woman was arrested while on furlough. This seems to support the positive effects of the furlough program. It is important to note that only women escaped or were arrested while on furlough. This possibly reflects the fact that most of the men were carefully screened before coming to MCI-Framingham for participation in pre-release.

Work Release Program. The results of the Work Release data were highly significant. A positive relationship was found between eleven or more weeks on work release and

a lower rate of recidivism. This relationship was consistent for both men and women, indicating that longer involvement in this program has significant effect in reducing recidivism for the total sample.

It is noteworthy that 91% of the men in the sample participated in work release, and only 51% of the women did. In view of the apparent acceptance of the program by men, the question is raised whether or not work release programs meet the needs of women inmates, or are readily accessible to them. This may be a statement of women's views towards work, reflected from societal values.

It is also possible that the relatively low number of women participating in work release may reflect the fact that an increasing number of women are being committed to Framingham to serve short sentences. The high turnover rate of these women may pose difficulties in securing work release jobs for them. Further, it should be remembered that most of the men were transferred to Framingham specifically to participate in pre-release programs.

Education Release Program. The number of men and women participating in the Education Release Program comprised only 5% of the total sample. With such a small

sample, it is difficult to obtain statistically significant results. The relationship between participation in the program and the rate of recidivism was not statistically significant, but seemed to indicate a slight positive effect between participation and recidivism rate. This aspect of the study may have produced significant results if more subjects had been involved in the program.

It is important to note that although the Education Release Program is available to all inmates, few took advantage of the program. (Only 3% of the women, compared to 11% of the men were involved in the Education Release Program.) This raises the question of whether or not the program meets the needs of the inmates, particularly the women.

Counseling Program. None of the data on counseling was statistically significant. This finding and the fact that only 15% of the total sample participated in the counseling program indicated that the relationship between participating in the program and recidivism rate was inconclusive. What was found was that those who participated in the counseling program had a higher recidivism rate than those who did not. These results were consistent for both men and women. These results may be due to the various kinds of factors which may have

motivated some inmates to seek counseling, as discussed in the Almy, *et al.*, study. Also, Almy, *et al.*, found that there was a great deal of ambivalence surrounding the inmates feelings toward the counseling program. These findings from the Almy, *et al.*, study may help to explain the relationship between counseling and recidivism.

Important to note is the finding that more women participated in the counseling program than did men. The fact that 91% of the men were involved in work release may have affected their access to the counseling program.

Completion/Non-Completion Analysis

What are the distinguishing characteristics of the men transferred to MCI-Framingham which result in them being more or less likely to complete the program? What are the reasons for which some men fail to complete the Framingham experience? Can research into this area reveal a pattern of high, moderate, or low failure probability among certain types of residents? These questions provide the framework for a discussion and analysis of the data results and findings.

The completion/non-completion data was divided into four categories: present offense, criminal history, background characteristics, and other variables pertaining to the Framingham experience.

Reviewing the variables applicable to present offense revealed insignificant differences between completers and non-completers. It had been anticipated that the variables defined in this category would have an impact on whether or not a person completed the Framingham program. Conversely, the data indicates strong similarities between completers and non-completers. This suggests that whether or not a person completes the Framingham program is not closely correlated with the type of offense, minimum sentence, or institution committed to. The finding that there was no significant difference in the completion rates of Walpole men and Concord men is noteworthy, especially since Concord men sometimes have the image of being more disruptive than Walpole men in pre-release facilities.

Criminal history indicates a number of substantially and statistically significant differences. The results reveal that the greater the number of prior arrests, the greater the chance of non-completion. Speculation in this area provides interesting and thought-provoking issues relevant to the Framingham experience. Since this group is statistically defined as a high risk group, the data can be used to identify those individuals in the selection process, and appropriate programmatic changes may need to be made to ensure the successful completion of this group. It may be possible that men with a greater number

of prior arrests may be viewed by prison staff as hard-core criminals and with either conscious or unconscious expectations that these men will fail. These attitudinal prejudices may be communicated to the inmates in a number of ways, resulting in a self-fulfilling prophecy. It is also conceivable that there may be no attitudinal prejudices. However, individuals may be stuck in a self-defeating pattern of criminal offense and punishment. Thus, these individuals are unlikely to complete the Framingham experience. On the other hand, both factors may contribute significantly to the rate of non-completion.

There emerges a pattern relevant to the type and number of prior arrests. Inmates with prior arrests for offenses related to the person, property, and/or narcotics use show higher likelihood of failure within the Framingham program. This data further supports the significance of the number of prior arrests within the study.

The number of state incarcerations and the prevalence of drug use also identifies those men with a higher rate of non-completion. The profile that emerges is that the non-completer is an individual who is more likely to have had numerous prior arrests due to offenses related to the person, property, and/or narcotics use--one who probably has had a number of state incarcerations, and/or one who is more likely to be a heroin user.

A number of state incarcerations may be a relevant, distinguishing characteristic of the non-completer, due to possibly the absence of rehabilitative programs within prior institutions and also the likelihood of reinforcing negative behavior. The use of drugs and the need to support an expensive, addictive habit on the streets may be a contributing factor to the number of incarcerations, and the reason why certain individuals continue crime as a lifestyle. This data indicates that the heroin user is unlikely to complete the Framingham program as it presently exists. However, it would be worthwhile to invest more in the effort of retaining more heroin users at Framingham because those who do complete the Framingham program tended to benefit significantly in terms of recidivism reduction.

Background characteristics generally reveal little difference between completers and non-completers. However, closer examination of the results and findings reveal that educational and occupational factors distinguish the completer from the non-completer.

The data identifies the non-completer as a person with a lower level of educational achievement and who is less employable and skilled. Societal emphasis on

education and skilled labor excludes the individual who has not had these opportunities for advancement. Therefore, it can be speculated that these individuals have a low self-esteem and due to a lack of educational opportunities fail to secure for themselves jobs that are meaningful and fulfilling. It seems that this cycle might be reinforced at Framingham with relation to the non-completers, if special programming is not implemented to meet the specific needs of the non-completer regarding educational and occupational opportunities.

Examining the data within the categories of present offense, criminal history, and background characteristics reveals a pattern of success/failure probability which can be helpful in the screening process and in program change at MCI-Framingham.

A more complete profile emerges from the total data on the non-completer that may be useful to program administrators at Framingham in the identification of those individuals with a high probability of failure. The profile identifies the non-completer as an individual who has a greater chance of having a number of prior arrests; one who is more likely to have committed crimes related to the person, property, and/or drug use; one who is more likely to have a history of one or more state

incarcerations; one who has a greater chance of being a heroin user; and one who has probably experienced limited educational and/or occupational opportunities.

The indicators of success/failure probability taken from the profile of the non-completer can be used in the development of a screening process. Program administrators may utilize the screening process to more carefully scrutinize those individuals who have a high failure probability and thus need special programming and attention.

A more creative use of the screening process would be to call attention to the individualized needs of high risk groups. This would involve the adjustment of Framingham programs to meet specialized needs of the individual. This point is particularly important inasmuch as there is evidence to suggest that the types of men who are less likely to complete the Framingham program--e.g., drug offenders and those with histories of drug abuse--are the very types who are more likely to benefit from completing the program in terms of recidivism reduction.

Thus, the utilization of a screening process geared toward program change may be more beneficial in ensuring completion for high risk groups. It seems important to stress non-completion may have detrimental effects on the inmate's future within the correctional system.

LeClair postulates that the damage, that results from a resident failing in a pre-release environment is far more extensive than the simple removal of an individual from the program. He states that an individual is not only returned to a walled institution, but he is probably to remain in that institution for a longer period of time than he would have had he not entered the pre-release program. (LeClair, p. 3).

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was divided into three general areas of investigation. The first was a recidivism analysis. The second was an analysis of selected programs; and, the third was a completion/non-completion analysis. The first step was a review of the literature.

Review of the Literature

The review of the literature took a five fold focus: recent research on the effectiveness of the correctional "treatment" model, problems in conducting correctional research, historical developments in corrections, a description of MCI-Framingham and the Massachusetts Department of Correction, and finally, a description of MCI-Framingham programs and recent evaluative research regarding such programs.

Recidivism Analysis

The difference between the expected recidivism rate (30.6%) and the actual return rate of the Framingham sample (15.4%) showed a statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 16.96$, $p < .001$) reduction in recidivism for our sample of 156 Framingham releasees.

The impact of the Framingham experience was highly noticeable in that the recidivism rate for Framingham women

was substantially lower than expected. The actual rate for Framingham women was 15.2% as compared to the expected recidivism rate of 33.9%. These findings reached the .001 level of statistical significance. ($\chi^2 = 17.56$ p < .001). The analysis of the data in relation to the Framingham men's experiences were not as noteworthy. There was a reduction in recidivism for those men involved in the Framingham program (a reduction of 6.4 percentage points) but this did not reach a statistically significant level.

An analysis of the relationship of background characteristics and recidivism was also carried out for the total sample as well as for the males and females.

The major findings in relation to background characteristics was that those men and women who had a previous history of drug involvement fared exceedingly better than their counterparts in the comparison group. For the entire sample three of the top four variables (heroin user, one or more prior arrests for narcotic offenses and present commitment for drug offenses) had the most substantial reduction in recidivism and the highest levels of statistical significance. This finding is unlike the findings of previous studies of correctional programs. This data shows the Framingham experience was extremely beneficial for men and women with prior drug

involvement.

In conclusion, there seems to be a clear relationship between the lowering of recidivism rate and the coeducational correctional program at MCI-Framingham. Although some negative issues were raised in this study, the overriding findings of our recidivism analysis led to the conclusion that the Framingham program is an effective correctional pursuit--at least insofar as effectiveness is reflected by recidivism reduction.

Program Analyses

One of the goals of this study was to examine the effect on recidivism of several different programs offered at MCI-Framingham. The programs which were analyzed in the study are:

- (1) The Furlough Program;
- (2) Work Release Program;
- (3) Education Release Program; and
- (4) Counseling Program.

The programs were each evaluated to determine whether or not they had an impact on recidivism. The general approach in evaluating the impact of each of these four programs was to examine the relationship between participation in the program (as well as the degree of participation) and recidivism.

The results indicated that all of the programs, except the Counseling program had a positive effect on

recidivism although not necessarily a significant one.

The program analyses can be summarized as follows:

Furlough Program. 93% of the subjects in the sample had at least one furlough and participation in the Furlough program seemed to have a positive, although not significant, effect on recidivism rate for both men and women. In particular, the relationship between successful furloughs (i.e., no record of escapes or late returns) and recidivism approached statistical significance. Also noteworthy was the extremely small number of inmates who escaped or were arrested while on furlough and that all of those were women. In general, the furlough program seems to have a positive effect on reducing recidivism.

Work Release Program. The results of this analysis were significant and indicated a positive effect of the Work Release program on reducing the rate of recidivism for both men and women. Although the program seemed to have positive effects on both men and women, it was noteworthy that 91% of the men in the sample participated in the program, whereas only 51% of the women did.

Education Release Program. Although the number of inmates in the sample participating in this program was extremely small (5%), it nevertheless seemed to have a

slight, positive (although not nearly significant) effect on the rate of recidivism. A question is raised as to why such a small percentage of inmates, and a disproportionate percentage of men (11% of the men vs. 3% of the women), took advantage of the program.

Counseling Program. None of the data on the effects of this program on the recidivism rate was significant, and only a small percentage (15%) of the sample participated in the program. The trend was in the opposite direction as that expected; those who participated in the program had a higher rate of recidivism than those who did not. Several explanations for those results are presented.

In general all of the programs, except the Counseling program, had a positive relationship between participation and rate of recidivism. The results for all of the programs were consistent for both men and women.

Completion/Non-Completion

Initially, we began by collecting data on those men who were unsuccessful in completing the Framingham program. A comparative analysis was carried out between those men who completed the Framingham experience and those who did not. Our research indicates a general profile of distinguishing characteristics of those men who were returned to an all male institution. The non-completer

is more likely to be an individual with a greater number of prior arrests and previous state incarcerations with prior crimes related to the person, property, and drug use. We also found that heroin users seemed to be less likely to complete the Framingham program. The non-completer is also identified by a lower educational level, and less successful occupational record in terms of skilled positions held and length of time spent on any one job.

Our results and findings led us to the conclusion that some types of men are much less likely to complete the Framingham program than other types. The data can be used in the development of a screening process which carefully scrutinizes those individuals with a high failure probability. It can also be utilized in the development of special programs individualized to the specific needs of those men in the high risk group. This would involve the creation of indicators that would reveal a high, moderate, or low probability of success/failure.

APPENDIX A

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND RECIDIVISM

RATES OF FRAMINGHAM MEN AND COMPARISON

GROUP MEN

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND RECIDIVISM RATES OF
FRAMINGHAM MEN AND COMPARISON GROUP MEN

<u>Variable</u>	Framingham Men			Comparison Group		
	N	(%)	Recid. Rate	N	(%)	Recid. Rate
Total	44	(100)	16%	1015	(100)	24%
<u>A. Present Offense</u>						
1. <u>Institution Committed to</u>						
Walpole	19	(43)	11%	484	(48)	19%
Concord	25	(57)	20%	531	(52)	29%
2. <u>Offense</u>						
Person	30	(68)	17%	501	(49)	21%
Sex	1	(2)	0%	61	(6)	8%
Property	5	(11)	40%	347	(34)	29%
Drug	7	(16)	0%	77	(8)	29%
Other	1	(2)	0%	29	(3)	34%
3. <u>Minimum Sentence</u>						
Indefinite	25	(57)	20%	489	(48)	30%
5 years or less	9	(20)	22%	367	(36)	19%
More than 5 years	10	(23)	0%	159	(16)	19%

*= Statistically significant difference in recidivism rates: $p < .05$

<u>Variable</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Framingham Men</u>	<u>Comparison Group</u>			
		<u>(%)</u>	<u>Recid. Rate</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>Recid. Rate</u>
4. Age at Incarceration						
21 or younger	13	(31)	8%	410	(40)	27%
22-30	16	(38)	25%	414	(41)	25%
31 or older	13	(31)	15%	191	(19)	17%
5. Length of Incarceration						
2 years or less	22	(50)	14%	-	-	-
More than 2 years	20	(45)	20%	-	-	-
Unknown	2	(5)	0%	-	-	-
6. Type of Release						
Parole	42	(95)	17%	-	-	-
Discharge	2	(5)	0%	-	-	-
7. Age at Release						
24 or younger	18	(41)	6%	-	-	-
25 or older	26	(59)	23%	-	-	-
B. Background Characteristics						
1. Race						
White	30	(68)	13%	710	(69)	25%
Black	14	(32)	21%	302	(31)	24%
Other	-	-	-	3	(0)	33%
2. Marital Status						
Single	26	(52)	17%	614	(60)	27%
Married	16	(36)	12%	215	(21)	20%
Div., Wid., Sep.	5	(11)	20%	186	(18)	22%

Variable	N	Framingham Men			Comparison Group		
		%	Recid.	Rate	N	%	Recid. Rate
3. Military Service							
Non-Veteran	30	(68)		13%	741	(73)	27%
Veteran	14	(32)		21%	274	(27)	18%
4. Last Address							
Boston	20	(45)		10%	373	(37)	20%
Other	24	(55)		21%	642	(63)	27%
5. Occupational Status							
Professional	1	(2)		0%	13	(1)	23%
Business	3	(7)		0%	8	(1)	0%
Clerical	3	(7)		0%	63	(6)	14%
Manual	24	(55)		8%	674	(66)	26%
Service Workers	13	(30)		38%	171	(17)	27%
Other	-	-		-	86	(8)	15%
6. Length of Time on Most Skilled Job							
6 mos. or less	11	(25)		27%	419	(41)	30%
7-12 mos.	10	(23)		0%	133	(13)	21%
1 up to 2 yrs.	6	(14)		33%	143	(14)	19%
2 up to 5 yrs.	10	(23)		10%	125	(12)	23%
5 yrs. or more	3	(7)		33%	60	(6)	3%
Unknown	4	(9)		0%	142	(14)	25%
7. Longest Period on One Job							
6 mos. or less	9	(20)		33%	389	(38)	33%
7-12 mos.	10	(23)		0%	137	(13)	22%
1 up to 2 yrs.	8	(18)		25%	156	(15)	17%
2 up to 5 yrs.	9	(20)		11%	131	(13)	24%
5 yrs. or more	4	(9)		25%	64	(6)	5%
Unknown	4	(9)		0%	138	(14)	23%

Variable	N	Framingham Men			Comparison Group		
		%	Recid.	Rate	N	%	Recid. Rate
8. Last Grade Completed							
0-6	5	(11)	20%		92	(9)	18%
7-9	16	(36)	13%		521	(51)	26%
10-11	6	(14)	17%		213	(21)	26%
12 or higher	17	(39)	18%		160	(16)	18%
Unknown	-	-	-		29	(3)	21%
9. Drug Use							
None Reported	24	(57)	21%		638	(63)	20%
Yes (not spec.)	3	(7)	0%		69	(7)	14%
Heroin	10	(24)	10%		189	(19)	39%
Other than Heroin	2	(5)	0%		56	(6)	32%
Marijuana only	3	(7)	33%		37	(4)	14%
Unknown	2	(5)	0%		26	(3)	27%
C. Criminal History							
1. Age at First Arrest							
15 or younger	17	(39)	18%		495	(49)	29%
16-21	21	(48)	14%		407	(40)	22%
22 or older	6	(14)	17%		113	(11)	12%
2. No. of Court Appearances							
1-5	14	(32)	14%		239	(24)	13%
6-10	14	(32)	21%		313	(31)	23%
11 or more	16	(36)	12%		463	(46)	31%

<u>Variable</u>	Framingham Men			Comparison Group		
	N	%	Recid. Rate	N	%	Recid. Rate
3. Prior Arrests for Person Offenses						
0-1	18	(41)	22%	472	(47)	24%
2 or more	26	(59)	12%	543	(53)	26%
4. Prior Arrests for Property Offenses						
0-2	21	(48)	10%	333	(33)	13%
3 or more	23	(52)	22%	682	(67)	30%
5. Prior Arrests for Narcotic Offenses						
None	29	(66)	21%	765	(75)	22%
One or more	15	(34)	7%*	250	(25)	32%*
6. Prior Arrests for Drunkenness						
None	23	(52)	4%	502	(49)	21%
One or more	21	(48)	29%	513	(51)	28%
7. No. of Juvenile Incarcerations						
None	30	(68)	20%	659	(65)	20%
One or more	14	(32)	7%*	356	(35)	33%*
8. No. of House of Corr. Incarcerations						
None	29	(66)	7%	488	(48)	20%
One or more	15	(34)	33%	527	(52)	29%

<u>Variable</u>	Framingham Men			Comparison Group		
	N	%	Recid. Rate	N	%	Recid. Rate
<u>9. No. of State Incarcerations</u>						
None	37	(84)	11%	575	(57)	22%
One or more	7	(16)	43%	440	(43)	28%

APPENDIX B

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND RECIDIVISM
RATES OF FRAMINGHAM WOMEN AND
COMPARISON GROUP WOMEN

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND RECIDIVISM RATES OF FRAMINGHAM
WOMEN AND COMPARISON GROUP WOMEN

<u>Variable</u>	Framingham Women			Comparison Group		
	N	%	Recid. Rate	N	%	Recid. Rate
Total	112	(100)	15%*	92	(100)	29%*
<u>A. Present Offense</u>						
1. Institution Committed to						
Framingham	112	(100)	15%*	92	(100)	29%*
2. Offense						
Person	29	(26)	10%	22	(24)	18%
Property	29	(26)	28%	29	(32)	24%
Drug	37	(33)	11%**	20	(22)	40%**
Other	17	(15)	12%	21	(23)	38%
3. Minimum Sentence						
Indefinite	105	(94)	16%	89	(97)	30%
Definite	7	(6)	0%	3	(3)	0%
4. Age at Incarceration						
21 or younger	30	(27)	13%	36	(39)	33%
22-30	45	(40)	18%	35	(38)	29%
31 or older	28	(25)	7%	21	(23)	24%
Unknown	11	(10)	27%	-	-	-

* = Statistically significant difference in recidivism rates: p .05

** = Statistically significant difference in recidivism rates: p .01

Variable	Framingham Women				Comparison Group		
	N	%	Recid. Rate		N	%	Recid. Rate
5. Length of Incarceration							
2 years or less	74	(66)	9%	-	-	-	-
More than 2 years	32	(29)	22%	-	-	-	-
Unknown	6	(5)	50%	-	-	-	-
6. Type of Release							
Parole	86	(77)	15%	-	-	-	-
Discharge	26	(23)	15%	-	-	-	-
7. Age at Release							
24 or younger	47	(42)	26%	-	-	-	-
25 or older	62	(55)	8%	-	-	-	-
Unknown	3	(3)	0%	-	-	-	-
B. Background Characteristics							
1. Race							
White	51	(46)	22%	50	(54)	32%	
Black	55	(49)	11%*	42	(46)	26%*	
Other	3	(3)	0%	-	-	-	
Unknown	3	(3)	0%	-	-	-	
2. Marital Status							
Single	67	(60)	13%*	54	(59)	31%*	
Married	13	(12)	23%	17	(18)	35%	
Divorced	10	(9)	10%	3	(3)	33%	
Widowed	3	(3)	33%	4	(4)	0%	
Separated	12	(11)	25%	14	(15)	21%	
Unknown	7	(6)	0%	-	-	-	

<u>Variable</u>	Framingham Women				Comparison Group			
	N	%	Recid. Rate		N	%	Recid. Rate	
3. Last Address								
Boston	60	(54)	15%*		53	(58)	34%*	
Other	42	(37)	19%		39	(42)	23%	
Unknown	10	(9)	0%		-	-	-	
4. Occupational Status								
Professional	11	(10)	0%		5	(5)	0%	
Business	7	(6)	0%		0	(0)	-	
Clerical	35	(31)	17%		12	(13)	42%	
Manual	17	(15)	24%		42	(46)	31%	
Service Worker	37	(33)	16%		23	(25)	35%	
Other	5	(4)	20%		10	(11)	10%	
5. Length of Time on Most Skilled Job								
6 mos. or less	37	(33)	16% }*		41	(45)	32% }*	
7-12 mos.	20	(18)	20%		7	(7)	57%	
1 up to 2 yrs.	18	(16)	22%		19	(21)	26%	
2 up to 5 yrs.	12	(11)	8%		11	(12)	18%	
5 yrs. or more	5	(4)	20%		3	(3)	33%	
Unknown	24	(21)	4%		11	(12)	18%	
6. Longest Period on One Job								
6 mos. or less	34	(30)	18%		41	(45)	32%	
7-12 mos.	19	(17)	21%		7	(7)	57%	
1 up to 2 yrs.	20	(18)	20%		19	(21)	26%	
2 up to 5 yrs.	13	(12)	8%		11	(12)	18%	
5 yrs. or more	6	(5)	17%		3	(3)	33%	
Unknown	24	(21)	4%		11	(12)	18%	

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Framingham Women</u>			<u>Comparison Group</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Recid. Rate</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Recid. Rate</u>
<u>7. Last Grade Completed</u>						
0-6	10	(9)	20%	5	(5)	0%
7-9	39	(35)	15%	28	(30)	32%
10-11	31	(28)	19%	31	(34)	42%
12 or higher	28	(25)	7%	21	(23)	19%
Unknown	5	(4)	20%	7	(8)	14%
<u>8. Drug Use</u>						
None Reported	45	(40)	11%	69	(75)	26%
Yes (not spec.)	8	(7)	13%	11	(12)	36%
Heroin	43	(38)	16%	7	(8)	29%
Other than Heroin	9	(8)	11%	3	(3)	67%
Marijuana Only	1	(1)	100%	0	(0)	-
Unknown	8	(7)	25%	2	(2)	50%
<u>C. Criminal History</u>						
<u>1. Age at First Arrest</u>						
15 or younger	26	(23)	19%	16	(17)	19%
16-21	48	(43)	17%	55	(60)	38%
22 or older	35	(31)	11%	21	(23)	14%
<u>2. No. of Court Appearances</u>						
1-5	42	(37)	17%	39	(42)	21%
6-10	22	(20)	14%	24	(26)	42%
11 or more	48	(43)	15%	29	(32)	31%

<u>Variable</u>	Framingham Women				Comparison Group		
	N	%	Recid. Rate	N	%	Recid. Rate	
3. Prior Arrests for Person Offenses							
0-1	77	(69)	14%**	61	(66)	36%	
2 or more	35	(31)	17%	31	(34)	16%	
4. Prior Arrests for Property Offenses							
0-2	61	(54)	16%	49	(53)	33%	
3 or more	51	(46)	14%	43	(47)	26%	
5. Prior Arrests for Narcotic Offenses							
None	57	(51)	14%	59	(64)	20%	
One or more	55	(49)	16%**	33	(36)	45%**	
6. Prior Arrests for Drunkenness							
None	79	(71)	15%	64	(70)	28%	
One or More	33	(29)	15%	28	(30)	32%	
7. No. of Juvenile Incarcerations							
None	91	(81)	14%*	81	(88)	30%*	
One or more	21	(19)	19%	11	(12)	27%	
8. No. of House of Correction Incarcerations							
None	79	(71)	16%	78	(85)	27%	
One or more	33	(29)	12%*	14	(15)	43%*	
9. No. of State Incarcerations							
None	67	(59)	12%	70	(76)	30%	
One or more	45	(40)	20%	22	(24)	27%	

APPENDIX C

PROGRAM PARTICIPATION AND RECIDIVISM

RATES

Program Participation and Recidivism Rates

A. Furlough Data

	Men			Women			Total		
	N	(%)	R.R.	N	(%)	R.R.	N	(%)	R.R.
1. Total Furlough Hours									
0-100	9	(20)	22%	57	(51)	12%	66	(42)	14%
101-200	13	(30)	15%	26	(23)	27%	39	(25)	23%
201 or more	22	(50)	14%	29	(26)	10%	51	(33)	12%
2. Total Furlough Hours at Framingham									
0-100	15	(34)	20%	67	(60)	12%	82	(53)	13%
101-200	16	(36)	12%	27	(24)	30%	43	(28)	23%
201 or more	13	(30)	15%	18	(16)	6%	31	(20)	10%
3. Total Number of Furloughs									
0-6	30	(68)	17%	87	(78)	16%	117	(75)	16%
7 or more	14	(32)	14%	25	(22)	12%	39	(25)	13%
4. Total Number of Furloughs from Framingham									
0-1	8	(18)	25%	24	(22)	17%	32	(21)	18%
2-3	21	(48)	14%	36	(32)	14%	57	(36)	14%
4 or more	15	(34)	13%	52	(46)	15%	67	(43)	15%
5. Total Number of Successful Furloughs									
0-6	31	(70)	16%	90	(80)	17%	121	(78)	17%
7 or more	13	(30)	15%	22	(20)	9%	35	(22)	11%
6. No. of Escapes on Furlough									
No furloughs	1	(2)	0%	10	(9)	20%	11	(7)	18%
No escapes	43	(98)	16%	96	(86)	14%	139	(89)	14%
One escape	-	-	-	6	(5)	33%	6	(4)	33%

	Men			Women			Total		
	N	(%)	R.R.	N	(%)	R.R.	N	(%)	R.R.
7. No. of Times Late in Returning from Furlough									
No.									
furloughs	1	(2)	0%	10	(9)	20%	11	(7)	18%
Never									
late	31	(70)	13%	64	(57)	11%	95	(61)	12%
Late once									
or more	12	(27)	25%	38	(34)	21%	50	(32)	22%

Total: Never late vs. Late once or more ($\chi^2 = 2.76$, p .10)

8. No. of Escapes or Lates

No.									
furloughs	1	(2)	0%	10	(9)	20%	11	(7)	18%
No escapes									
or lates	31	(70)	13%	61	(54)	10%	92	(59)	11%
Escape or									
late	12	(27)	25%	41	(37)	22%	53	(34)	23%

Total: No escapes or lates vs. Escape or late ($\chi^2 = 3.62$, p .10)

9. Arrests on Furlough

No									
arrests	44	(100)	16%	111	(99)	15%	155	(99)	15%
One									
arrest	0	(0)	-	1	(1)	0%	1	(1)	0%

B. Work Release Data

10. No. of Weeks on Work Release

None	4	(9)	25%	55	(49)	18%	59	(38)	19%
1-10	26	(59)	19%	35	(31)	20%	61	(39)	20%
11 or									
more	14	(32)	7%	22	(20)	0%	36	(23)	3%

Total: 10 or fewer vs. 11 or more ($\chi^2 = 5.71$, p .02)

	Men			Women			Total		
	N	(%)	R.R.	N	(%)	R.R.	N	(%)	R.R.

C. Education Release Data11. Education Release Program

Non-participant	39	(89)	15%	109	(97)	16%	148	(95)	15%
Participant	5	(11)	20%	3	(3)	0%	8	(5)	12%

D. Counseling Data12. No. of Counseling Interviews

None	42	(95)	14%	91	(81)	13%	133	(85)	14%
One or more	2	(5)	50%	21	(19)	24%	23	(15)	26%

13. Perceived Condition after Treatment

Improved	1	(50)	100%	10	(48)	30%	11	(48)	36%
Unchanged	1	(50)	0%	11	(52)	18%	12	(52)	16%

APPENDIX D

COMPARISON OF FRAMINGHAM PROGRAM
COMPLETERS AND NON-COMPLETERS

Comparison of Framingham Program Completers
and Non-Completers

A. Present Offense

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Completers</u>		<u>Non-Completers</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>(%)</u>
1. <u>Offense</u>				
Person	30	(68%)	18	(56%)
Six	1	(2%)	2	(6%)
Property	5	(11%)	4	(13%)
Drug	7	(16%)	8	(25%)
Other	1	(2%)	-	-

2. Minimum Sentence

Indefinite	25	(57%)	14	(44%)
5 years or less	9	(20%)	2	(37%)
More than 5 years	10	(23%)	6	(19%)

3. Institution Committed to

Walpole	19	(43%)	18	(56%)
Concord	25	(57%)	14	(44%)

B. Criminal History

1. No. of Prior Arrests***

10 or fewer	28	(64%)	10	(31%)
11 or more	16	(36%)	22	(69%)

2. Prior Arrests for Person Offense

0-1	18	(41%)	8	(25%)
2 or more	26	(59%)	24	(75%)

3. Prior Arrests for Property Offenses

0-2	21	(48%)	10	(31%)
3 or more	23	(52%)	22	(69%)

* p < .10

** p < .05

*** p < .01

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Completers</u>		<u>Non-Completers</u>	
<u>4. Prior Arrests for Narcotics</u>	N	(%)	N	(%)
None	29	(66%)	16	(50%)
One or more	15	(34%)	16	(50%)
<u>5. Prior Arrests for Drunkenness</u>				
None	23	(52%)	21	(66%)
One or more	21	(48%)	11	(34%)
<u>6. No. of Juvenile Incarcerations</u>				
None	30	(68%)	22	(69%)
One or more	14	(32%)	10	(31%)
<u>7. No. of House of Correction Incarcerations (County)</u>				
None	29	(66%)	17	(53%)
One or more	15	(34%)	15	(47%)
<u>8. No. of State Incarcerations*</u>				
None	37	(84%)	21	(66%)
One or more	7	(16%)	11	(34%)
<u>9. Drug Use*</u>				
Heroin	10	(23%)	14	(44%)
Non-Heroin	34	(77%)	18	(56%)
<u>C. Background Characteristics</u>				
<u>1. Race</u>				
White	30	(68%)	17	53%
Black	14	(32%)	15	47%
<u>2. Marital Status</u>				
Married	16	(36%)	12	(38%)
Single	23	(52%)	19	(59%)
Divorced	5	(11%)	1	(63%)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Completers</u>		<u>Non-Completers</u>	
<u>3. Military Service</u>	N	(%)	N	(%)
Non-Veteran	30	(68%)	24	(75%)
Veteran	14	(32%)	8	(25%)
<u>4. Last Address</u>				
Boston	20	(45%)	14	(44%)
Other	24	(55%)	18	(56%)
<u>5. Occupational Status</u>				
White Collar	7	(16%)	4	(13%)
Blue Collar	37	(84%)	27	(84%)
Unknown	-	-	1	(3%)
<u>6. Length of Time on Most Skillful Job**</u>				
1 year or less	21	(45%)	22	(69%)
More than 1 year	19	(45%)	10	(31%)
Unknown	4	(9%)	-	-
<u>7. Longest Period on one Job*</u>				
1 year or less	19	(43%)	21	(65%)
More than one year	21	(48%)	11	(35%)
Unknown	4	(9%)	-	-
<u>8. Last Grade Completed</u>				
9th or less	21	(48%)	22	(69%)
10th or more	23	(52%)	10	(31%)
<u>9. Age at Incarceration</u>				
21 or younger	13	(31%)	11	(34%)
22-30	16	(38%)	13	(41%)
31 or older	13	(31%)	8	(25%)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Completers</u>		<u>Non-Completers</u>	
D. Other Variables				
1. Months at Framingham	N	(%)	N	(%)
0-2 months	-	-	10	(31%)
3-5 months	-	-	13	(41%)
6 or more months	-	-	9	(28%)
2. Reason for Transfer				
Institutional	-	-	11	(34%)
Work Release	-	-	10	(31%)
Furlough	-	-	2	(6%)
Educ. Release	-	-	3	(9%)
Other	-	-	6	(19%)
3. Institution Transferred from				
Walpole	7	(16%)	9	(28%)
Concord	20	(48%)	14	(44%)
Norfolk	16	(36%)	9	(28%)
Unknown	1	(2%)	-	-
4. Institution Returned to				
Walpole	-	-	4	(13%)
Concord	-	-	11	(34%)
Norfolk	-	-	15	(47%)
Bridgewater	-	-	2	(6%)

APPENDIX E

CODES

CODE FOR FURLough DATA

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>CODE</u>
1-4	<u>Control</u> Punch 73 M F
5-8	<u>Name</u> First four letters of last name
9-15	<u>Commitment Institution & Id. No.</u> Columns 9-10 = comm. inst. 10 = Walpole 20 = Concord 30 = Framingham
16-17	<u>Total No. of Furloughs</u>
18-19	<u>No. of Successful Furloughs</u>
20	<u>No. of "Other" Furloughs</u>
21	<u>No. of "Late Under" Furlough</u>
22	<u>No. of Escapes on Furlough</u>
23	<u>No. of Arrests on Furlough</u>
24-26	<u>Total No. of Furlough Hours</u>
27-28	<u>No. of Furloughs at Framingham</u>
29-31	<u>No. of Furlough Hours at Framingham</u>
32	<u>All cards punched 4</u>

CODE FOR FRAMINGHAM WORK/EDUCATION RELEASE DATA

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>CODE</u>																																																																																																																								
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16-17	<u>Employer: First Work Release Job</u> <table> <tbody> <tr><td>00</td><td>= Never Worked</td><td>30</td><td>= ITT</td></tr> <tr><td>01</td><td>= Day Work</td><td>31</td><td>= Jeans & Things</td></tr> <tr><td>02</td><td>= ABCD</td><td>32</td><td>= Kenneth's Hair</td></tr> <tr><td>03</td><td>= Albany Printing</td><td>33</td><td>= LaParisienne</td></tr> <tr><td>04</td><td>= Andros</td><td>34</td><td>= Marakesh Express</td></tr> <tr><td>05</td><td>= Andy's Disposal</td><td>35</td><td>= Marriott</td></tr> <tr><td>06</td><td>= Bancroft</td><td>36</td><td>= Medfield St. Hosp.</td></tr> <tr><td>07</td><td>= Blue Hills Serv. Ctr.</td><td>37</td><td>= MIT</td></tr> <tr><td>08</td><td>= Boyle</td><td>38</td><td>= Mondos</td></tr> <tr><td>09</td><td>= Boston City Hosp.</td><td>39</td><td>= Natick Lab.</td></tr> <tr><td>10</td><td>= Brighams</td><td>40</td><td>= Natick Nursing Home</td></tr> <tr><td>11</td><td>= Bustman Iron Works</td><td>41</td><td>= Roxbury Defenders</td></tr> <tr><td>12</td><td>= Colonial Floors</td><td>42</td><td>= Office of Music Planning</td></tr> <tr><td>13</td><td>= Dole Institute</td><td>43</td><td>= OIC</td></tr> <tr><td>14</td><td>= Deli-Master</td><td>44</td><td>= Old Colony</td></tr> <tr><td>15</td><td>= Dept. Community Affairs</td><td>45</td><td>= Pilgrim Church</td></tr> <tr><td>16</td><td>= Dept. Nat. Resources</td><td>46</td><td>= Scotch & Sirloin</td></tr> <tr><td>17</td><td>= Dept. Public Health</td><td>47</td><td>= Sheraton Tara</td></tr> <tr><td>18</td><td>= Dunkin Donuts</td><td>48</td><td>= SMOC</td></tr> <tr><td>19</td><td>= Ebony</td><td>49</td><td>= St. Eliz. Hosp.</td></tr> <tr><td>20</td><td>= Farley School</td><td>50</td><td>= Stanford Foundry</td></tr> <tr><td>21</td><td>= Fernald School</td><td>51</td><td>= Statler Hilton</td></tr> <tr><td>22</td><td>= Fram. St. College</td><td>52</td><td>= Tara Sportswear</td></tr> <tr><td>23</td><td>= B. Ginsberg</td><td>53</td><td>= Trico</td></tr> <tr><td>24</td><td>= Glass Guard</td><td>54</td><td>= Trinity M.H.</td></tr> <tr><td>25</td><td>= Granet Corp.</td><td>55</td><td>= Wards</td></tr> <tr><td>26</td><td>= A. E. Halperin</td><td>56</td><td>= Watertown Dairy</td></tr> <tr><td>27</td><td>= John Hancock</td><td>57</td><td>= Web Converting</td></tr> <tr><td>28</td><td>= Holliston Animal Hospital</td><td>58</td><td>= Werby</td></tr> <tr><td>29</td><td>= Honeywell</td><td>59</td><td>= YMCA</td></tr> </tbody> </table>	00	= Never Worked	30	= ITT	01	= Day Work	31	= Jeans & Things	02	= ABCD	32	= Kenneth's Hair	03	= Albany Printing	33	= LaParisienne	04	= Andros	34	= Marakesh Express	05	= Andy's Disposal	35	= Marriott	06	= Bancroft	36	= Medfield St. Hosp.	07	= Blue Hills Serv. Ctr.	37	= MIT	08	= Boyle	38	= Mondos	09	= Boston City Hosp.	39	= Natick Lab.	10	= Brighams	40	= Natick Nursing Home	11	= Bustman Iron Works	41	= Roxbury Defenders	12	= Colonial Floors	42	= Office of Music Planning	13	= Dole Institute	43	= OIC	14	= Deli-Master	44	= Old Colony	15	= Dept. Community Affairs	45	= Pilgrim Church	16	= Dept. Nat. Resources	46	= Scotch & Sirloin	17	= Dept. Public Health	47	= Sheraton Tara	18	= Dunkin Donuts	48	= SMOC	19	= Ebony	49	= St. Eliz. Hosp.	20	= Farley School	50	= Stanford Foundry	21	= Fernald School	51	= Statler Hilton	22	= Fram. St. College	52	= Tara Sportswear	23	= B. Ginsberg	53	= Trico	24	= Glass Guard	54	= Trinity M.H.	25	= Granet Corp.	55	= Wards	26	= A. E. Halperin	56	= Watertown Dairy	27	= John Hancock	57	= Web Converting	28	= Holliston Animal Hospital	58	= Werby	29	= Honeywell	59	= YMCA
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COLUMN	CODE
18-19	<u>Weeks Worked: First Job</u>
20-21	<u>Employer: Second Job</u> Same as columns 16-17
22-23	<u>Weeks Worked: Second Job</u>
24-25	<u>Employer: Third Job</u> Same as columns 16-17
26-27	<u>Weeks Worked: Third Job</u>
28-29	<u>Employer: Fourth Job</u> Same as columns 16-17
30-31	<u>Weeks Worked: Fourth Job</u>
32-33	<u>Employer: Fifth Job</u> Same as columns 16-17
34-35	<u>Weeks Worked: Fifth Job</u>
36-37	<u>Employer: Sixth Job</u> Same as columns 16-17
38-39	<u>Weeks Worked: Sixth Job</u>
40	<u>Total Number of Work Release Jobs</u>
41-43	<u>Total Number of Weeks Worked on All Work Release Jobs</u>
44	<u>School Attended on Education Release</u>
45-46	<u>Number of Weeks Attended School</u>
47	<u>Data Card Number for Work/Education Release Data</u> Punch 5

E40

CODE FOR FRAMINGHAM COUNSELING DATA

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>CODE</u>
1-4	Control Punch 73 M F
5-8	Name First four letters of last name
9-15	<u>Commitment Institution & Id. No.</u> Columns 9-10 = comm. inst. 10 = Walpole 20 = Concord 30 = Framingham
16	<u>Source of Referral</u> 0 = Unknown 1 = Self 2 = Correction social worker/institution 3 = Mass. Rehab. Commission 4 = Salem Court
17-21	<u>APA Psychiatric Classification</u> Punch APA Code
22-23	<u>No. of Interviews</u>
24	<u>Type of Treatment</u> 1 = Individual 2 = Group 3 = Individual and Group
25	<u>Condition after Treatment</u> 1 = Improved 2 = Unchanged 3 = Worse
26	<u>NB: Leave Blank</u> See columns 28-29 for Disposition Data
27	<u>Data Card No. for Counseling Data</u> Punch 6
28-29	<u>NB: Add Boxes for Columns 28-29 to Code Sheet for Disposition Data</u>

CODE FOR FRAMINGHAM NON-COMPLETION DATA

NB: Data to be punched on columns 56-66 of Booking Card

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>CODE</u>		
56-57	<u>Institution from Which Transferred to Framingham</u>		
10	= Walpole	51	= Dept. Segregation Unit
20	= Concord	52	= Bridgewater BX Unit
25	= Shirley	53	= Bridgewater
26	= Boston State		Treatment Center
30	= Framingham		
40	= Norfolk		
50	= Bridgewater State Hosp.		
58-61	<u>Time Spent at Framingham</u>		
	Columns 58-59 = Months		
	Columns 60-61 = Days		
62-63	<u>Institution Transferred to From Framingham</u>		
	Same as columns 56-57		
64	<u>Reason for Transfer (Summary Column)</u>		
1	= Institution Matter		
2	= Work Release Matter		
3	= Furlough Matter		
4	= Education Release Matter		
5	= Other Matter		
64-66	<u>Reason for Transfer (Detailed Breakdown)</u>		
110	= Contraband	227	= Assault
111	= Contraband: alcohol	228	= Late
112	= Contraband: drugs	229	= Late to job
113	= Drinking or drunk	230	= Late to inst.
114	= Disciplinary	231	= Leaving early
115	= Verbal outburst	232	= Unsuccessful
116	= Bizarre & agitated behavior	334	= Out of place (esc.)
117	= Assault on inmate	335	= Arrested
118	= Attempted escape	336	= Smuggling marijuana
119	= Poor perf. on inst. job	437	= Assault
220	= Escape	438	= Poss. of marijuana
221	= Arrested	439	= Quit school informing inst.
222	= Using contraband	540	= finished job
223	= Using contraband & drugs	541	= no apparent reason
224	= Using contraband & alcohol	542	= no info.
225	= Distribution drugs		
226	= Poss. of marijuana		

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