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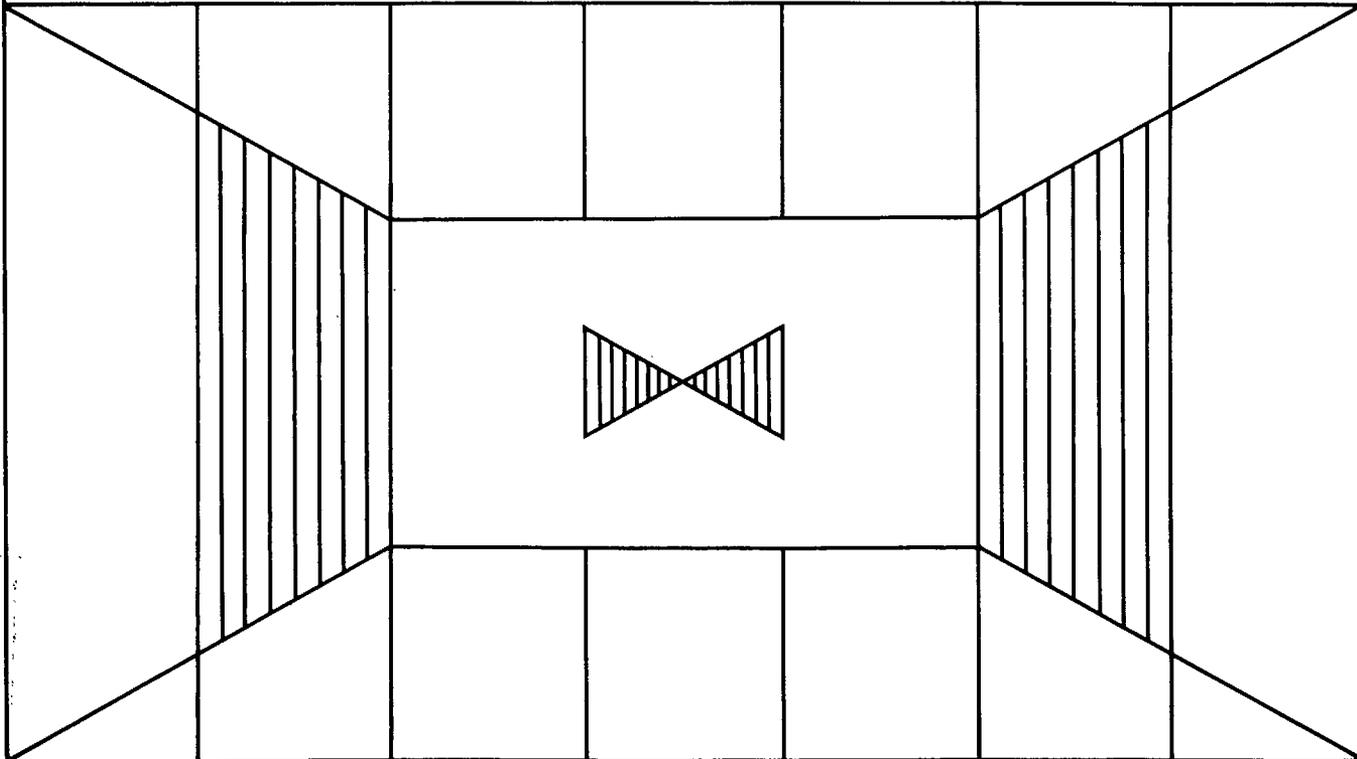
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Self-Evaluation in Community-Based Residential Centres

Volume II: Prospects and Pitfalls

by Sharon Moyer



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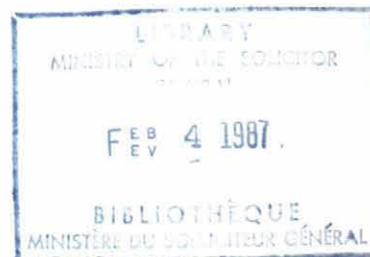
SELF-EVALUATION IN COMMUNITY-
BASED RESIDENTIAL CENTRES
VOLUME II: PROSPECTS AND PITFALLS

by

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ABSTRACT

Two volumes form the final report of the Self-Evaluation Project. The first volume, titled A Guide to Self-Evaluation for the Community-Based Residential Centre, is a handbook designed for the operators and staff of residential facilities for the ex-offender. In the Guide there are carefully outlined stages which house staff may follow to monitor their activities and to begin to assess how well they are achieving their objectives. The Guide discusses the formulation of objectives (why objectives are important and how house personnel might begin to develop specific objectives), how to develop success criteria, and how to monitor staff activities and resident performance. Also included in the Guide are examples of monitoring instruments which were pre-tested in a group of privately-operated CRCs.

Volume II, titled Self-Evaluation in the CRC: Prospects and Pitfalls, describes the methodology used to create the Guide and presents the authors' comments and observations on the programs and policies of halfway-houses in Canada, based on their experiences in 26 of them visited during the course of the Project. A discussion of the attitudes of

the participating houses towards self-evaluation is also included. The second volume ends with a series of recommendations outlining the researchers' assessment of the future of evaluation and self-evaluation in community-based, privately-operated correctional facilities.

THE ORGANIZATION AND CONTENTS OF THE REPORTS
ON THE SELF-EVALUATION PROJECT

This report is organized into two volumes: A Guide to Self-Evaluation in Community-Based Residential Centres and Self-Evaluation in the CRC: Prospects and Pitfalls. The first volume presents the final version of the Guide which was designed during the course of the twelve-month Project for use by the operators and staff of community-based residences for the ex-offender. The Guide formulates the basic steps necessary for a small after-care organization to evaluate and monitor its own activities. Included in the Guide are methods of developing goals and objectives, outlining success criteria, and measuring success. In addition to a relatively abstract discussion of self-evaluation concepts, there are included a number of monitoring forms, pre-tested in a small sample of houses, which may be used by CRC staff to keep track of their activities and the performance of the residents. Suggestions are also given on how to make these instruments a routine of the operation of the CRC.

The Guide was intended to be a practical and relevant outline for CRC staff who want to improve the quality of their programs, who are willing to learn from their past efforts, and who can set aside some time to record information on the events and activities of their houses.

In addition to CRC personnel, Volume I should also be of interest to the policy-maker and other governmental personnel who are concerned about the type of evaluation considered by the authors to be the most feasible for the halfway-house. The monitoring forms should be examined by the financing agency representatives who may be making decisions about the type of information necessary to describe the programs found in the CRCs. It is recommended that the data be examined with a view to their usefulness in a system-wide context; while the monitoring forms were designed solely with the expressed needs of the houses in mind, it may be that some information can serve a dual purpose. That is, the administrator in the larger correctional system may find that some data would be of value for his own information needs. *

Volume II of this report, titled Self-Evaluation in the CRC: Prospects and Pitfalls, describes the methods and activities of the project team, describes the houses visited during the course of the twelve-month project, and discusses the available correctional and evaluative literature of most relevance to the Self-Evaluation Project. Volume II is divided into five chapters and several appendices and these will be briefly summarized here.

*Despite these suggestions, the Guide was intended for the staff of CRCs and the contents are probably of lesser interest to most governmental personnel, unless they are directly involved in the evaluation of CRCs.

Chapter I presents the method and rationale for the development of the Guide (Volume I). It also includes a discussion of the initial reactions of the participating house staffs to the abstract and conceptual portion of the presentation of self-evaluation, to the idea of monitoring, and to the monitoring instruments developed during the latter part of the project. Attempts to use the "native" model of evaluation in development of the Guide is also found in Chapter I. The problems encountered during the pre-test conclude the chapter.

Chapter I will be of most concern to the researcher and the administrator concerned with the specific problems that may be encountered in future attempts to conduct evaluations of small, unstructured agencies like CRCs. Others professionally involved with after-care programs may find the description of the attitudes of CRC staff of some interest.

Chapter II briefly describes the sample of 26 agencies which volunteered to participate in the Self-Evaluation Project. While the Project was never intended to be a rigorous or random study, the sample is relatively representative of the range and type of privately-operated halfway-houses in Canada. Despite this non-randomness, the variety of houses visited -- in size, characteristics of

staff and directors, source of clientele, and staffing patterns -- appeared sufficient for an adequate test of the principles and monitoring forms developed during the Project's twelve-month existence.

Personnel who will find Chapter II of most interest will be researchers concerned with the methods used to select the sample of CRCs that participated in the study, as well as others interested in the characteristics of the houses which helped develop the Guide.

Chapter III focusses directly on the programs and strategies observed during field visits to the houses in the sample. Most of the chapter is taken up with the description of the type of assistance (or "treatment modalities") provided by CRCs for their residents. Included with the descriptive material are assessments of the assistance being provided and citations from the scanty literature available on programs of small residential agencies such as CRCs.

In Chapter III, it is noted that many house staff have difficulty describing their activities, resulting in program elements often appearing somewhat amorphous. However, to the extent possible, the chapter depicts the range and variety

of program components observed in the houses. Those elements described in most detail in Chapter III are: one-to-one counselling, group meetings, the house atmosphere or milieu, and employment and educational assistance. Also discussed in Chapter III are the intake policies and practices of the houses visited by the project team.

Clearly, it is important for anyone interested in the benefits of halfway-houses for the individual residents to have some understanding of the program elements and daily operations of these houses. The program material is probably of considerable interest to representatives of the parole and penitentiary services who make referral decisions to CRCs, as well as of interest to other agencies who refer residents to houses. Since suggestions for further research are made throughout the program material, the researcher may also find the contents of some value.

Chapter IV looks at the problems of CRCs in terms of their ability to meet their goals and in terms of their internal management structure. By examining CRCs in the light of the goals of "rehabilitation" and "reintegration", it becomes possible to analyze critically their approach to the process of assistance. Problems discussed in this chapter are:

- The role of the community. (It appears that,

despite their vaunted role as providers of opportunities in the community, some houses failed to use community resources fully.)

- The problems inherent in implementing the "rehabilitative ideal". (There are a number of constraints on houses wanting to rehabilitate their clientele. These include: the involuntary stay of many residents, the narrow scope of the houses, the restrictions on resident behaviour, and the short average stay at many CRCs.)

- Internal management variables. (These include: the lack of planning, shortage of finances which restricts program expansion, and the autocratic managerial style exhibited by directors of a number of houses.)

The analysis of CRC problems found in Chapter IV would be of most applicability to those who work in the area of research and development of the after-care network. The policy-maker concerned about the future of the community approach to corrections would doubtless also find the discussion of problematic areas of equal relevance.

The concluding chapter, V, contains recommendations for the future course of evaluation in the Community-Based

Residential Centre. The discussion begins with an interpretation of "evaluation": for whom it should be designed, with what objectives, and who should be the collectors of the necessary information. The second section presents four recommendations which specify the more immediate steps that must be taken in halfway-house monitoring and evaluation. It is urged that full scale evaluation of a traditional sort be deferred until there is more information available on the programs, services and clientele of the houses. It is suggested that evaluation at this point be processual (that is, concentrate upon the internal operation of CRCs rather than on outcomes). Further attempts to evaluate should be done slowly. Careful pre-testing of monitoring instruments in a few CRCs is essential. Great care should be taken to predict the future information needs of agencies concerned with the operation of CRCs. Along with the pre-testing and the ascertainment of needs, the financing agencies responsible for CRCs should consider implementing educational programs for CRC personnel. These programs should include components on evaluation and its benefits to the house staff. The final recommendation suggests that initially the format of the monitoring instruments be resident-based, and gives some examples of the type of data the authors consider most worthwhile.

Volume II concludes with an appendix entitled "A Selective Review of Relevant Projects". The Review is divided into three sections: self-evaluative studies and commentaries, the evaluations of halfway-houses done to date, and the system perspective of correctional evaluation. More in the form of an annotated bibliography than an analytical review of the literature,* the Review highlights the key work that has been undertaken in the area of community correctional evaluation.

*A separate chapter containing the standard review of the literature was deemed to be unnecessary since throughout Volume II there are references made to appropriate studies and commentaries. In other words, the literature has been integrated into the body of the report.

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CHAPTER I THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GUIDE TO SELF-EVALUATION:
METHOD AND RATIONALE

This chapter discusses in both general and specific terms the construction of the Guide to Self-Evaluation and the reasons the researchers took the approach they did. Section A outlines the reactions of directors and staff to the verbal presentation of self-evaluation concepts, given to most houses visited by the project team.

Section B gives some general background on the experiences of evaluators in social action programs. It offers one solution to the typical problems encountered by the evaluator confronted by a practitioner uncertain of the usefulness of evaluation. This solution involves the use of the practitioner's own "native" or "natural" evaluations as a starting point, to reduce problems of intrusiveness and unfamiliar evaluation concepts. The section concludes with a description of the project team's efforts to mesh some features of the "native" model of evaluation with the contents of the Guide.

The third section continues the description of the reactions of CRC staff to one specific aspect of self-evaluation: monitoring. The majority of the staff members were unwilling to expand their current practices in this area to incorporate the suggestions of the project team.

The fourth and final section describes in some detail the reactions of staff to the monitoring phase of the project, in which draft monitoring forms were pre-tested in a volunteer sample of southern Ontario CRCs.

A. The Self-Evaluators' Dilemma: The General Reaction of CRCs to the Content of the Guide to Self-Evaluation

This section describes the reaction of halfway-house staff to the verbal presentation of the concepts of self-evaluation. Many of the CRCs visited during the course of the project were unfamiliar with the concepts of evaluation and self-evaluation. Although about one-third of the directors recognized at least some parts of the framework presented, many staff members and the remainder of the directors found the concepts unfamiliar, overly abstract, and irrelevant to what they were doing on a daily basis.

It was originally assumed that the development of the Guide would be a relatively straightforward task. The stages of self-evaluation would be: the definition and clarification of the goals and objectives of each CRC; the definition of strategies and the development of measures of effectiveness for each specific objective; and the monitoring of CRC activities and resident performance to assess the degree to which each CRC was attaining its objectives. Many operators and staff members found one or more of these steps inappropriate to their operation.

It was found that few houses had problems defining an over-all goal or generalized statement of purpose. Problems did occur, however, when it was noted that a general goal statement was insufficient to guide house activities and it was thus necessary to have more specific expectations. This reaction is by no means unusual. Gurel, citing his own experiences in program evaluation, found that program personnel, when asked for their objectives, often either listed the detailed activities of the program or "offered some vague super-objective".

Program officials simply do not think in the kinds of terms that recognize the pervasive influence of program objectives on program operation and management.... I have found an enormous preoccupation with getting started and moving off, with very little awareness that getting somewhere necessarily implies having a series of intermediate destinations leading to an ultimate destination and some plans about the mechanics of the trip.

Gurel, 1975: 22*

A number of halfway-house personnel did not appear to recognize that their houses were organizations, and that their activities should be a reflection of the organization's objectives. A large proportion of staff said that the house itself had no objectives. The only objectives that existed were those that had been developed on a unique basis for each resident. Despite suggestions of reasonable examples of

* See our bibliography (p. 194) for references to books and articles quoted.

objectives, many staff members insisted that areas such as employment and leisure time activities could not be considered house objectives, because assistance in these areas was provided only if the resident "needed" assistance. The kinds of changes that the house expected in their residents depended on the circumstances and needs of each individual. In their adherence to what Shain has termed the "differential treatment model" (1975), many staff members were impeded from restructuring their thinking away from the individual.

Another problem related to objective-setting for the organization arose in some houses. Staff of a minority of CRCs resisted seeing themselves as members of an "organization", because to them the word "organization" implied a rigidity of structure that they believed their CRC did not possess. The suggestion that the CRC was in fact an organization may have inadvertently challenged key assumptions and values. Resistance was especially noticeable in CRCs staffed by ex-offenders, while staff of houses affiliated with social agencies, and other more professionalized houses, offered less opposition. Shain (1971) has also noted that members of more traditional agencies (as opposed to those who think of themselves as breaking new ground in the social service area) are more willing to consider themselves members of an organization.

When the presentation of the concepts of self-evaluation moved from objective-setting to the definition and

clarification of strategies, a related problem arose. It was claimed that the house itself had no stable strategies; "we are changing all the time" was a frequent comment. Strategies assumed by staff were presumed to be constantly changing to meet the needs of the individual resident and his situation. It was emphasized that the CRC was unlike the prison and penitentiary where block treatment and depersonalization were perceived to exist.

Quite logically, staff who criticized the earlier parts of the presentation also found fault with the section in which they were urged to devise success indicators for their objectives. Many denied that it was possible to establish resident-related criteria of success. Common criteria of success for the CRC were meaningless because, since each resident was unique, a criterion would only be valid if it were established for the individual, adjusted to his "starting point" and to the degree of change that could be expected.

When staff were asked for examples of "success" or "improvement", answers ranged widely and were often couched in terms of case histories. In many instances, while these improvements might not have appeared impressive to the outsider (tooth brushing was one example), they were key indicators to the house's staff who: had seen the degree of change during the residence period. For staff, such indicators were

illustrative of a dramatic or at least outstanding change in the individual's behaviour or attitudes. There was also a tendency on the part of staff to limit their examples of success to changes that occurred during the period of residence. (This response suggested that ways of keeping track of in-program changes could prove useful to some houses. It should be noted that some evaluation researchers have recommended looking at in-treatment changes in the client as well as -- and in some cases (e.g., Twain, 1975) instead of -- post-intervention change.)

Some house staff noted that changes in their residents may persist after they leave the house. It was occasionally stated that their residents took something -- something impossible to define or even to categorize -- from their experience in the house. Even if the resident were a failure in the eyes of society (he may, for instance, have returned to the institution), some staff have said that they "know" he benefited in some ways from his experience in the house.

Thus, in their definitions of success, a number of CRC staff members focussed on the subjective and idiosyncratic indications that the resident had experienced some personal growth or had shown some character development. Changes were often subtle and no measurement could capture the small but

important effects of the program on its residents. Objective indicators in particular would overlook the complexity of the situation. As a result, any criteria or performance indicators developed would be too limited to catch the positive, although intangible and diffuse, effects of the house program on the residents.

The emphatic position described above is one assumed by only a minority of CRC staff members. However, these views were shared to a lesser degree by a large proportion of the sample. Certainly, this position was vehemently expressed, and no amount of rewording or explanation could convince these staff members that objective-setting and success criteria would be useful concepts for the house to consider, especially in the short period of the research. The authors did not summon sufficiently good arguments to convince some staff members of the usefulness of the major concepts of self-evaluation.

Because of the authors' initial frustration at the lack of acceptance of such "obvious" steps as objective-setting, they ignored another and more fundamental purpose of self-evaluation -- that of monitoring what is going on in the organization, of keeping track of what is occurring. For many houses, the first step of the self-evaluative process should be

to "keep track" or to monitor. While the previous steps are undoubtedly desirable and potentially beneficial to the agency, they are not essential pre-conditions for houses to benefit from self-evaluation.

While few operators said that they were remiss in the area of keeping track, their emphasis on providing individualized services that meet the needs of the resident indicated that a major function of the self-evaluation project could be to provide CRCs with a way of monitoring activities related to this objective. With this realization, the creation of the monitoring instruments became relatively straightforward. Instruments were designed to enable houses to assess the needs of the resident, to plan meeting these needs, to assess at regular intervals any changes or improvements, to keep track of staff efforts in providing the personalized assistance, and, on the departure of the resident, to estimate the degree to which he or she has improved in each of his or her need areas.

None of the houses visited had developed monitoring instruments that would adequately keep track of these areas. Even in the most systematic houses, the type of information collected on residents varied from counsellor to counsellor. While weekly reports became routine in some CRCs, they were either open-ended narrative reports or behavioural ratings,

neither of which produced systematic data on resident behaviour or staff efforts. No house had initial forms to assess the nature and extent of the resident's needs. Only one participating house completed a standard summary assessment on departure of the resident. The most common monitoring method was the use of a narrative log; these daily reports were unstructured and of difficult access after a week or so. Therefore, there were deficiencies in terms of what data were collected and both the usefulness and accessibility to that data.

In a number of ways, the standard forms devised during the Self-Evaluation Project would seem to fulfill some information needs of the CRC. Because houses were concerned with in-house changes in residents, an instrument was developed to collect baseline data on needs. In the same form, treatment or assistance plans could be formulated and individualized strategies developed. Through the staff use of both the Initial Assessment and Weekly Forms, consistency of approach may be increased. At the end of the resident's stay, the over-all degree of change or progress exhibited by the resident in relation to his initial need areas might be assessed by the staff.*

*For the description of these instruments and the instruments themselves, see the Guide to Self-Evaluation, Volume I of this report, pp. 43-56 and pp. 62-82.

By monitoring its own functioning, the CRC may enhance its awareness of the nature of its goals and objectives. While recognizing that this is a reversal of the usual process, the objections of house staff to the earlier phases of self-evaluation (objective-setting, deriving success criteria) would seem to indicate that this option is the most practical of the alternatives available. However, by monitoring, the CRCs decision-makers may be sensitized to the actual, continuous operation of the program (Durkin and Durkin, 1975). It may be, too, that monitoring can facilitate what the evaluation literature terms the "mid-course corrections" in the program. Finally, by examining the way in which they intervene in the lives of their residents, the way may be opened for the development of a more objective and comprehensive goal-attainment type of self-evaluation.

Even if implementation of self-evaluation does not lead the staff to a more objective examination of their organization's capabilities, it should help them organize their perceptions and intuitions of increased consistency and better planning on the individual case level.

In summary, for many CRCs it may be important simply to ascertain how their program is functioning, and to monitor

its course without any great concern about its accomplishments at the organizational level. Angrist (1975: 84) has pointed out that the simplest level of evaluation is monitoring program development: "it deals primarily with monitoring the process of carrying out the plans, recording the type of activity and its historical evolution". For CRCs, this may be the most immediately relevant and acceptable form of self-evaluation at this time.

B. The "Native Model of Evaluation: A Possible Solution To The Dilemma

There are two interdependent assumptions that were basic to the Self-Evaluation Project from the proposal stage. First, the project was designed as a self-evaluation to avoid some of the problems surrounding evaluation (e.g., obtrusiveness, lack of generality and comparability, and expense). The project was also designed to be meaningful and useful to the operation of a variety of Community-based Residential Centres. From the beginning, in an initial letter to CRCs asking for their co-operation, it was emphasized that this was a project designed to produce a guide for self-evaluation, that participation was voluntary and confidential, and that the researchers were trying to create a document that was relevant to the needs of house personnel.

However, some of the problems which surfaced in this project are mentioned in literature on the response of personnel to the outside evaluator. While the problems encountered are undoubtedly less severe than those reported in the literature, the similarities should be noted.

Research reports and commentaries on social program evaluation are replete with examples of the widespread hostility of these organizations to the evaluator. Many researchers have bewailed the antagonism and lack of cooperation of both management and line personnel when they are confronted with the outsider who has come to measure their effectiveness. Despite assurances that evaluation is "for your own good and that of your clients", that "it won't hurt much", and that the evaluator is "neither a policeman nor a spy", the practitioner often resents and sometimes fears the outside evaluation. Trice has suggested that this is not an unnatural reaction on the part of the practitioner.

The evaluator brings in suspect 'outsiderness' in the form of relatively unknown devices for testing the practitioner's work, and he attempts to sell them on the virtue and easy use of his alien ways, all under the guise of 'helping them' help, for example, the mentally ill.

Trice, 1974: 32

While resentment or hostility was not encountered, the Self-Evaluation Project researchers still brought in "suspect outsiderness" to the participating CRCs. This was evident in

the selling job that many houses made for their own organization on the first few visits made by the project team. The "self-evaluators", particularly at initial contact, were perceived in a few cases as outsiders to be conned or manipulated, or -- more commonly -- as outsiders to be convinced of the uniqueness and value of the house. In some houses -- despite the initial letter which strongly emphasized that this was a self-evaluation project -- the researchers were greeted by comments such as "they have come to evaluate us". These comments were quickly refuted by a more detailed explanation of the purpose of the project.

Another indication of being considered outsiders is that the researchers were often asked why they were doing the project, and what background did they have that equipped them to do such a study? These questions implied that, as outsiders, the researchers could not possibly understand or assist the halfway-house. Very early in conversations at first contact with houses, the problem of "defining success" was raised by house staff. The tone was frequently defensive, or so it appeared to the researchers. Furthermore, while the project team did not initially bring in "unknown devices", they did bring in unfamiliar abstract concepts and asked the CRC's staff to respond to questions about "goals", "objectives" and "strategies". Like the evaluator, the "self-evaluators" attempted to sell the houses on the virtue and easy use of alien concepts, although in this instance under the "guise" of self-improvement.

While cooperation was never overtly withheld by a volunteer house, openness sometimes appeared less than complete. This reaction is perhaps not surprising considering that the project was financed by a body of many houses, assurances of confidentiality notwithstanding. The novelty of a financing agency paying for a self-evaluation project was perhaps enough to induce suspicion in staff familiar with the more traditional pattern.

All of these responses lessened as contact with the houses increased. It is perhaps inevitable that these reactions should occur when two strangers come into an organization -- even when invited -- and ask odd questions about its workings, the practices and attitudes of the staff, and the fundamental assumptions of the agency. There was a lesson learned, however, which remained with the authors throughout the project. Not only is it desirable to act in a casual, informal, willing-to-listen manner, it is also necessary to come to terms with the viewpoints expressed by CRC personnel -- perhaps not to accept them, but to understand them.

Another integral part of the project was that the Guide to Self-Evaluation must be relevant to the needs of the operators. Again turning to the literature on the evaluation of social action programs, evaluators have often complained

that their efforts are rarely used by the practitioner. It is increasingly accepted that feedback and use of results are the *raison d'être* of the evaluative process; lack of utilization has been a frustrating experience for many evaluators (e.g., Weiss, 1973; Walker, 1972). Even when information is collected that bears directly on program improvement, evaluators have noted that only occasionally do social agencies change their operation as a result of research findings. There is a growing insistence in the literature that results be presented in such a way that they can be used by internal change agents or decision-makers of an agency.

Early in the project, there were some fears that the same non-utilization could be true of the self-evaluation format unless the needs of the houses were more closely integrated into the approach taken by the project team. For many participating houses, self-evaluation seemed low on their list of priorities, or at least self-evaluation in the form being presented by the authors. The verbal presentation of the steps in self-evaluation, with few concrete examples and no monitoring instruments to illustrate the rather abstract concepts, often failed to convince the halfway-house audience that self-evaluation could be applied to their agency. To change that reaction, the researchers tried to incorporate some elements of the "native model" of evaluation into their presentation of the Guide, especially into the monitoring-related functions.

In a recent paper Trice (1974) has critically reviewed the literature on evaluation and has concluded that evaluators should concentrate on strengthening and supplementing the evaluation procedures that already exist in the organization, rather than attempting to impose an alien perspective upon the unwilling agency. Because of the widespread opposition to the outside evaluator, and because agencies have so rarely incorporated results into their programs, Trice has proposed the "native model" of evaluation.

The native model has as its starting point the perspective of the practitioner. The first task for the researcher is to learn as much as possible about the indigenous, subjective evaluations already present in the organization. Second, he may then devise ways to supplement these natural processes with evaluation strategies that will be compatible with the already existing approach to assessment. The proposed model is in sharp contrast to the traditional evaluation which usually tries to control the agency's "intrinsic subjectivity, since it cannot be eliminated" (Suchman, 1967: 11).

The native model is based on the hypothesis that members of organizations have developed patterns of response to their world "that provide the basis for an ever-present evaluation of what goes on around them". "The use of indices

of organizational effectiveness, of whatever variety, generated by the organization itself" is more likely to evoke a positive response to the evaluator's strategies and suggestions than are indices which are imposed by the demands of the traditional evaluation (Trice, 1974: 85).

However, the native or natural approach will not be feasible when program personnel have strong convictions about the value of their program. If the staffs' perceptions are distorted by their close contact with the agency, it is improbable that the native approach can be implemented. For example, in some CRCs self-evaluation is alien to their mode of thinking and strategies. Two types of organizations fall into this category: those in which there is a strong ideological and personal commitment to a certain type of therapy; and those in which "effectiveness" is seen as irrelevant because the house is offering little more than a family surrogate. In the former agencies, change is unnecessary; indeed, any suggestions that program alterations should be made are seen as an attack on the theoretical underpinnings of the agency and on the staff who are committed to that theory. In the latter group of agencies, change is unnecessary because things are running smoothly the way they are -- or running as smoothly as any family cum boarding house realistically can be. Effectiveness is not an issue in this type of halfway-house; one, after all, does not usually evaluate the effectiveness of a family.

Despite these exceptions, many of the houses visited by the project team may be willing to consider self-evaluation if there is considerable assistance given to them in developing their already existing criteria of success. During the Self-Evaluation Project, it was observed that many CRC staff see their job as providing personal attention and concrete assistance to the needs of the individual resident. Criteria of success, implicit in these organizations' assessments of their operation, are related to the staff's perceptions of improvement in the attitudes and behaviour of each resident. While the monitoring instruments created during the project did appear to mesh with the preconceptions of these staff members, one problem in their development was the reluctance of many workers to consider objective assessments of resident progress. Even though staff approved in general of the necessity of keeping track of the individual resident's needs and of the house efforts to meet those needs, they were reluctant to incorporate objective measures of improvement into the assessment process.

Throughout the project the authors emphasized to CRC staff the desirability of collecting objective, observable evidence of accomplishment. Variables of a more objective nature were introduced into the monitoring forms, in terms of what was acceptable to the participating houses. However, the reaction to collection of objective data ranged from neutral to negative. Many staff members disliked such information because it did not reflect the improvements that

were readily apparent to staff, nor did it reflect the actual degree of effort put into meeting resident needs. Some of the suggested objective measures were felt to be crude, and over-simplified (perhaps even ignored) the very real personal growth of the resident. For example, the authors suggested what they believed to be an uncontroversial example of an objective measure -- job retention or number of days worked -- to many CRCs which emphasized employment. Among the responses to this suggestion were the following:

Staying at work a full day is an achievement in this house;

Being fired without hitting the foreman may indicate improvement, let alone keeping a steady job;

Every job is a learning experience. It does not matter if the man moves from one to another; he always has and always will;

Most of our residents have such poor work records, it would be unrealistic to expect them to keep a steady job;

Our residents must keep working otherwise we will ask them to leave.

These reactions illustrate the difficulty of formulating objective measures that would be appropriate to, and perceived as realistic by, all or even most houses. Although the provision of employment counselling and other services is common, it is difficult to convince staff in these houses that one measure of accomplishment in the area might be steady employment.

Other examples of objective measures of house efforts and resident performance were also rejected. Consequently the authors concentrated on developing monitoring instruments that systematized the existing measures of organizational effectiveness, as is suggested by the native model. Further efforts to persuade CRC staff of the usefulness of collecting factual information must be made before they will accept objective data as indicators of their programs' success.

While some objective data are included in the forms (number of days worked was considered important enough to be included), they are far outweighed by the subjective descriptions of progress and change in the residents. Thus, the monitoring instruments that were developed are by no means rigorous, reliable or valid formats. Because they are based on what the majority of staff perceive to be success indicators, the forms may systematize, even standardize, the intuitive judgments of the staff. Whether they will substantially reduce "the amount of self-fulfilling prophecy and the natural tendency within the organization and among individual counsellors to see their efforts as basically effective" (Trice, 1974) is subject to debate.

C. Reactions to Monitoring

Of all the features of self-evaluation, monitoring evoked the most comment from CRC staff. The following

discussion of these reactions has been included because it is doubtful that the houses visited are alone in their objections to putting information on paper. It will be apparent that the "pro" responses are vastly outnumbered by the "con", and this is not a surprising imbalance. Evaluation researchers have often observed that data collection is one of the main sources of conflict between researcher and practitioner, even when the latter is involved in the creation of the formats. Lack of time and irrelevance of the content are the two most frequently quoted reasons put forward against monitoring (Weiss, 1973). It is hoped that the latter objection, that of irrelevance, has been partially obviated by the incorporation of the operators' perspective in the design of the monitoring instruments, as was described in the last section. However, before this approach was taken by the project team, objections to monitoring became almost the single focus of the discussions on self-evaluation. The next sections will describe first the negative and then the positive reactions to the concept of monitoring.

1. Objections to Monitoring

The recurring comment heard by the authors was that house staff had no time to perform data collection functions. From the operators' perspective, monitoring was equated with

increased paper work -- more files and record-keeping. While, strictly speaking, one can monitor in other ways than in written form, staff were more or less correct in this perception; about one half of the CRCs visited collect minimal resident and program information. Objections based on lack of time were, as one might expect, most vociferous in houses which did not routinely record much information.

There were really two components to the "lack of time" objections. First, "we do not have any time because we are understaffed" was a common and perhaps a realistic argument put forward by smaller houses, that is those with three or fewer full-time staff members. Second, there were CRC staff which said "we place record-keeping away down on our list of priorities". To these workers, monitoring took valuable time away from interpersonal contact with the residents, who had priority in the allocation of the staff's time. It was stated several times that staff should not be sitting in the office writing reports; rather, they should be out in the common areas of the house talking to the residents.

The second objection to monitoring was that the process of monitoring would be damaging to the delicate threads of relationships that are established between the resident and the staff. If the resident became aware that the staff were

recording information, the development of trust and confidence would be impeded. When it was suggested that residents could have access to the information recorded about them, most houses either regarded open access to files as inappropriate or denied that this would soften the negative resident response. Data collection would impair the tenuous staff-resident relationships which are grounded in the skills of the staff who work to develop the trust of the resident. (See Adler et al, 1974: 124 for a similar response from drug treatment facilities. It should be emphasized that none of these reactions by CRC staff are unique to them; other "helpers" are equally antagonistic to the monitoring process.)

The third argument against monitoring was that records would make the halfway-house just like the penitentiaries and the social agencies with whom their residents had interacted most of their lives. It was considered very important to differentiate the halfway-house from the correctional facility. Great value was placed on not treating the resident like a "client" or a number. It was remarked more than once that the institutions and parole service have thick files on the residents; by duplicating that practice, there was a danger that the CRC would develop into a bureaucracy -- a highly undesirable development to the majority of staff. It was their informality and unstructured operation that made them effective.

Thus, the CRC was attempting to be as unlike the institution as possible for two reasons: first, the association in the resident's mind between the house and the rest of the correctional system would be diminished and there would be fewer staff-resident barriers as a result; second, the informal atmosphere of the house would be radically altered in a negative, "bureaucratic" direction if case files were kept. Implementation of a monitoring system was conceived to be a step towards rigidity of structure.

A fourth objection was related to the strategy assumed by staff in their dealings with the residents. It was often pointed out that a standard format for record-keeping would constrain the staff's freedom to make choices, removing their much prized flexibility. The researchers argued that monitoring could widen the spectrum of alternatives by making previously unavailable data available. However, without any concrete monitoring formats to illustrate this argument, it was not convincing to the staff. After the creation of the instruments, this objection did not arise.

Perhaps the most interesting argument put forward against monitoring was that, by record-keeping, there is constant danger of labelling the residents. Labelling theory (in actuality, if not in name) was mentioned by a

number of staff. Writing assessments on a form may cause impressions and personal opinions to be accepted as "facts". Apparently verbal transmission of the same impressions or perceptions (which, as was observed, does occur frequently) does not raise the same spectre of misinterpretation. It was felt that by monitoring the staff would become so absorbed by the label that assistance would be no longer personal.

Finally, there was an admitted personal dislike for completing forms, even when their purpose and value were understood. House staff who stated this personal bias noted that their reluctance was related to their previous work experience (in the social service or correctional fields) or to their earlier experience as the subject of case notes (as ex-offenders).

There were other, less frequent arguments against instituting a monitoring system. One house parent stated that, since the parole service kept detailed records of each resident, it was unnecessary to duplicate them in the CRC. This comment indicated that the house-related purposes of monitoring had not been adequately explained. Other staff felt that monitoring was an invasion of privacy and would intrude unnecessarily into the lives of the residents. Monitoring also implied a professionalism that was in conflict with the house's attempts to create a family-like living

situation. Finally, it was said by several CRCs that monitoring created problems of confidentiality. The practical problems of where records would be kept was a concern of staff, as was the question of accessibility to the notes. There were fears that other residents or other agencies would be able to obtain, under some circumstances, case records that were confidential.

2. Arguments in Favour of Monitoring

Only a minority of CRC staff provided the project team with arguments in favour of monitoring:

(a) Monitoring would aid the training of new staff. It was pointed out that staff often came with little experience in the field and that learning could be expedited if there was a written history of procedures which directed them towards apparently successful ways of doing things. However, no staff member suggested that monitoring could be useful for continuing staff development; that is, for increasing staff consistency by providing higher quality information.

(b) Houses which were already keeping some record of resident progress said the records were essential to the staff who might need to remember all the events and special circumstances surrounding each resident. Thus, monitoring was seen as a staff memory aid.

(c) One group of house parents pointed out that monitoring provides information which may reveal patterns of behaviour in the resident perhaps not immediately apparent in the daily living situation. Related to this, crises may be avoided if monitoring is precise enough to warn of trigger points, enabling staff to take action before a situation develops into an emergency.

(d) One assistant director said that he found his records valuable because they assisted him in establishing patterns of "what works" with certain types of residents. This person was unique in this comment. Most staff members responded unfavourably to the suggestion that common resident characteristics can be translated into common methods of approach or assistance.

It is difficult to categorize houses which were favourably disposed to monitoring their activities. They included both large and institutionalized centres as well as the smaller, more family-type of CRC. With only a few exceptions, monitoring was used to keep track of the daily events and activities of the house; rarely was it used to assess goal achievement or to improve programs.

It is too emphatic to state that the majority of CRCs are antagonistic towards the monitoring phase of self-evaluation.

More accurately, of houses which had little or no current monitoring, the largest proportion were non-committal or hesitant about implementing a monitoring system. While later experience showed that some of the objections to the concept were obviated by examples of monitoring forms, the initial reaction of the houses made the researchers less than optimistic about what could be included in a monitoring format. It was clear that the forms would have to mesh with the houses' emphasis on the individual, with their informal structure and with their reluctance to keep detailed records. Easy-to-complete instruments that did not violate strong feelings about "bureaucracies" and labelling would have to be created. In the design stage, effort was made to accommodate (and perhaps eliminate) some of the objections to the concept of monitoring.

3. Reactions to Intake Monitoring Forms: A Case in Point

The researchers had initially assumed that one of the basic and necessary forms to be devised would be an intake form that collected data on the social history and demographic characteristics of the residents. In fact, this was the example of a monitoring instrument most frequently given to houses during the early visits. To the surprise of the researchers, this simple -- and, to the social scientist, the

least controversial -- suggestion aroused much of the negative response described in Section 1. Many staff members with whom this example was raised took exception to it; the response will be described in detail for it exemplifies many of the problems that may occur in future assessments of the Community-based Residential Centre.

First, the practices of the CRCs regarding background data on the resident should be noted briefly. Some houses (less than one-quarter) have no information recorded on the resident. The house parent or director might have considerable knowledge of the resident from prison interviews and contacts with probation and parole officers, but nothing is documented beyond name and legal status. However, the majority of CRCs visited do obtain application forms which are completed by the inmate while still in the institution or the probationer on his arrival at the house. There is considerable similarity among these forms; the data include information on: legal history, work record, current sentence, and special problems as well as standard demographic information such as marital status and education.

However, even though this information was routinely collected, the attitude of many directors and staff was that it was a matter of form, rather than of function. To a high proportion, background data was of little importance to the way the resident was today. Legal history was one area that

was often stated to be of minor interest. To a number of CRC directors, duration or type of criminal record should have no impact on the staff's treatment of the resident. These operators did not accept the suggestion that the type of individual being accepted by the house could play an important role in the nature of the assistance being provided.

The directors of many houses already "knew" the residents, either from information received from referring agencies or from personal interviews with the prospective resident, and often both. The criteria of admission were rarely related to offence type or other history variables; more important were the impressions obtained in face-to-face contacts with the applicant. Also, while some applicants would be rejected, it was not believed that screening should ever be on the basis of "paper" characteristics.

The researchers suggested that intake decision-making could be improved by keeping track of intake characteristics and then relating them to resident outcome variables; this was rejected by almost all staff as leading to the elimination of individualized attention. It was not accepted that background data can be of value in developing program components and in establishing what kind of applicant is best suited to the type of assistance being offered by the house.

The researchers suggested to some houses already using intake (i.e. application) forms that perhaps the project could provide a service by revising the forms. Few houses showed any interest in this offer. The directors felt that the information they were currently collecting was more than sufficient. Application forms were rarely used for anything beyond providing a minimum of basic information to the director before he interviewed a prospective resident. Once or twice, a director noted that the form made it unnecessary to ask background questions during the interview, thus saving time for more important matters. On the whole, houses were satisfied with the data they collected.

CRCs which had a wider source of clientele than the penitentiary system were asked by the researchers if they would be interested in an admission form, which would be filled out by a staff member on the resident's arrival. It was believed that this instrument could be useful for those houses which had referrals from local judiciary and other non-institutional sources, and thus had no opportunity to obtain written background information. A large proportion of houses were in this position for at least some of their residents. With the exception of two CRCs for young offenders, the idea of an admission form was rejected as inappropriate.

Arguments against an intake form were most often related to the attitude of the resident. It was believed that any formal procedure would indicate to the new resident that the house was like the rest of the correctional system. A procedure such as the researchers were suggesting would disturb house efforts to create an informal, helping atmosphere where the past is of little importance. Resentment and distrust on the part of the resident would be the inevitable result.

It is noteworthy that the CRCs which were interested in an admission form being developed for them were houses for young people. In the course of producing one for these two houses, it became clear that the desired information concentrated on areas such as family relationships and other factors assumed to be causally related to present behaviour. The admission form is included in the monitoring instruments contained in The Guide to Self-Evaluation.

While only tangentially related to this discussion, there is another reaction of the houses to social history data that should be described: the practice, found in CRCs, of the director not sharing background data with counselling staff. The reasons given for keeping information from the staff were:

(a) That information-sharing would violate confidentiality. It was believed that the application form

and data from institutions and other sources should be in the strictest confidence.

(b) Background knowledge would not be helpful in developing a constructive relationship with the resident.

(c) Background data could unconsciously bias the staff and create a situation where they treated the individual in a non-personalized manner. A large number of staff stated that details of a resident's past should not be automatically shared unless they could be clearly related to present behaviour -- for example, if a proclivity towards violence could create management problems.

(d) If the resident became aware that his past is common knowledge, depersonalization would be increased. Again, houses do not want to have any similarity to the institutions where information of a personal nature is openly shared by the staff.

Thus, there seemed to be the assumption that the resident is starting a "new life" when he enters the CRC, that he has indeed a blank slate. Those CRCs which take this tabula rasa approach seem to assume that the past has little bearing on the present, and in those areas where there is a clear need for information (e.g., basic work or educational

skills acquired in the past), it is the responsibility of the staff to establish the rapport required to ascertain these details themselves. However, from the authors' observations, informal communication between director and staff does occur frequently, even in CRCs which resist a more formal process of information-sharing.

In conclusion, it appears that a large proportion of halfway-houses are not ready to accept the idea that social and legal history data might play a prominent role in the assessment of their effectiveness and in program operations generally, including program improvement. There is an unwillingness to believe that the type of resident coming into the house has a relationship to the nature of the assistance provided there. The negative response to an intake record system is another aspect of the general reluctance to categorize individuals, and of the desire to be as dissimilar to the formal correctional system as possible. The reluctance to accept the importance of history data may also be a consequence of the assumption that the house is suitable for all or by far the majority of potential residents. These reactions, presumably representative of the total Canadian CRC population, must be kept in mind when the feasibility of a standardized reporting system for CRCs is being considered. It is possible that opposition will arise against something as seemingly uncontroversial as a uniform intake form.

D. Monitoring: The Experiences During Pre-Testing

1. Method

In September of 1975, eight houses which had agreed to participate in pre-testing the monitoring instruments were contacted and appointments were arranged. If possible, the researchers tried to be present at a staff meeting so that the presentation of the instruments would reach all those who would be concerned with completing them. After these meetings, the directors were again asked if they would be willing to pre-test the forms.

The pre-testing phase took place between October 1975 and the middle of January 1976. The strategies employed by the project team included monthly visits, meetings with the staff to discuss their reactions to the trial implementation period, and observation periods in the participating houses. From staff comments at these meetings, revisions were made to the forms and new draft versions mailed to the houses so that they could be tested in the month or so before the next visit. Altogether there were three rounds of visits during this phase.

Early in this phase it became evident that the degree to which the CRCs would be cooperating in the pre-testing

was going to vary widely. This had been anticipated; it was for this reason that eight houses had initially been asked for their cooperation. The houses that dropped out did so in varying degrees and at varying stages of the pre-test. The reasons these houses failed to complete the pre-test period are of considerable interest. In any future attempts to implement monitoring procedures in halfway-houses, the evaluator will have to come to grips with the problems that are discussed in the remainder of this chapter. The house by house description of the pre-test phase is included here for two reasons: to describe the problems encountered by the project team; and to illustrate the difficulties inherent in implementing a monitoring system in the CRCs when staff have little reinforcement and management minimal incentive to alter house structures for self-evaluative purposes.

2. The Response of the Participating Houses to the Pre-Test

Three houses dropped out early in the pre-test period. House number one, after two visits in the fall of 1975 (which included a presentation on the concepts and display to staff of the forms that had been developed), apparently decided not to participate in pre-testing. It was left to the staff to decide whether they were willing to cooperate by completing trial instruments. Nothing more was heard from the director and it was assumed that the decision was a negative one.

A second CRC, again after several visits, introduced an early draft of the weekly progress report into the house routine. After receiving this form, the director decided that no further participation was possible. Both the director and his staff expressed satisfaction with the weekly form, but the director was not interested in introducing the initial or summary forms because he felt that his own data collection was sufficient in those two areas. On both visits, however, staff had provided the project team with insights into their views on monitoring.

The director of a third house, after three visits and a presentation on self-evaluation to counsellors, did request one counsellor to complete both the initial and weekly report forms on incoming residents. The counsellor did so for several weeks, although he at the same time maintained his own narrative records because he did not find the forms provided enough space for his assessments of resident behaviour. This pre-test attempt ended before the first month of the phase was over.

The lack of cooperation in this instance seemed to be a consequence of staff turnover and the attitude of the director and his assistant. They had originally agreed to participate in the project perhaps without fully realizing

the changes in house routine that would be necessary. In addition, neither the director nor his assistant were at all committed to the idea of monitoring. The director stated that he had not urged his staff to complete the forms because of the low priority the forms had in his operation. Time constraints and major changes in the organization were additional factors. It was felt by the project team that further pressure to participate would not be fruitful, as well as being contrary to the voluntary nature of the project. After a few phone calls it was decided to accept the house decision.

Despite the reluctance of this house to participate completely, the director did show interest in one form shown to him -- the daily log. He requested a change in the log's structure, which was made to his specifications. The new version (see Daily Log B in The Guide) was acceptable and was introduced to the house operations. However, it was observed that the log was not entirely completed by the shift workers, although the director considered the information adequate for house purposes. It was noted, for example, that comments were written across categories, thus ignoring several columns (and data elements) of the form. Despite this incompleteness, it was notable that this house -- perhaps the least interested of the eight in self-evaluation -- did at least start to use one of the monitoring forms.

It may be important to speculate why this log was acceptable to the director while other aspects of self-evaluation were not. It appears that acceptance was a consequence of a recent enlargement of staff and the director's perception that some information exchange was now essential. Previously no log had been used; informal, verbal communication had been sufficient. Because this director is against detailed monitoring instruments, the easy-to-complete log appeared to be an attractive solution to his newly-seen information needs. It may be, too, that the director was concerned not only about communication and keeping track of the residents, but also about the ways in which the recently-hired counsellors were performing their responsibilities. By having them complete a log entry for each shift, the counsellor's attention to the individual resident could be ascertained.

The fourth house asked to participate in this phase, although never dropping out in the sense of the first three discussed, did not pre-test any of the forms despite three visits between October and January. Unlike the first three houses, the director was enthusiastic about self-evaluation, particularly about objective-setting. This director was one of three operators who attempted to set down the goals and objectives of the organization, at least partially, as a result of the visits made by the project team.

Visits to this CRC included discussions of self-evaluation and goal setting, and the authors had the opportunity to comment on the goals developed by the director. While the monitoring forms were shown to the staff, the consensus seemed to be that they would be useful, a decision on a request for cooperation in pre-testing was never made. Among the reasons given were: staff meetings were infrequent and, as a result, there had been no opportunity for a group decision; the director's attention had been concentrated on other matters, precluding careful consideration of the instruments and how they could be adapted to house purposes; the December holiday period had disrupted the normal routine and time had slipped by.

This CRC was designed for a younger population, most of whom were not direct justice system referrals. It had been of considerable interest to the project team whether the forms, designed for the "traditional ex-offender" CRC, would be seen as applicable to a house with a different resident population. The director and staff did believe that the basic content of the three core instruments (initial, weekly, and summary forms) were directly relevant to the operation of the house. While a few categories of the "need" or problem areas were inapplicable to younger residents, most items on the three instruments were considered appropriate and worthwhile.

House number five, like the fourth, also for youthful residents, did have weekly staff meetings and written assessments in the form of behavioural ratings. The rating scale was completed by each staff member on each resident and the results were averaged weekly for discussion at the staff meeting. At these meetings, each counsellor discussed the ratings of the residents assigned to him. The director believed that these ratings were superior to the weekly forms proposed by the project team because staff meetings focused on the discussion of the ratings and allowed the views of all staff to be incorporated into one average score. Furthermore, the system placed the onus on the counsellor to defend his own assessment of his case load.

The director of this agency was not convinced of the usefulness of the self-evaluation monitoring forms. It should be noted that the director did not have an agency goal of "meeting resident needs" as much as one related to control. What the CRC was attempting to do was to provide a home in which controls could be learned.

While a half-hearted attempt to pre-test did take place in this house, the director did not press his staff when they "rebelled" at being asked to complete weekly progress reports. He also noted that there were many problems in building new monitoring procedures into well-established house routines.

An admission form was created at the request of houses four and five. A single form was designed that would appear to meet their requirements, although the purposes of the form differed. For one house, the data on the form was seen as essential to making counselling staff aware of the residents' backgrounds. Information needed on a daily basis (doctor's names and addresses, special diets and the like) would also be readily available because the form could be placed at the front of each resident's case file where it would be accessible to all staff. The second director was unsure if the background data would be shared with the staff; he believed the form necessary because of the requirements of referring and financing agencies.

The sixth house that had agreed to participate in the pre-testing of the forms also did not put one of the major monitoring instruments into practice during the three to four months of the phase, despite favourable comments on the content of the forms. The reason given was lack of staff time, and (again) the difficulties in reorganizing house routines (e.g., using the content of the weekly forms as the basis of the unstructured weekly staff discussions of resident progress; after the initial in-house interview with the resident, taking the time to complete the initial assessment form).

The staff of the sixth house had, however, made some effort to complete the weekly form for three weeks. Because there had been little turnover of residents during the first two months of the trial period, the Initial Assessment and Resident Summary had not been tried out. The director noted, quite correctly, that the weekly form was difficult to complete unless they had first completed the Initial Assessment. For houses with a low resident turnover (and, hence, longer average stays) it was clear that the proposed three months for pre-testing the instruments was insufficient.

When a change of residents did occur in this house, the staff attempted to complete several Initial Assessments. No summary forms were completed. Like other houses, it was noticeable that a telephone call from the project team to arrange the next appointment resulted in increased staff activity to fill in some forms to show the authors. This is perhaps another indication of the difficulty in allotting a time slot and arranging procedures by which forms can be completed routinely, without the impetus provided by the impending arrival of the project team. While procedures of implementation were discussed with the director, the structure of staff meetings was never altered to carry them out.

There had been no previous attempts at systematic data collection in this CRC except for one area -- that of the resident's employment pattern. The assistant director had

designed and used (irregularly, he admitted) an employment sheet which kept track of job interviews, their results, jobs held, and regularity of attendance. Both the director and his assistant believed that a revised form collecting basic job data could be useful to the house. At their request a form was created to collect this information. Because of the short term nature of many resident jobs, the recording of this information was considered necessary for staff to keep up-to-date in this area. (See the Resident Employment History form in The Guide.)

House number six, however, did implement Daily Log A and used it throughout the pre-test phase. It was completed by the night shift so that the director could be readily aware of the time the residents came in and the events of the night shift. The director preferred this day-to-day format (compared to Daily Log B) because he could tell at a glance the composition of the house and the whereabouts of the residents during the evening hours.

The seventh house participating in the pre-test did attempt to complete the three core monitoring instruments on a systematic basis for the three months. During about half of the period, the three forms were being completed more or less regularly. Once again, there was no procedure for completion established. If, for example, a staff meeting was cancelled, no weekly forms were completed unless, of course, the project team were arriving within the next few days.

It is notable that the director of this house himself completed forms for those residents on his case load. He found them useful, although he and his staff believed that a weekly report necessitated an excessive amount of paper work. They preferred a bi-monthly format to a weekly one. This dislike of the weekly report was a surprise to the project team because this house had already been completing weekly rating forms for each resident. It had been assumed that houses which were already monitoring on a weekly basis would accept the Weekly Progress form and have few problems integrating it into house routines.

In this house, there were monitoring procedures. They included a daily log for each resident as well as space for over-all house comments. The rating forms used were unusual in that both resident and counsellor completed the ratings weekly. This procedure was believed useful, for it provided discussion topics for the prescribed weekly one-to-one counselling sessions.

On the other hand, there was no systematic assessment of changes in resident behaviour, nor of his progress throughout his stay. While events of his residence period would be recorded in the daily log, the data were extremely difficult to obtain because often logs were undated and entries lengthy. It was noted that the director could reconstruct the resident's stay but, when asked, other staff were unable to do so.

To conclude, the director of the seventh house was committed to the idea of monitoring but unwilling or unable to obtain the full support of the counselling staff.* The failure of this house to pre-test on a systematic basis seemed to rest with staff disinterest and the reluctance of the director to restructure house procedures to introduce the forms. The director assumes responsibility for the absence of complete cooperation; he believed that if he had been more directive, the monitoring forms would have been incorporated into house routines.

The eighth and final house asked to pre-test the instruments was the one which cooperated most faithfully by completing all draft versions of the three core monitoring instruments (i.e., the Initial Assessment, the Weekly Progress Report, and the Resident Summary Form). A large organization and perhaps better staffed in terms of numbers than others, this CRC was eventually able to make completion of the forms a routine, although difficulties were reported

*It was noticed during the last visit to this house that the counselling staff now laughingly called their daily log "our monitoring instrument". The project team had earlier used the phrase and it was obviously one both new and amusing to house personnel. Despite attempts to avoid jargon, the team had failed to avoid the "alien" ways of the evaluator in their contacts with house personnel.

with the Initial and Summary forms at first. Undoubtedly the major reason for the degree of cooperation was that there was one staff member, highly supportive of the project, who kept track of the forms and reminded other staff to complete them. The second reason was related to the already existing procedures within the house. Regular, long weekly staff meetings were held, which combined house management with staff socializing. There was no reported difficulty in incorporating the three major instruments into those meetings.

Furthermore, in the eighth house there was a pre-existing commitment to monitoring and a belief in the importance of keeping track of the resident's performance. Narrative logs and weekly reports of an open-ended type had been built into house routine for years, and were well accepted by all staff. This agency's staff included a high proportion of university or college educated young people; although it is difficult to estimate whether this composition affected cooperation, it seems likely that training would predispose counsellors to accept monitoring and its functions.

In conclusion, the pre-test period was one which did not fulfill the initial expectations of the project team in terms of the degree of CRC cooperation. The most salient reasons for the inability of the sample houses to participate

fully in the pre-test of the monitoring forms were:

- a lack of commitment to monitoring and to self-evaluation;

- the length of time set aside for the pre-test period in the proposal was insufficient for some houses with a small resident turnover during the three month pre-test;

- the researchers did not make clear to the directors and staff that a decision to partake in the pre-test meant that some time would have to be set aside for the task;

- minimal reinforcement for completing the forms was available. The gratitude of the researchers was insufficient motivation to counsellors to disrupt their normal patterns of work to complete the forms;

- the difficulties of making monitoring instruments part of well-established house routines were underestimated by the researchers.

CHAPTER II DESCRIPTION OF THE CRCs IN THE SAMPLE:
SAMPLE SELECTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HOUSES

This chapter briefly describes the method used to select the organizations visited by the project team during the self-evaluation project. Letters were sent to more than one hundred CRCs throughout Canada; more than forty indicated interest in the project. During the course of the project, twenty six organizations were visited.

While it was not expected that the houses that volunteered to participate in the self-evaluation project would be in any sense a random sample of the total, great variation in the characteristics of these houses was found. The differences among the sample houses are discussed under the following headings: type of clientele including referral sources, size of the houses, area type, accessibility of the houses to transportation, characteristics of the directors and house parents, staffing characteristics and staffing patterns.

A. Sample Selection

Initial letters in both French and English, asking for cooperation in a self-evaluation project, were mailed to a selected list of Canadian CRCs during May and June, 1975.

The list of residential facilities was obtained from a survey made by the Ministry of the Solicitor General in the fall of 1974. Since it was feared that this source was neither up-to-date nor complete, efforts were made to obtain additional information from provincial sources. The Alberta Human Resources Inventory (1974), a member of the Interim Committee of the British Columbia CRC Association, and l'Association des Membres des Centres Residentiels Communitaires du Quebec provided additional names and addresses of houses dealing with the adult ex-offender. From these sources, the project team selected 108 CRCs which appeared to deal primarily with an ex-offender population. All CRCs on contract to the Ministry of the Solicitor General were sent the initial letter.

The only organizations that were not invited to participate were large hostels which deal with a more transient and broader-based population and Community Correctional Centres. Since the project was designed as a study of what the Report of the Task Force on Community-Based Residential Centres (1974) terms the "traditional ex-offender" halfway-house, it was felt that the "transient" houses should be excluded from the population. Alcohol and drug halfway-houses were included only if the descriptive material available indicated that they dealt to some extent with persons recently

released from provincial or federal correctional institutions. No letters were sent to federal Community Correctional Centres or their provincial equivalents. It was assumed that the nature of the restrictions upon the residents, and the organizational characteristics of these facilities (as part of the structure of the Canadian Penitentiary Service) would add complicating factors to a project already dealing with a heterogeneous group of agencies.

Thirty-six organizations eventually responded positively to the letter which also explained the nature of the project. (See the Appendix for the English and French letters.) Four agencies asked for more information about the project, which was provided in a personal letter. While the response rate (about 40%) is obviously insufficient for the purpose of many research projects, it was more than ample for the Self-Evaluation Project. In the proposal, it has been anticipated that between 15 and 20 houses -- about ten located outside of southern Ontario -- would be required to complete the project successfully. As a result of the relatively high response rate, it was decided to expand the number of houses contacted outside Ontario and to shorten the visits to each.*

*In retrospect, the wisdom of the decision to shorten the time spent at each house might be questioned. The visits were more superficial, and observational periods in each house more limited than was anticipated in the proposal. On the other hand, it was observed during the course of the visits that many house operators -- while cooperative and willing to discuss self-evaluation -- showed little interest in prolonged visits.

Visits to nine southern Ontario CRCs were made in May and June, 1975. Of these, eight were willing to participate in the pre-testing phase to be conducted in the fall. Ten organizations in western Canada were visited in July and six houses in Quebec and other areas of Ontario were seen in August and September. In all of these initial contacts, the two-member project team described the project, presented their ideas on self-evaluation, monitoring, and evaluation. The length of time speaking to staff varied from three hours to a day and a half. While it had been made clear in the follow-up letters to the responses that the team would spend as much time in the house as was convenient, the directors in the sample had differing ideas of the time necessary for the researchers to be in the house. Because the project was defined as voluntary, the researchers stayed only as long as it was clear they were welcome.

In summary, a total of 26 organizations were visited in the provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia between May, 1975 and January, 1976.*

Unfortunately, although the project team collected information on participating CRCs, there is little data

*Three CRCs which had not responded to the initial letter were also contacted when the project team arrived in the area. In these houses, only minimal attempts to discuss self-evaluation were made. Rather, the visits were intended to gather information on self-evaluation techniques and other strategies of interest. The reception given the authors was never uncooperative, but perhaps more non-committal than in the volunteer CRCs.

available with which to compare the sample's characteristics with those of the non-responding houses. It is clear, however, that the sample disproportionately represents Ontario CRCs. This is the result of the high response rate of houses affiliated with St. Leonard's Society of Canada, many of which are in Ontario. St. Leonard's members had been involved at an early stage of the project, and there had been several meetings between the authors of the Self-Evaluation Project's proposal and affiliates of the Society. Thus, participation of directors already familiar with what the study was attempting to do was high.

British Columbia CRCs did not respond in the same proportion as did those in Ontario and Quebec. Only six out of the 30 houses contacted responded affirmatively. Since the letter stated that the project was being financed by the Solicitor General, one might expect that a higher proportion of houses on contract with the Ministry would agree to participate and this was, in fact, the case: almost 50% of the CRCs on contract responded to the authors' request for participation, compared to about 30% of houses not on contract.

The only other data with which to compare volunteer and non-volunteer houses is found in the Solicitor General's Directory. cursory examination showed no differences between the two groups on variables such as bed capacity and age

range of clientele. As expected, the responding houses seemed to be more involved with the federal ex-offender than did the non-participants. From the available information, it is impossible to draw any conclusions about differing response rates of "self-help" versus more traditional houses, of houses with differing previous experience with self-evaluation and houses with different organizational structure -- three of the more interesting variables that could be related to the degree of house interest in self-evaluation.

B. Demographic Description of the Sample

The following section will describe the characteristics of the CRCs visited by the project team, characteristics related to clientele, size, area type, accessibility, directors and house parents, staff and staffing patterns.

Clientele

Sixteen CRCs accepted male residents only; five, females only; and five, both males and females. Although only three organizations were exclusively for federal parolees and day parolees, in 12 CRCs the majority of residents had recently emerged from federal correctional institutions. Other agencies had a more mixed source of clientele; a number accepted

residents from provincial institutions, individuals on probation, bail and remand. One agency dealt exclusively with alcoholics with a variety of referral sources, including correctional institutions. The three houses which served clientele under 21 years of age (two of which were for young women) received referrals from training schools, children's aid societies, and other social agencies, as well as from the courts. One male house accepted only native ex-offenders.

The majority of the male-only houses served persons released from institutions and men on parole. The five women's houses had a more mixed referral pattern, also accepting referrals from social agencies and self-referrals. Three of the agencies accepting both men and women were therapeutic communities for youth and adults with problems related to drugs and alcohol.

Size of the Agencies

A number of the organizations had more than one house located in the same or nearby community. Two organizations had three houses, and four had two separate facilities. Since CRCs usually state that they are concerned about the provision of individualized assistance, size of facility rather than of the agency as a whole would seem to be the more useful descriptive variable.

Twelve of the houses had nine beds or less, the smallest having space for six people. An equal number had between 10 and 14 beds, and the remainder had 15 or over. Clearly, most of the houses were small.

Area Type

Sixteen of the houses were in middle-class (usually lower-middle-class) neighbourhoods. Only two houses were in upper-middle or upper-class residential areas. There were five or six houses located in what appeared to be a lower socio-economic setting, usually in downtown areas with mixed residential (often rooming houses) and commercial buildings surrounding the house. All the directors of these latter CRCs expressed discontent with their location, because of the perceived unfavourable influence of the milieu (easy access to drugs, alcohol, and street life) on the residents. Several operators noted difficulties in relocating the house to a more middle-class area. One agency had been searching for a new facility for a number of years. Zoning regulations, negative community attitudes, and purchase price were among the reasons quoted for the problems in moving.

Accessibility

It is often recommended that houses be located in neighbourhoods with easy access via public transportation to

employment and other facilities (e.g., Seiter, Petersilia and Allen, 1970). Most of the CRCs in the sample were either in the city core or were on a bus line which would take residents to the centre in a short time. Only four houses posed major commuting problems for the residents without cars. The directors believed that the benefits to be gained from being out of the way of temptations of the downtown area outweighed any inconvenience resulting from increased transportation time. Other directors stated that they would prefer to be far from the core of their communities.

Characteristics of Directors and House Parents

Of the agencies participating in the project, nine had directors who were themselves ex-offenders. Eighteen of the 26 directors had at least some post-high school education, and several had post-graduate degrees. About one-half of the directors had been in that position between one and two years; five had been director for less than one year at the time of the visit by the project team, and the remainder had held the position between one and two years. About fifty per cent of the CRCs had directors who were also founders of the house, a finding that is roughly similar to that of the CRC Task Force (1973).

Previous employment of the directors varied widely, from school teacher to parole officer. About one-quarter

had previously worked in the formal correctional system, often in parole or in an institution. Four house parents had had no previous contact with the criminal justice or correctional systems. Most of the professionally-trained social workers worked in houses affiliated with professional social agencies.

Directors and house parents ranged in age from the twenties to approximately sixty years. However, about 60% were under 40 years old. Six houses had women at their head and, of these, four were administrators of CRCs for women.

Staffing Characteristics

The number of staff members in relation to number of residents is seemingly an important characteristic of small residential organizations, for purposes of ascertaining the potential for staff-client interaction and for providing personalized services. However, determining staff-resident ratios is more difficult than in other organizations for a number of reasons:

- Some houses, although not many in this sample, do function below capacity most of the time.
- Some have more beds than they would ever want to fill because of their small staff.

- Other facilities have "stretch" facilities used only in emergencies when unexpected Temporary Absences arrive, or when more residents than anticipated are released from institutions simultaneously.

The shifting number of staff members compounds the problem. Many staff are part-time, and part-time varies from a few hours a day to more than forty-eight hours on the weekend shift. Some houses have night counsellors working alternate nights. Cooks and secretaries may be either full- or part-time. Houses affiliated with social agencies will usually have workers available for participation in the house, but these will not necessarily be involved for a fixed number of hours per week. Summer and winter practicum students from community colleges and universities were observed in a number of houses. Not on staff, these people were often involved in counselling, recreation, and job search activities. Next, a few houses with house-parent pattern of staffing had only one member of the family actually on staff. Since the spouse lived in the house, he or she in practice often functioned as an additional staff member because of proximity and involvement in day-to-day house functioning. Finally, in both small and large houses observed, only one staff member was on duty in the evening. Therefore, staff-resident ratios are difficult to interpret for either descriptive or

evaluative purposes.

Despite these qualifications, the number of staff should be noted. Six houses had one or two staff members, usually house parents. Eight CRCs had between three and five staff. There were ten organizations with staff contingents of between six and nine people. Only three agencies had more than 10 staff. Administrative and line personnel are included in these figures; if part-time staff were excluded, the figures would be substantially lower.

Information on the characteristics of the staff was not collected systematically by the project team. However, in most CRCs there was sufficient interaction with personnel to make some impressionistic statements. Thirteen of the twenty-six organizations had ex-offenders on staff. In a number of instances, the involvement with the criminal justice system had occurred many years previously, often five or more years. Other staff members were young people, often in their twenties, frequently with college or university training, or a degree in the social sciences. This pattern was noticeable in the larger, longer-established, and financially more secure organizations.

Several times staff informally indicated to the researchers that long-term careers in halfway-houses were not planned. Their positions as counsellors were seen as temporary. These

comments cannot be taken as representative of all houses in the sample. However, combining staff statements with comments made by directors about staff "burn out", high turnover, and the problems of finding experienced staff, it would seem possible that many CRCs have problems in retaining competent counsellors. Pay advances and promotional opportunities are often limited. Furthermore, besides the obvious stresses inherent in the work, the shift work is burdensome by many staff members.

Staffing Patterns

After size, perhaps the most obvious distinction among the CRCs was their pattern of staffing. In some houses, the staff were also fulltime residents of the house (house parents); in others, staff were mainly shift workers on duty for eight hours at a time. In a third group of houses, the therapeutic communities -- the "staff" for the program -- were former clients themselves and "lived in" twenty-four hours a day. The sample was divided almost equally between the first two categories.

Of the ten houses with house parents as staff, one-half were affiliated with a larger agency with workers available for counselling and other duties. Even in these agencies, the house parent(s) assumed considerable responsibility

for the daily operation of the house and were the major treatment contacts for the residents, because they lived in the same household and interacted with them on a continuous basis. In the CRCs not affiliated with an agency, the staff were more or less on their own. Although another person associated with the agency often had administrative responsibilities, counselling was usually the sole concern of the house parents. With one exception, all CRCs with house parents had nine or fewer beds. Three house parents had their own children living in the house.

Houses with shift workers had staff covering the house on a twenty-four hour basis. In these CRCs, three to five staff members was the modal pattern. It should be noted that a minimum of three counsellors is necessary to staff a house around the clock. In a number of houses the director himself took at least one shift a day. A few CRCs had only two counsellors and the director to staff the house.

CHAPTER III DESCRIPTION OF THE CRCs IN THE SAMPLE:
STRATEGIES AND PROGRAMS

The first section describes the methodology employed by the researchers to obtain the information contained in the sections that follow. In most of the houses visited, the researchers assumed a casual, informal manner and attempted to interact with both residents and staff as interested outsiders rather than as representatives of the formal correctional system.

Section B describes in some detail the intake policies and practices observed in the twenty-six organizations in the sample group. The program components -- discussed in Sections C, D and E -- include individual counselling, group meetings, the house atmosphere or milieu, and employment. The chapter concludes with a short section on the attitudes of operators and staff towards their strategies, and the authors' interpretations of these attitudes.

A. Introduction and Methodology

Field visits to the 26 organizations in the sample varied in length and in depth. The two members of the project team spent more than 280 hours speaking to and observing the staff and residents in these agencies. The description of strategies in this section is the result of these conversations

and observations. The comments that follow cannot be taken as a representative description of the assistance provided by the halfway-house for ex-offenders. The houses visited were self-selected and, as such, unlikely to exhibit the same strategies as would a random sample. It is the authors' belief, however, that the sample CRCs are roughly representative of the types of houses found in this country. For example, it is unlikely that the strategies discussed in this section are entirely different from those found generally in halfway-houses.

A brief description of the authors' own strategies assumed when CRCs were first visited is necessary. Interviews were arranged by telephone; they were always made at the convenience of the director. During field work, efforts were made to minimize distance between researchers and staff. The researchers assumed the role of friendly, interested outsiders, rather than that of the academic or professional observer. Furthermore, the clothes worn by the authors were almost always casual.

In most houses, both appearance and manner appeared to pay off in terms of the response of staff and residents. Reactions of the house staff varied widely from impersonal acceptance to dinner invitations. The ideal initial situation was introduction at a staff meeting followed by casual conversation with residents and on-duty staff.

Reactions of residents varied from ignoring our presence to open and friendly conversation. The presence of the authors did affect the behaviour of staff and residents in many houses, especially in CRCs not accustomed to having outsiders in the house. Staff in several CRCs noted that the residents' disappearance from the communal areas and their silence at the dinner table had been the effect of the visit. In others, the opposite result seemed to have occurred. In the majority of houses where prolonged interaction with residents was possible, the reception was pleasant and cooperative. In most instances, there was an attempt to explain the nature of the project to the residents, although this was not done in detail unless they expressed interest.

Some directors at the team's initial visit expressed concern about the role of the resident in the study. A few directors made it clear that formal interviews or personal questions asked of the residents would be inappropriate. Thus, no attempt was made to question residents formally. Conversations on a wide range of topics were held with the residents -- from popular rock groups to what it was like to be in Millhaven.

While notes were often taken in front of staff members,

nothing was written in the presence of residents.* As soon as possible after an observation period, impressions and observations were independently recorded by the team. These notes were never shown to operators or staff, nor were conversations with the residents reported to house staff.

Opportunities for interaction with residents varied, although informal conversations with a few residents were possible in the majority of the participating houses. Resident attitudes towards the houses ranged from highly positive ("this is the best house there is") to resigned acceptance of the necessity of remaining until earnings or the parole authorities permitted departure, to extremely negative. Resentment at being forced to stay in a house was voiced by half a dozen residents. Middle-aged to older residents appeared to be more comfortable than did the younger residents.

B. Intake Policy and Practice

This section presents an overview of the practices of the sample with regard to the question of intake: who selects

*On one occasion a resident interrupted an interview one of the authors was having with the director. The resident almost immediately noticed the clipboard being used by the author and made the half-joking comment, "Whenever I see someone with one of those things, I get nervous."

clientele, the criteria that are used in the selection process, and the degree of autonomy house staff had in acceptance of residents.

In general, the majority of directors were not interested in these issues. Intake decision-making was not a salient concern in most CRCs. Satisfaction with current intake procedures was high. Rarely was any interest expressed in developing a more systematic approach. This lack of concern may be partly due to the majority of the houses' relatively favourable position in terms of number of applications and referrals. Only the few houses which reported major, long-standing problems in obtaining residents were sensitive to the problems of liaison with referral sources.

1. Who Selects Residents

The most common method of resident selection is by an independent decision of the director or house parent, although he or she may consult other staff informally. Other houses have a formal selection process in which the director meets with staff to make the decision or in which there is a board or committee decision. In the latter instance, the house parent may or may not have a veto in the decision of the selection committee.

When interviews with applicants are part of the acceptance procedure, prison visiting may be shared among staff. However, in a substantial proportion of agencies, most of the liaison and visiting is done by the director and his assistant. Counsellors may have input into the acceptance decision only if there are Temporary Absence Permits or trial residence periods used to gauge the applicant's suitability for the house.

In summary, as with many other decisions in the halfway-house, the director appears to function as the final authority with limited, sporadic, or non-binding staff consultation.

2. Intake Criteria

There are some criteria for admission in almost all CRCs in the sample. For example, resident age restrictions were found in six houses. Several CRCs preferred residents over 25 years of age; others dealt with young people less than 21 or 25 years old. Certain offender categories were excluded more or less automatically because of the negative attitude of residents towards this type of offender; of these, by far the most common exclusions were child molesters and undifferentiated "sex offenders". Only three operators would accept persons committing these offences. Presumably, the effect of these exclusions is that the sex-offender is released from the prison environment directly back onto the street

with no opportunity to benefit from the assistance offered by the halfway-house.

Several directors stated that arsonists were not admitted because of the potential danger to the house. One or two operators were unwilling to accept the armed robber with a long record. While drug users or addicts (heroin and speed) were rarely automatically excluded, a substantial proportion of directors preferred not to have more than one or two in residence at once, both because of the extra attention seen as necessary for the addict, and because they feared the emergence of a drug sub-culture in the house.

In addition to these criteria used to screen applicants, staff could name other factors that helped them decide whether to accept an applicant. Roughly one-quarter of the houses used information obtained relating to the applicant's institutional adjustment and behaviour. Several houses would not admit any individual reported to be an informer within the institution; as with the sex offender, the rationale was that the exclusion was for the individual's own protection. Three or four houses examined the institutional record of the applicant for indicators of adjustment to street life. Institutional and parole staff were also consulted.

However, many more directors said that they ignored prison records because they believed that adjustment within the institution was meaningless in predicting post-prison behaviour. The model inmate might not be the most suitable candidate for reintegration.

Several houses mentioned specifically that they looked for residents who had a long history of conflict with the law and many periods of incarceration, and those who had few community resources (family, friends, and job skills) to draw upon when released. There was some pride that their house specialized in the "hard core" ex-inmate most in need of assistance.

While most houses in the sample used application forms, from which basic characteristics of the residents could be obtained, few operators stated that the information on these forms had any effect on their intake decision-making. Between one-quarter and one-third of the sample relied largely on face to face contact with the applicant to evaluate his suitability for the house.

During these contacts with applicants, CRC staff appear to be looking at a variety of areas: the degree of maturity, of "need", and of the applicants' "willingness to change".

Many operators appeared to make their decisions on the basis of personal likes and dislikes developed during interviews. For small houses, where interaction between staff and residents is close, it is functional to have residents with whom one can live with a minimum of friction. Furthermore, houses often depend on the interpersonal relationships developed between residents and staff as a primary means of changing the resident. For these two reasons, a more sophisticated selection procedure may have detrimental effects on those agencies that have as their raison d'être a similarity to the extended family, however hypothetical that similarity might be.

On a number of occasions the researchers suggested that the absence of firm intake guidelines makes it difficult for CRCs to state the kind of person with whom they could be most effective. Not only did operators often deny that there are "types" of offenders, they also argued that a firm intake policy might make the house develop an undesirable rigidity of structure. In addition, some directors strongly suggest that to ensure the agency a greater degree of success, social agencies must continually guard against establishing intake criteria that exclude the more "difficult" clients.

CRC staff were particularly against making intake decisions based on the degree of improvement shown by certain categories

or typologies of residents. To staff, this suggestion denied the individual his uniqueness.

Daniel Glaser is one of many criminologists who have urged that correctional research concentrate on obtaining evidence on the type of offender most suited to different treatment strategies. In a recent paper (1974), Glaser suggests there is already some data indicating that personal counselling is most suitable for what he terms the "conflicted" offenders -- the articulate, middle-risk inmates who have not had predominantly positive reinforcement from criminal pursuits. He adds that there is also research data to suggest that the "committed" offender may have a higher recidivism rate if placed in a treatment setting which emphasizes individual counselling and the development of rapport between counsellor and client. While one might question the specific conclusions Glaser has drawn from the PICO project, the Community Treatment Project and a study of Navy prisons, the findings from this research are suggesting. They may have implications for the halfway-house which relies on a strategy of individualized counselling but denies that screening could improve the house's functioning.

It is possible that CRCs are impeding reintegration of some offenders -- whether one calls them "non-amenable", "power-oriented" or "committed" -- who are not assisted by

counselling and close personal relationships with staff. Glaser suggests that this type of offender must be offered "tangible rewards" for learning academic and vocational skills. Of course, there are practical problems in implementing Glaser's conclusions into intake criteria for a privately-operated correctional program, not least of which is the interdependence of the various parts of the correctional system, and the consequent pressures from the CRC's "environment".

3. Control over Intake

There are two interrelated issues involved in the degree of control over admissions:

- Only a few houses had a clearly defined, publicly-stated policy. In most CRCs, decisions seemed to be based almost entirely on individual case characteristics, including interpersonal qualities.

- Because the privately-operated halfway-house is dependent for referrals upon the trust, cooperation and good will of the other components of the justice system, some accommodation must be made to the demands of these components.

The interdependence of these issues is clear. Without a stated policy, CRCs may find it difficult to resist external pressures. Because referral sources have little knowledge of

the kind of person most suitable for a specific CRC or of the preferences of the director, they will likely continue to refer as they always have.

Despite rhetoric about need and the individual's potential for change, it appeared to the researchers that some houses rely heavily on the recommendations of probation, parole and penitentiary staff. For example:

- One operator, after describing a rather complicated intake procedure (a committee which examined recommendations of the prison visitor), noted frankly that the committee cannot be too restrictive in who they take because the house might lose the existing cooperative relationship if they were to reject too many referrals.

- Another director, when asked what kind of applicants were refused admission, stated that he could not recall there ever being a refusal.

Despite these straightforward comments, it is difficult to make any firm generalizations about the extent to which houses control their admissions. It may even be unclear to the directors themselves exactly how much control they do have. This situation is partly a consequence of the informal, accommodative relationships that appear typical of those between the houses and their major referral sources. Houses rely on

interpersonal connections with referral agencies -- institutions, parole, and probation departments. It is not surprising that interpersonal relationships assume this importance when no formal structure exists. While the existing situation may be functional for houses able to establish a network of contacts (often taking a number of years, staff impressed upon the researchers), for those unable to do so the consequences may be disastrous in terms of referrals, particularly if they are located in a non-metropolitan area.

In CRCs which had over time developed good contacts, informal practice might make it necessary for occasional favours; for instance, acquiescing to special requests for accommodation was mentioned several times. However, the obligations presumably work in two directions; expectations of reciprocity for past favours might facilitate referrals on some occasions. If a formal system of referrals were instituted, the informal network would be impeded, some directors asserted.

In addition to the quality of inter-agency relationships, there were other factors that placed some CRCs in a better position with regard to control over intake. Some houses are located in a desirable location, usually a large urban area. These houses have more applications than beds because of inmate self-selection. Other houses have been in existence for a number of years, and word of mouth has made applications

plentiful -- often because inmates "know" that parole is easier to obtain if release plans include a halfway-house placement. A few houses are part of a larger inmate organization that becomes the source of residents, thus reducing the need for cooperation of other agencies. Finally, houses which are not too distant from the institution may, through frequent visits, make their organization well known to likely applicants. Of course, in all of these instances, at least a minimum of cooperation from other correctional system agencies is still essential.

C. Program Components in the CRCs

1. Introduction

The "treatment modalities" observed in the sample houses will be described and discussed in this section. There is vagueness in the following material on the nature of the programs, in some degree the result of the inability of directors and staff to describe their operation to the outsider. As was noted in Chapter I, definition of strategy is an area where self-evaluation might prove to be of most use to the halfway-house.

This discussion of program elements is based on statements made by halfway-house staff and, to a lesser extent, on the observations made by the project team. There are many variations

in approach assumed by the organizations visited, and there is always the danger of eliminating real differences in the attempt to describe the over-all sample picture. Not only does implementation of the same strategy differ from house to house (for example, individual counselling), it can also differ by staff members within the same organization. The elusiveness of the assistance provided is one consequence of this diversity.

Halfway-houses have traditionally "suffered low respect among professionals because they offer a 'homelike' atmosphere instead of intensive treatment" (Handler, 1974: 547). Few houses visited have as their stated aim "intensive intervention". (Therapeutic communities are the exception and will be discussed separately.) Adherence to the medical model of corrections was not prevalent in the sample, although a large proportion of staff may regard some clientele as socially or psychiatrically handicapped. However, the label of sick or disturbed was rarely applied to residents.

As one might expect, the target of the assistance is the individual resident, not the group. The most common type of assistance provided in the houses is one-to-one counselling. The three major types of assistance to be discussed in this section are individual counselling, group meetings, and counselling by other residents. The use of volunteers will

be touched upon, but few houses used volunteers from the community. The house atmosphere and employment are program components emphasized strongly by almost all houses and will be discussed separately in Sections D and E.

2. Individual Counselling

Counselling and advice-giving play a major role in the daily life of the CRC. Staff often assume the role of advisor or companion in the close contact situation of the halfway-house. Occasions for informal and impromptu conversations cum counselling sessions are frequent, since staff members usually share communal areas with residents and often eat and sleep in the house as well.

The organizational structure of the small "family" houses greatly increases the chances of social interaction between staff and residents. Many of these houses have live-in staff who are on duty for five to seven days at one time. In four organizations visited, the house was the only home of the house parents. In two other cases, the house parents did have their own home but worked in the CRC five or more days a week, twenty-four hours a day.

Another organizational variant was the fixed and rotating shift. Staff and resident interaction may still be frequent

and intimate, although of less intensity than in the house-parent pattern of staffing.

In both types of houses, there is a staff member available almost always twenty-four hours a day in case of a crisis situation for counselling or controlling behaviour.

In houses with a separate office area, this area was active throughout the day with residents, secretary and other staff counselling, socializing, and doing administrative tasks. Unemployed residents appeared to spend a large proportion of their day in the office, chatting with the secretary.

In both large and small houses, there was usually more opportunity in the early evening hours for interaction with employed residents. The evening meal was a time when staff and residents came together and counsellors could inquire informally about residents' progress in employment and other important areas. Cards, pool, and ping pong were often the means by which contacts were facilitated, although it was clear that often these activities had no explicit treatment purpose. Outings to organized sports events often included staff and, in a number of houses, staff would participate in out-of-house sports with residents.

Many houses would arrange a talk with a newly-arrived resident, although often not immediately upon his or her arrival. An initial discussion would not necessarily be a formal one; it could occur over coffee. A formal interview was felt to be inconsistent with the period of relatively unregimented adjustment to life on the street. A few directors said that they had a policy of letting the newly-released offender rest for a week or two to re-adjust. During this time, drinking excessively was considered natural and tolerated, although not approved.

Of course, residents can and do avoid situations involving interaction with staff members. If the director becomes aware of this, he may arrange to speak to the resident, or instruct another staff member to do so. Directors and assistant directors also interview residents who are not living up to the house's expectations; for example, by not looking for work, drinking too heavily, or by disturbing the house in some way. Interviews with a clear management or control purpose are then arranged. These are considered necessary to make clear to residents that there are expectations concerning their behaviour.

The over-all frequency of individual counselling or staff advice-giving is difficult to determine. It would appear that the larger houses (i.e., over twelve beds) with a short average length of stay might have problems providing individual assistance.

Only a couple of houses have regularly-scheduled counselling sessions with residents. These CRCs are affiliated with a social agency staffed by professionals. Other houses have a policy that the counsellor must arrange to chat with some residents (usually his case load) for at least one hour a week. The remainder have no such practice and rely upon circumstances for scheduling counselling sessions.

In the view of many directors, regular interviews with residents would be imposing an artificial or "unnatural" structure on the house. One assistant director asked rhetorically: "What should we do? Have all the residents lining up every week outside the office door waiting to see us?" If informal assistance is supplied, more trust in house staff would be developed. House personnel often made a connection between formal, routine interviews and the penal institution, a connection to be avoided wherever possible.

A smaller number of houses assumed that regular counselling sessions would reflect a degree of professionalism that staff wanted to avoid. These staff members argued that fixed counselling sessions would make the resident perceive house staff as just more authority figures to be conned, like social workers and psychologists. In these houses there was pride in their non-professional status because, to the staff,

"professionalism" implied a lack of genuine caring for clientele.

Therefore, informal counselling is designed to avoid the possibility of a stigmatic association arising in the mind of the resident between the house and the correctional bureaucracies.

It is probably true to say that the approach in counselling assumed by the vast majority of house staff members bears little resemblance to traditional psychotherapy. Few staff members would assume the role of a passive listener or interpreter of behaviour. The style of sessions is more akin to the assistance provided by an acquaintance or friend.

The informal interaction or counselling is information-sharing -- information about jobs, vocational training, health insurance, clothing styles, and other practical matters of importance to the recently-released individual. It is noteworthy that few house directors have prescribed areas to be discussed with residents. It appears that in many CRCs it is left to the counsellor to discover the resident's problems.

All staff members are responsible to some extent for counselling and chatting with the residents. It was observed that some roles not directly related to counselling also assumed

informal importance. Secretaries and cooks in houses for men often played a key part in counselling. Usually the only women in the house, they often would become confidants and advisors to residents around the house during the day, usually to those out of work or recently arrived.

In many houses, the director and his assistant are active participants in counselling. In almost all houses, when a resident becomes defined as a "problem" the matter is taken to the director, who makes the disposition decision. In a few larger agencies, this may be one of the few contacts the director will have with a resident. These directors are often too occupied with liaison and administrative duties to spend time on individual counselling.

3. Group Meetings

Only a few houses visited have programmed sessions explicitly termed group therapy, and again because the house is attempting to dissociate itself from correctional institutions. High resident turnover is another stated reason for the absence of therapeutically-oriented meetings; groups with an unstable clientele are believed to be of little use. However, about one in five houses visited have no group meetings at all. These constitute a minority and usually have a small (under ten) bed capacity.

Of CRCs which have resident meetings (usually weekly, sometimes every two weeks), most request attendance of all residents. In houses for younger clientele there are penalties for non-attendance, often restrictions on movement, such as curfew, or additional household chores. Despite a mandatory attendance rule, a comment heard frequently was the difficulty of getting all residents to attend. In the adult CRC, there are few sanctions that can be applied to the non-attender, except verbal injunctions that attendance is a house rule which was known to the resident before he arrived.

Because the authors were present at only four house meetings, observation material must be supplemented by the statements of staff. Almost all houses report that the predominant themes of the meetings are information sharing and house management (for example, the kitchen has not been cleaned up lately; we have new dishtowels; we are having a Christmas party, any suggestions?). Gripes about the house may be solicited. When a serious management problem arises, staff may invite resident comment on the way the situation should be dealt with. Of the four houses which had recently had clear cut incidents of theft just prior to the authors' visits, two handled the theft in a resident meeting, and two had the staff alone deal with the matter.

Staff members, usually the director, lead the group meetings (with the exception of one house in which the residents choose a chairman from their own ranks). The extent to which the director allows a democratic meeting varies with his philosophy and attitudes towards the capabilities of the residents. The impression one gets is that the prevalent attitude is one of paternalism. Residents may be consulted on some issues, but the final decision on important matters appears to rest with the staff, and often with the director alone.

Few houses have incorporated formal group techniques in their meetings, although Glaser's reality therapy was mentioned by several house staff. Most house directors stated that their meetings were confined to management, rules, and information sharing. Individual personal problems may be discussed, but only in a small minority of houses are these the major thrust of the meeting.

Several houses which have no regular house meetings do have evenings set aside for outside speakers and other visitors to come to the house. A speaker may be brought in to lead a discussion of interest to the residents, e.g., money management. In two houses, these functions took the place of meetings and would be used to facilitate interaction among residents, as well as to impart information and provide community

input into the house. Generally speaking, these functions were designed to bring the residents together as a group in a way that avoided any taint of therapy, formality, or "head games".

Therefore, the strategies surrounding group meetings ranged from no meeting at all to special interest sessions, irregular meetings, regular mandatory meetings, and group therapy, the modal strategy probably being the weekly meeting with compulsory attendance.

4. Assistance of Other Residents

One of the more important modes of assistance provided by the halfway-house is the support provided by other residents. This is not often recognized by halfway-house personnel -- or, if recognized, was only occasionally communicated to the project team without prompting. Observation at the participating houses did provide evidence that there was both individual and group support exhibited by residents to their peers. For example:

- A just-released, labelled, retarded resident was taken for a shopping expedition on his first day out of the institution by an older resident.

- In a women's house, a resident who had just been asked to leave the house by the director was told openly by another resident that she wanted to keep in touch.

This aspect should not be over-emphasized. Residents also relate to one another by teasing, horse play, neutrality

and avoidance. It is to be expected that friendships arise in CRCs where opportunities for interaction are plentiful, and when residents have few social contacts in the local community. Of course, conflicts also arise, although these reactions were observed only a few times.

5. The Use of Volunteers

Few houses visited made extensive use of community residents for volunteer participation in the house. Those that did have a comprehensive volunteer component were for women, and most were affiliated with a volunteer social agency. A small number of houses sporadically used community members for special purposes such as recreation or teaching a resident unable to attend school. On the whole, citizen participation was notably absent.

Of houses which never, or only rarely, recruited area residents as resource personnel, a large proportion did express some interest in doing so. At the same time, they also pointed out the problems of a large-scale volunteer program. In order of frequency, the reasons voiced against the use of volunteers were:

The volunteer needs supervision and training and no one on staff has the time necessary to undertake these tasks.

- Volunteers have too high a turnover and are unreliable.
- The residents can con the volunteer too easily.
- Volunteers are too lax in the matter of rule breaking.

Some credence must be given to the shortage of staff; most houses do not have enough staff to have a full or even a part-time coordinator for volunteers. Experience has suggested that a position of this sort is necessary if volunteers are to be effective. (See Seiter, Petersilia and Allen, 1974, for a discussion of this point.) However, it appeared that few CRCs have a serious commitment to using the services of the layman in the house. Volunteers are considered by many staff to cause more headaches than they are worth, and are felt to interfere with the staff's interaction with the residents. Finally, there appears to be some wariness of the "outsider" over whom the house may have little control.

6. Therapeutic Communities

The project team had limited contact with three Community-based Residential Centres for drug and alcohol abusers. Contact was very brief in two instances (an afternoon in each house), and in the third, there was more extensive observation and discussion. The three programs had a number of points in common:

- All had highly-structured programs based on United States therapeutic communities such as Synanon and Daytop Village.

- All had fairly large facilities, over twenty-five beds.

- All had both sexes in the program.

- Ex-program participants were the only staff members in each of the three programs.

Therapeutic communities have taken a major role in the treatment of drug and alcohol addiction in the United States. They are, however, outside of the mainstream CRC being discussed by this report, by virtue of their philosophy, clientele and organizational characteristics. Their focus is on the treatment of addiction, not on the provision of assistance or easing re-adjustment of the recently-released ex-offender.

The group is the focus of treatment in these organizations. Group pressure and support are the major means used to effect change in the behaviour and attitudes of the residents. Discipline, imposed by program graduates, is constant and little or no input into the program is made by residents. In all three houses, there are staged sequences through which the resident passes as he or she shows to the graduates that progress is being made. More privileges accrue to the new status. (For example, in one house only the initiates do the dishes, cook and clean;

when they have moved to the next stage, another newcomer takes their place.) In at least one house, the daily routine is structured, with contact outside the organization prohibited or discouraged during the initiation period. Another house, however, does encourage friends and relatives to participate in the helping process by holding bi-weekly meetings at the house. All three houses have participants involved in various work, school and therapeutic activities during the day. Not until a "re-entry" period is reached does employment outside the organization become permitted. Two houses have relatively isolated locations where the main period of therapy is accomplished.

In the house in which there was some observation possible, it was clear that there are wide status differences between graduates and new members. For example, the office area was entered by invitation only, the initiates waited on staff, and graduates alone supervised the running of the house as well as the therapy sessions.

The therapeutic community is in clear contrast to the majority of houses in the sample: There is much more control over movement; days are structured; expectations about duties and attendance at meetings are inflexible; there is little

privacy, little or no bending to the needs of the individual or to special circumstances; "degradation" ceremonies are used which are designed to inculcate obedience and conformity; acceptable standards of dress must be met; and control over personal belongings is limited. Thus, there were many restrictive practices, and responsibility of the residents was not encouraged until a later stage of the therapeutic process.

To the graduates, all of the above measures were designed for the resident's own "good", and were imposed on him by others who had experienced the same treatment and were the better for it. The graduates were now drug-free and had reached "adulthood" while the residents were still "babies" in their dependence upon drugs. The methods are calculated to erase the influences of the drug sub-culture (for example, attitudes of pride and elitism related to being an addict), and to prevent any sub-culture from arising in the house. The means of achieving this goal is constant repetition of the weakness and self-destruction inherent in the use of addictive substances.

D. The House "Atmosphere": Social Climate or Milieu

1. Introduction

Two program components deserve special attention; those

related to house atmosphere and employment. The former is dealt with in this section; the latter, in Section E.

The halfway-house movement arose in part as a result of opposition to the bureaucracy of the correctional system, a bureaucracy with a special chain of command, a large body of rules, impersonal attitudes towards clientele, and massive size. It was and is argued that the formal system has "failed" because of these organizational characteristics. The halfway-house has tried to develop opposing characteristics: small size with a simple structure, minimal rules, and a warm, informal atmosphere (Rubington, 1965).

The many differences between the privately-operated halfway-house and the larger correctional system were emphasized time and again by directors and staff of both large and small houses. At the other end of the continuum from the penitentiary is the "hypothetical, unfettered home atmosphere", which many houses felt they were achieving. (See Apte, 1968: 61 for a parallel with halfway-houses for recently released psychiatric patients.)

A high proportion of houses in the sample have gone further than mere denial of similarity with the correctional bureaucracy: they state that one of the house's objectives and

strengths is the maintenance of a distinctive family, or homelike, atmosphere. Some have even suggested that the staff members assume familial roles; more than once it was said that the director is "father" (obviously the embodiment of authority), while other staff have been variously termed "mother", "older brother", and "aunt". One extension of this terminology is that the residents are the "children" in this family scene. However, it is unlikely that the figures of speech are consistently translated into a paternalistic approach to the regulation of resident conduct. It is more probable that most staff have equated these familial roles with guidance and advice, rather than with the view that the residents are child-like.

However, within this organizational framework there still exists variation. Houses differ in the extent to which there is rigidity of routine, block treatment or regimentation, depersonalization, and social distance between staff and residents. While there is not the large gap that would be found between a CRC and a penitentiary, there is still an appreciable range of difference within CRCs.

While a substantial proportion of operators state that they are trying to create a milieu of informality, warmth and hominess, they vary in the way in which they are going about it; in other words, house strategies differ. One of the more

notable features of the visits to CRCs was that so many directors of such a variety of houses stated that they were attempting to develop a family atmosphere, or at least one in which there are as few barriers between staff and residents as possible.

The strategies in this area include those relating to:

- the physical environment of the house;
- the resident's involvement in house routines;
- rules, and the degree of control over the resident's life;
- size and structure; and,
- the reduction of social distance between staff and residents.

Each of these strategies will be discussed in turn. This discussion relies both on the statements made by staff and directors and, to a slightly lesser degree, upon the observations made by the project team during their visits to houses in the sample.

2. Physical Environment

House staff often commented that the physical surroundings in the house influence the atmosphere. A large number of houses in the sample were furnished with old, slightly dilapidated furniture. About one-third were in more middle-class surroundings, even luxurious by comparison with the majority. Staff views differ about the influence of the surroundings on the atmosphere:

some feel that the somewhat shabby furniture suggests comfort and hominess; others believe that a more elaborate interior decoration scheme assists in the creation of a warm, perhaps uplifting atmosphere that instills both respect for the house and greater self-respect within the resident.

A particularly striking example of staff perceptions of the importance of environment was one director who stated that, after the house had been wall-papered, incidents of violence (both to the house and to other residents) dropped markedly. He attributed the abrupt change in the social climate to the change in the physical surroundings.

However, in most houses, the question of shabby versus smart decoration is not a salient concern, because few funds are available for this purpose. Even if funds were available, the attitude of many directors is that there are higher priorities than refurbishment. Directors have insisted that the residents must feel comfortable in the CRC, and if the house is too elaborately decorated -- or, more accurately, too different from the accommodation to which residents are accustomed -- the establishment of a homelike atmosphere would be impeded.

3. Resident Involvement in House Routine

Another area of strategy where houses differ is the degree of involvement of the resident in the house routine. At one extreme, there is a director who encourages residents to take pride in their environment by fixing up and redecorating the house -- painting, panelling, building a barbecue, and even gardening have been tasks performed by the residents of the house. The director believes that, since few residents have ever had homes, it is important to instill in them a sense of responsibility for their surroundings. To this director, residents need to accomplish what may appear to be small things to the larger society; by putting effort into the house, residents may develop more group spirit, as well as learn some skills. With a similar purpose, although perhaps to a lesser extent, other houses also encourage residents to engage in refurbishment of the house.

Daily chores are another area in which the sample differed. About one-half of the houses assumed that residents (especially those not working) would take major responsibility for performing household chores: washing dishes (or, more commonly, stacking the dishwasher), setting tables, cleaning communal areas, and the other routine tasks of any household. It is assumed that

care for one's home is important for anyone in the community, and men who have been incarcerated may have to re-learn tasks after a period in which they have had everything done for them by the correctional system. These routines are felt to increase pride in the house, and perhaps make the resident feel more at home. (More practically, some houses rely on the residents' participation in the running of the house, because they lack staff to perform cleaning and maintenance functions.)

Despite staff attitudes about the benefits of shared responsibility, there were often complaints that it was difficult to get the residents to do the tasks assigned them. Perhaps not surprisingly, the residents' perception of household work did not match that of the staff.

Other houses in the sample took a more easy going view of resident chores, insisting only that clothes and room be maintained. The cleaning of communal areas and kitchen duties were performed by staff or by residents unable to work. The assumption made by these houses was that residents, like many people, resent household duties and that part of the function of the house was to supply room and board with as few demands on the residents as possible. Furthermore, this

approach required less staff effort because continual checking upon residents' performance took time, could create bad feeling, and placed staff in an authority position not considered desirable.

Houses with this strategy also seemed to emphasize resident independence and freedom from restrictions more than did those which had assigned duty rosters. The latter houses placed more emphasis on the necessity for the residents to develop "responsible" attitudes and internal controls believed to be deficient. In the former type of CRC, there is the philosophy that, in the penal institution, there are few opportunities for autonomous decision-making; the directors and house parents consider that it is necessary to re-learn that skill in an atmosphere that permits freedom of choice.* Only after a period during which it becomes apparent that the resident is not making the "right" or "most appropriate" choices should any restrictions be placed on his or her behaviour.

*One staff member stated that he regarded the release sequence as one in which the resident moved from dependence to autonomy. The house role was to facilitate autonomy in every way possible. He used the example of insisting that the resident buy his own alarm clock, instead of having the on-duty staff member wake him up in the morning.

4. Rules

The above agency differences are probably a function of differences in the philosophy of the director and are closely related to another important element of strategy: the degree of control exerted by the house over the behaviour of the individual. The question of rules and rule-breaking is one of the most thorny faced by the house committed to the anti-bureaucratic concept of the CRC. It is here that the project team observed the most inconsistency between goals and strategy. Many houses have developed rules (about curfew, alcohol use in the house, visitors, employment) that are at first glance inconsistent with the development of an informal, family-like atmosphere. On the other hand, regulations are believed essential if the house is to run smoothly; with up to 20 men in one house, staff believe that certain behavioural standards must be met. Compared to penal institutions, houses may have minimal rules and regulations. Compared to a family, they have many more.

Few houses reported that the house rules had been developed jointly with residents. Most had grown over time, as a result of staff experience, with limited consultation of residents. Somewhat unexpectedly, there was not a clear relationship between the number of rules and the size of the

house. A few both large and small houses had a fairly large body of regulations. One might speculate that it is the philosophical outlook of the director, rather than organizational variables per se that is the operational factor here, although the sample was not large enough to draw any firm conclusions.

Furthermore, there is another factor which makes it difficult to assess the situation as to rules and rule-breaking. Observation of house activity suggested that rules are often bent to meet individual circumstances. What may first appear to be an impressive number of prohibitions may be irregularly or laxly enforced, depending upon the views of the staff member of the resident's needs, the nature of the incident, and how he sees that particular regulation. Expulsion, for example, is rarely automatic, even in instances of major rule breaking (e.g., theft, violence, drugs on the property).

Conversely, some houses which on paper have few rules in reality have many more -- these prohibitions are simply not called rules, but they do exist and may be enforced. Other houses may have few established rules but create them to fit individual circumstances or, as one director said, when the residents have "earned" them. For example, a curfew is "earned" when the resident continuously stays out late and is late for work as a result.

Variable rule enforcement does mesh with the CRC's emphasis on the individual and his or her needs, in that regulations are adjusted to circumstances and are not invoked without consideration for the person involved. On the other hand, enforcement variations could appear quixotic to the resident who suffers from the application of a particular rule. The resident might perceive that he or she is being singled out for doing something others "got away with". Arguing that enforcement is for the resident's own "good" may not be convincing. Certainly, variable enforcement of rules can create opportunities for manipulation of the situation by the resident; it can also create some confusion about the staff's expectations, since sanctions for rule breaking are usually "mediated" by an assessment of the individual's change in attitude. (See O'Leary and Duffee, 1971: 377 for a discussion of this point.)

One author has suggested that rules should be developed jointly so that residents are involved in both creation and enforcement (Shain, 1975). One might speculate that, for a number of reasons, this suggestion would be difficult for some CRC staff to accept. Many directors do not appear to place a particularly high value on participatory decision-making; even houses which emphasize independence and autonomy

of their residents seem to concentrate power (the ability to make and carry out decisions) in the director and his assistant. The attitude seems to be that "we know best" in most major decisions, and consultation with staff and residents is perfunctory if it exists at all.

Finally, it has been observed that some staff do perceive that there is a need for firm control of the residents, and that demanding adherence to rules is one way of obtaining control. In the house which in the judgment of the project team had the director with the most democratic orientation, staff complained that there was growing looseness in the house and that the residents were not showing staff the proper respect. While it is impossible to generalize from one instance, it is perhaps notable that at least some staff are uncomfortable when their authority over the residents is perceived to be slipping. Rubington (1965) has pointed out that the "manager" role is one stance taken by staff in a non-bureaucratic helping organization in order to overcome the role strains inherent in their positions.

5. Size and Structure

Two of the more fundamental strategies used by the halfway-house to create an informal atmosphere are small size and informal structure. Most houses in the sample were under 20 beds, and to many directors the "ideal" size ranged

between six and eight (for houses staffed by house parents) to about 12.

The structure of the CRC is simple in comparison to most correctional institutions and social agencies. The director is involved in the daily operation of the house; in almost one-half of the CRCs visited, the director was the principal advice-giver or counsellor as well as the chief administrator. Many directors commented with pride that they were in close touch with the residents' needs, and were often able to give what appeared to be a complete account of an individual's problems and prospects. In only a few of the larger houses was the director so remote from the residents that he or she had to rely on counsellor reports to obtain information about the residents.

The creation of an informal atmosphere is facilitated in house-parent houses more than in the CRC with a shift staffing pattern. Around-the-clock staffing by the same individuals avoids the possible discontinuities of the shift system. Communication problems, for example, are eliminated. However, some house parents commented that the combination of providing individualized attention and performing the variety of administrative and household tasks kept them very busy.

In organizations staffed by house parents but affiliated with a larger social agency with professional staff, the house parents had few administrative tasks and spent most of their time attending to the operation of the household. Formal counselling was usually the responsibility of the agency worker. In a few instances, house parents reported problems in the relationship between themselves and the agency staff. The house staff felt that they knew the residents better than the outside staff member, who usually only saw the residents at intervals, and yet they were not regularly consulted on major decisions involving the house -- for example, a decision to ask a resident to leave. While the split between counsellor and house parent roles obviously has some functional aspects (it obviates the necessity of combining the roles of companion and advisor in one person), some strains were felt by house parents who resented their inability to make decisions about the residents.

6. Social Distance between Staff and Residents

"Perhaps the most influential factor in establishing a therapeutic milieu environment is the existence of a working, cooperative relationship between staff and residents" (Seiter, Petersilia and Allen, 1974: 110). One strategy used

to develop this working relationship is the reduction of social distance between staff and residents. In all but two of the CRCs visited residents addressed staff, including the director, by their first names. There are usually few private spaces reserved for staff alone, particularly in the smaller houses. Staff eat at the same table, and sometimes share household chores with residents. Only in a few houses was it necessary for a resident to arrange an appointment to speak to the director. On the whole, there is easy access to staff.

Although houses may have eliminated some problems of a bureaucracy by the creation of this small and open environment, Rubington (1965) has pointed out that there are still role strains for staff that are inherent in the organizational structure. Eliminating bureaucracy tends to alter the structural sources of strain rather than eliminate them, says Rubington.

Rubington suggests that the counsellors' position in the house is more complex than may appear at first glance because, not only must they interact with a number of people, they must also deal with the same residents in three different capacities: as manager, advisor and companion. * In the

*He adds a fourth role taken by house staff which is largely inappropriate here -- that of alcoholic. However, in houses with ex-offenders on staff, there may be a parallel.

manager role, the staff counsellor must look after the house by answering telephones, supervising resident tasks, maintaining rules, driving residents around the community for jobs and other appointments, and generally keeping order. In the advisor role, the worker must keep track of the resident's problems and offer guidance or counselling. As a companion, the counsellor shares living space, meals, and interests with the resident.

There are obvious dilemmas if each of these roles is to be maintained simultaneously: "to be successful in performing one set of these duties is to risk failure in the performance of another set" (Rubington, 1965: 359). In the manager role, for example, the "good" supervisor runs the risk of being termed a "screw", thus losing the trust essential in the advisor role. As an advisor, the staff member must maintain some distance in order not to become too involved and lose detachment, a situation felt to invite manipulation, charges of favouritism, and perhaps ultimately being discredited as a manager. To gain friendship or acceptance as a leisure time companion by residents, the worker must "give up some of his commitment to his duties as manager and advisor" (Rubington, 1965: 360).

The authors' observations were not extensive enough to confirm these roles. However, staff and directors have

indicated that there were strains in their jobs which appear similar in content to those suggested by Rubington. Staff did show awareness of the problem of balancing their authority with winning enough trust to be acceptable purveyors of advice. The reduction in social distance brought problems as well as benefits, particularly in the case of the counsellors. Not only did counsellors have to cope with multiple roles in dealing with the residents, they also had to anticipate the wishes of the director as to the most appropriate role to take in a specific situation.

A few examples may illustrate the nature of the strains experienced by the worker and their effect on interaction. In one house a woman staff member was labelled "paranoid" by residents because she stressed the importance of some rules, and discouraged disorderly behaviour of the residents when she was on evening shift. It appeared that, by assuming the manager role, the counsellor had lost some resident acceptance. Another example can be given from a CRC whose director had a strong orientation towards the advisor role. A recently-hired staff counsellor was fired because (to quote the director) "all he wanted to do was to sit in the office, write reports, and hold staff meetings". This counsellor may have resolved his role dilemma by choosing the

manager role. However, this response was not acceptable to the director, who wanted his staff to be out in the communal areas with residents, not to be trying to make house procedures routine and write reports.

A British analysis of interaction in an alcohol halfway-house has supplied tangential evidence on the roles assumed by staff in relation to residents. After an analysis of the verbal constructs used by staff to describe residents, Orford, Hawker and Nicholls (1975), tentatively conclude that, at least in verbal concepts, workers perceive the resident not as a "client" in the impartial or neutral sense of the word, but rather as an acquaintance, friend, or employer. The relationship between the halfway-house worker and residents is closer to that of a normal everyday social relationship, "in which likes and dislikes are paramount in understanding participants' appraisals of each other and in predicting their behaviour towards one another" (Orford, Hawker and Nicholls, 1975: 30).

By reacting to residents as one would in normal interaction, staff may have an added capacity to influence the resident over a wider area of behaviour. This reaction may be functional if houses are correct in their assessment of the bias against the professional helper (that is, anti-"head game") of the resident. It may also ease adjustment to the street if the resident is reacted to as an acquaintance rather

than as a "client". The depersonalization and loss of individuality in the penitentiary are counteracted in the house by responding to the resident as an individual -- by returning to the resident a sense of his own identity. On the other hand, there may be detrimental effects for residents who are negatively assessed by staff, and for those who do not like being responded to in a personalized fashion.

7. Summary

In conclusion, a large proportion of CRCs in the sample seen during the course of the Self-Evaluation Project use an informal and open milieu in the house as a key strategy or program component. The assumption appears to be that, by reducing social distance, there will be developed a trusting and cooperative attitude, rather than the passive resistance towards helpers found in institutions. Findings from the literature on halfway-house roles suggested that these roles may have some inherent strains which work against the development of a cohesive staff group. Other evidence has pointed to the similarity between staff-resident relationships and those found in the normal, person-to-person relationships found in the wider community. Both findings suggest that closer attention should be paid to the roles and attitudes of staff in any further CRC research. Since there is no agreed-upon objective criterion of in-house resident improvement, one must

to some extent rely on the staff's judgment in monitoring and in self-evaluation. If these judgments are formed as they would be in normal social interaction, some doubts on their validity in estimating in-house improvement must arise. This evidence suggests that it is imperative for halfway-house staff to collect objective behavioural data in any monitoring format.

In their emphasis on "atmosphere", the CRCs are trying to develop a social environment which is at the opposite end of the continuum from a total institution. This may be an example of the implausibility of the CRC's stated aims and objectives. Their claims that the house provides a "home environment" should be examined in the light of two areas of institutional practice: the degree of social control (or the number of restrictive practices), and the amount of responsibility expected by staff from the residents.

Houses should evaluate the assertion that they are creating a "homelike" atmosphere in terms of the following categories of social controls:

- their control over movement (e.g., curfews);
- control of food and drink intake (e.g., locked kitchens, no alcohol on premises, lack of participation in menu planning by the residents);
- control over personal belongings (e.g., cars forbidden);

- control over everyday activities (e.g., restrictions on the use of the pool table and television); and,
- control over social relations (e.g., restricted visiting times for friends).

In the area of responsibility, staff might look at the degree of responsibility given their guests:

- in matters of personal property (e.g., money, clothes);
- for starting their own day independently (wake-ups);
- for medical care (e.g., prescriptions may be held by the staff);
- for participation in management.

CRCs which want to create a family-like atmosphere should consider the number of restrictive practices and the amount of responsibility given the residents in these categories. From the observations of the authors, CRCs differ substantially in both areas. Most are probably somewhere in the middle range of the continuum between the institution and independent living in the community -- if one examines where they fall in each of the dimensions listed above. In their claims to be creating a home-like environment, some CRCs might be doing themselves a disservice (if they were ever to be evaluated on these dimensions) and, more importantly, they might be doing the resident a disservice by the patent inconsistency between what they say they do and what they do.

E. Employment and Education

The importance of jobs (finding and keeping) for residents is stressed by CRCs equally as strongly as creating the right atmosphere. In fact, some skeptics say that beyond the provision of room and board, the provision of assistance in obtaining a job is the most "worthwhile" function of the halfway-house. This section will discuss employment under two headings; expectations and strategies of assistance. The section will end with observations related to educational objectives and strategies.

1. Expectations

In most statements of purpose offered to the project team, there was at least some mention of employment. In a few houses there were no clear cut expectations around work. The residents were not pressed into looking for work unless they expressed an interest in doing so. These houses tended to have a philosophy of the house "as a refuge". Perhaps not by chance, all these houses were either for women or native people, two groups upon whom there is less societal pressure for regular work.

However, roughly three-quarters of the CRCs informed the project team that they had definite expectations about the resident finding a job within a certain period of time.

In most houses, there is no explicit regulation, but rather an implicit expectation -- soon made clear if the resident exhibits reluctance to go job hunting. After the initial period of getting used to the street, directors considered it debilitating for residents to sit around the house, often with little money. In several houses, if the resident was not working (or going to school) within two weeks of his arrival, he was asked to leave. Although, as noted earlier, it is probable that this regulation was not enforced as rigidly as it was stated.

The majority of houses visited, therefore, seemed to share Glaser's conclusion about the relationship between work and post-institutional adjustment: "unemployment may be among the principal causal factors of recidivism of adult male offenders" (Glaser, 1964: 329).

CRC staff shared several perceptions and expectations about work in relation to their residents: the majority had low levels of skills, and that many had too high expectations of the kind of work they could obtain upon release. Oddly, only a few house staff spoke explicitly of the stigma of a prison record or parole status as being a major barrier to finding a job. Lack of skills, diffidence in the job hunting process, low education, and a poor employment record were mentioned much more frequently. Several house directors

stated that their residents should never have difficulty obtaining work because "there are always jobs available for those willing to go out and look; no man has to be out of work". This seems to be a reflection of their views on the type of employment both open to the resident and for which their residents are most suited: casual, unskilled or semi-skilled occupations.

This observation raises an important question. Is this attitude based on a realistic assessment of the job situation and the resident's skills; or, does this attitude perhaps help to perpetuate the pattern of sporadic, insecure and unsatisfying employment -- presumably characteristics of a large proportion of jobs held by many of the halfway-house population? This area has been a matter of dispute in other agencies; in one alcohol residential treatment centre, the professional staff took the view that temporary or casual labouring jobs were perpetuating a life style inappropriate to the process of rehabilitation. On the other hand, the para-professionals in the same agency emphasized day work because their clientele were believed unable to cope with the demands of a steady job (Fry and Miller, 1975: 680).

This is an issue that requires more investigation. Many CRCs do not permit (or are not permitted to allow) the resident to collect welfare payments. Thus, there is some urgency

for many residents to get a job to have spending money. While many houses will loan a resident cigarette money for several weeks, most residents do not consider this sufficient for their needs, and in many houses repayment is requested. The sole alternative for many recently-released inmates is to take unskilled or casual employment, unless the house or parole can arrange a Manpower sponsored retraining course or other education where the resident receives a living allowance. This means that, for a number of ex-offenders, the most immediate solution is temporary, low status, often minimum wage jobs.

Too high expectations (as to pay, type of work) on the part of the recently-released ex-offender is a major problem, in the view of a number of directors. Two indicators of improved social functioning used by many staff are good work habits and changes in attitude. However, there was a realization that there are different starting points, or different baseline levels, for different individuals. As noted earlier, one director felt that for some residents to work for one day is an achievement. Another commented that to be fired without hitting the foreman would be a real advance for some residents.

2. Strategies of Assistance

Variations in strategies may to some extent depend on the philosophy of the director and his perception of the needs of residents in his house. Some believe that their client population is so handicapped in the job search process that special arrangements with employers are necessary. At the other extreme, some houses assert that, because the resident must become independent and autonomous to cope with the routines of daily living, he should himself assume responsibility for employment. Most houses are probably at neither extreme but are somewhere in the middle of the range, or have a strategy of an ad hoc sort, depending upon the unemployment situation in the community and the perceived needs of the individual.

The difficulty of designing a program component around employment that would be applicable to all residents was also often stressed. Despite these statements, houses can be roughly separated according to the amount of outside-house staff efforts made in the area of employment; by "outside-house" is meant all the efforts made other than counselling and advice-giving provided on a daily basis.

Informal advice on where to look for a job (Manpower, special employment agencies for ex-offenders, the best newspaper for want ads) is supplied by staff in every house

which stresses employment at all. Counselling related to interview behaviour and filling out forms was also mentioned as being necessary for some residents. Staff felt, too, that many residents had a "bad" attitude towards work, or perhaps were too easily discouraged -- attitudes, in any case, that required staff attention. Strategies used to assist the development of more realistic expectations included staff counselling, encouraging older, longer stay residents to share their own experiences, and waiting until the resident himself acknowledged that he reached too high after repeated frustration in finding the desired work and wages.

Those houses that made it a practice of actively and regularly involving staff in the search for employment constituted about twenty per cent of the houses visited. Involvement here would include arranging interviews, driving residents to appointments, speaking to Manpower, and locating willing employers.*

In houses which did pursue work for their residents, the house parent or director was usually the staff person most involved. In only two houses were there employment counsellors, although special responsibility for this area was assumed by one counsellor in several others. Liaison with large employers

*In areas of high unemployment, the means have shifted with more staff effort being put into the job-finding process, even though the house may emphasize the resident's own responsibility for finding a job. Manpower-sponsored retraining courses were also heavily used by houses in these locations, including life skills as well as upgrading courses.

often consisted of persuasion and education, at least initially. In some instances, local contractors trusted by the director employed residents on a casual basis.* Other houses asked board members to facilitate hiring of residents either in their own or in acquaintances' firms.

Attitudes towards Manpower, still the basic resource in most communities for semi- and unskilled jobs, varied from favourable to negative. In cities with one Manpower counsellor assigned to deal with the employment needs of the ex-offender, directors commented that the cooperation obtained was good to excellent. One director noted that much of the time-consuming burden of finding suitable employment was taken off his shoulders since this position was created in his community. Others also reported that the anonymity of Manpower offices was lessened and that residents found it easier to deal with one person who knew their background. In two areas there were also employment agencies operated by ex-offenders used by local CRCs as an additional source of jobs, information, and employment counselling.

3. Education

In many of the CRCs, there were at least one or two residents continuing their education. While some were

*There were complaints in two cities that employers of casual labour had cheated residents of pay. Directors acted as advocates on the resident's behalf in both cases.

attending university or community colleges, most were taking retraining or up-grading courses, trying to complete Grade 10, or taking "life skills" courses. Some houses seemed to be more aware of the possibilities in the local community than others.

The orientation of the director towards education, the nature of the educational facilities (their openness to accepting the ex-inmate), and the director's perception of the needs of his residents, all played some role in use of available resources. With one exception, all houses which had developed some liaison with local educational facilities reported adequate to good cooperation.

F. Further Comments on House Strategies and Program Components

The types of assistance strategies found to varying degrees in CRCs were: individual counselling, group meetings, assistance provided by other residents, volunteers, house milieu and employment assistance. The provision of one-to-one counselling, a homelike atmosphere and employment were the program components most often observed and reported by staff.

Only a minority of houses commented that additional strategies could prove useful in their organization. One house was exceptional in that, at the time of the visit of

the project team, the staff were collecting information on resident behaviour to have baseline data before implementing a behaviour-modification program in collaboration with a local university psychology department. Glaser's reality therapy was reported to be a useful technique and was said to be loosely followed in several houses. A couple of houses said that finding alternative leisure time activities for the residents (alternatives to drinking in the local hotels or to watching television all evening) was a problem, although few could offer any solutions to the existing situation.*

On the whole, however, most operators and staff were satisfied with the strategies being used by the house. While many directors were concerned about obtaining additional funds for the organization (to expand programs, to pay staff more adequate salaries, and to hire additional staff), they rarely questioned the basic content of their program. This is not to say that the sample was not composed of dynamic and in some ways innovative operators. Most directors regard what they and their staff do as being essentially stable or constant at its core (that is, treating the individual as unique, trying to meet his or her needs), with innovation or variation in approach being initiated at the outer edge or periphery of house strategies.

*One director stated that a hobby craft facility in the house might serve as a valuable alternative, particularly if it were open to the local community as well as to residents.

A second noteworthy characteristic of a number of directors was their relative disinterest in what other houses were doing. Other commentators (e.g., the 1972 Task Force) have noted that CRCs are isolated from each other, with little information-sharing or mutual support. Early in the visits of the project team, an organizational solipsism was encountered, similar to that discussed by Meyers (1975). He suggests that "innovative agencies tend to be solipsistic, in the sense of not perceiving the relationship between what other agencies have done and their own efforts". Also, agencies considering themselves as experimental tend to be ahistorical, "that is, they are concerned with the present and either the short-term future (if they are especially overworked and harassed) or the long-term (in their recurrent moods of grandiosity)"* (Meyers, 1975: 264).

While Meyers was writing of larger social action programs than this project's halfway-houses, the CRC does share with other agencies a tendency to regard its own situation as unique, with a concomitant reluctance to consider that their own past can be of assistance in the present. A number of directors indicated that they saw little usefulness in examining programs or strategies of other houses. Their own

*This point is brought up again later in this report, in relation to the difficulties many CRCs have in long-range, systematic planning.

house is different from all others, it is claimed, and what may work for other CRCs may not -- indeed, likely will not -- work in their own.

Thus, radical changes -- such as those being considered by the CRC beginning to experiment with behaviour modification -- were not a feature of most directors' thinking. This finding should not be surprising since many houses visited were, after all, small and stable entities, often greatly influenced by the director's philosophy of corrections. Both basic philosophy and basic strategy were "givens", changing only when the office of the director was vacated. However, this element of "conservatism" does not imply that house staff were not flexible and altering approaches on an individual resident level.

Third, the director's influence and commitment to his or her way of doing things is often strong, particularly in those houses in which the director was also the founder or in which he had radically altered its public image. A tendency was noted for directors to equate the organization's past with their own tenure at its head. Before they came, the house was in disorder, if it existed at all. It may be equally true that, after they leave, the house will no longer exist -- for the former director, at any rate.

Some brief comments should also be made on strategies that were observed infrequently. For instance, strategies only occasionally involved use of outside-house professionals for therapy or other assistance. Houses for women and youth seemed more amenable to the use of professionals, perhaps because the clientele of these houses are more often regarded as emotionally disturbed than are the residents of the traditional adult male facilities.* Several of the houses for adults did use the services of psychiatrists or psychologists for staff development and training, but no CRC used professionals for counselling residents in group or individual sessions. Only a few operators noted that such assistance would be helpful; on occasion, referrals would be made, but these would be considered exceptional instances when a resident was clearly suffering from psychiatric problems.

Finally, it is difficult to describe the participating houses without noting the range of philosophies, attitudes, practices and orientations towards target groups. As was noted in the last chapter, the sample included therapeutic communities and houses for youth, as well as the traditional facility for the recently-released offender. Even in the latter group, however, there are major differences among

* The two houses reporting having an outsider as a therapist in group counselling sessions were both for younger women.

houses regarding the type and level of intervention suitable for the ex-offender. During the relatively brief and unstructured contacts with the CRCs, systematic information on intervention techniques was not collected. That is, no scales, structured interview schedules, or observation techniques probing levels of intervention were used. However, it was obvious that the houses differed widely, with some intervening more deeply into the lives of residents than others. It would be of interest for further research projects on the Community-based Residential Centre to focus more systematically on the different types of intervention found in Canadian halfway-houses. While the methodological difficulties would be great, the "pay-off" in terms of program description would be of value -- especially if one were to accept that the goal of correctional research is to provide information on the types of "treatment" most suited to the needs of the offender population.

CHAPTER IV THE PROBLEMS OF THE COMMUNITY-BASED RESIDENTIAL CENTRE

This chapter discusses three areas of potential concern to the privately-operated halfway-house, areas which appear to the researchers as posing some problems in the operation of these agencies. The areas that have been pinpointed as interfering with goal attainment are: the appropriate role of the community in the re-adjustment of the resident; difficulties inherent in the rehabilitative goal; and, third, internal management factors which appear to be problematic in some CRCs. These problems are seen to stem from the incompatibility between what the staff of CRCs say they are doing in terms of objectives and strategies and what actually exists. As a framework for the ensuing discussion, the chapter begins with a summary of two goals of corrections: rehabilitation and reintegration.

A. Rehabilitation and Reintegration

O'Leary and Duffee (1971), have presented four models of correctional policy: reform, rehabilitation, reintegration and restraint. This typology provides a useful classification of the basic approaches of correctional agencies, including halfway-houses. The CRCs participating in the Self-Evaluation Project exhibited characteristics of both the rehabilitation

and the reintegration models. In O'Leary and Duffee's terminology, both models emphasize the role of the individual offender, but only the reintegration model places a strong emphasis on the role of the community in corrections.

The central concern in the reintegration model is a rational examination of the client's feelings in order to determine their effect on situations and the effect of situations on them. Stress is placed on molding the members of the community (their attitudes, values and behaviour) and thereby making new options available to the ex-offender. Motivation for change in this model comes from the client's perceptions of "new and viable behaviours" now available (O'Leary and Duffee, 1971: 377).

In the rehabilitation model, on the other hand, "the emphasis is on helping the offender to mature and to understand himself more fully on the assumption that such inner-directed influences will result in favourable changes in his behaviour". The primary instrument of change is the relationship between the staff and the offender. Supportive control and punishment are presented as components of the therapeutic process. There is the expectation that the individual will identify with staff, and that this process of identification will supply the necessary motivation to change. As O'Leary and Duffee comment, there are at least two problems with

this model; "the chief problems with this strategy are (1) the extent of choice actually permitted the offender and (2) the dependency on the relationship as a basis of maintaining behaviour" (O'Leary and Duffee, 1971: 377).

A number of contributors to the literature on community corrections share O'Leary and Duffee's insistence that community programs should take an active role in changing community attitudes, as well as changing the behaviour of the offender. Many have insisted that the reintegration model should have a dual target: the individual offender and the larger community.

The task of corrections involves the reconstruction or construction of ties between the offender and the community through maintenance of family bonds, obtaining education and employment, and finding a place for the offender in the mainstream of social life.

Harlow, 1971: 32

Few houses participating in the Self-Evaluation Project would agree that their role is as all-encompassing as this quotation implies. Are they failing in their responsibilities as part of the community correctional movement, or is this two-pronged focus unrealistic?

Some commentators, including the authors, would take the latter view. Arguing against a dual target, Weber has stated that it is far too global for evaluation or assessment. When such a wide-ranging role is assigned to any program, "success or failure cannot be operationally defined or assessed". The following passage defines the task of community corrections in a more restricted (and more realistic) fashion.

(If) the goal of community corrections is to provide the means and opportunities for reintegration by directing the offender to community resources and acquainting the community with the needs and skills of the offender, then success may be defined as the appropriate provision of those opportunities. Community corrections, then, could concentrate on helping the offender to link appropriately with the normal community resource channels.

Harlow, 1971: 32

Many CRCs visited during the Project stated their task as the provision of links between the offender and the community. However, in a number of houses, observations suggest that at the operational level emphasis is placed instead on personality and attitude change (that is, rehabilitation). Actual strategies thus may be inconsistent with the stated objectives.

The next section discusses the extent to which houses in the sample do provide linkages to the community and, therefore, the means and opportunity for reintegration of the ex-offender.

B. The Role of the Community

Two key concerns of correctional agencies in this decade have been the role of the community, and the way in which the resources available there can be used by corrections. If only by their title, one would assume that part of the mandate of the Community-based Residential Centre includes use of community agencies and other resources. Most traditional ex-offender CRCs give formal adherence to the importance of the community in the process of reintegration. In fact, only a small minority of houses participating in the Self-Evaluation Project did not incorporate reintegration and community linkages as elements in their objectives.

As one method of discovering the operators' attitudes and practices with regard to community agencies, the researchers asked every CRC visited to discuss their relationships with local agencies. Houses differed considerably in the number of agencies to which they made referrals. Although almost every CRC in the sample relied on Manpower for employment services, for some houses community utilization in the form of referrals and liaison might be confined to this one agency.

This section speculates on the reasons why this low or moderate utilization may exist. Both house-related and

community-related reasons may be affecting the goal of reintegration through linkage to community agencies.

First, as noted above, in a few instances the CRC may have a philosophical outlook which denies that the larger society should play a role in the assistance being provided the residents. Staff of these houses noted that it was the community that helped get the residents into trouble in the first place; temporary removal from the strains of community living was presumed to be a necessary first step in the process of assistance. Houses in this category included some therapeutic communities for drug and alcohol addiction and one traditional ex-offender CRC.

Second, some staff believe that the role of the house should be restricted to providing room, board, and supportive counselling. It is up to the resident to make his own way on the street. Often these CRCs may have an objective of increasing autonomy and independence; learning to function alone in the web of agencies and resources in society is an important feature of independence. However, it is possible that houses adopting this attitude are overlooking differences in the residents' abilities to cope with societal institutions. This potential problem could be minimized if houses monitored

the resident's coping ability, in order to be able to offer concrete assistance (advocacy or referrals) when difficulties arise.

A third category of houses believe that most community agencies are unnecessary to the process of reintegration. These facilities appear to regard the CRC as the major provider of assistance and outside resources of little use.

A fourth reason may be that alluded to earlier. In some CRCs, the publicly-stated goal of reintegration (i.e., providing links and opportunities) may have, in effect, been replaced by strategies more related to rehabilitation (i.e., changing attitudes, increasing self-knowledge, and other inner-directed activities).

There are two groups of factors which may explain the inconsistency between stated and operative goals. First, in some ways the houses' anti-bureaucratic beliefs may lead staff to place less trust in referrals to professional or semi-professional agencies. Staff may be unwilling to refer their residents to what they see as less effective agencies which treat residents impersonally. They make negative comparisons between what they themselves do (that is, providing personal attention geared to the individual's needs) and what the professional helper is assumed to do (that is, providing assistance without genuine "caring").

The second group of factors is related more to the nature of the relationship between the CRC and the community. The CRC often appears, especially in large urban areas, to have low visibility and many are not "plugged into" the social service network of their communities. This situation may be partly the result of the non-professional status of many CRCs. Consequently, there are fewer means by which staff can become involved, formally and informally, with staff of other helping agencies in the community, unless the director makes an effort to establish communication and then a working relationship with the most relevant and useful resources.

In addition, although the CRC might be considered to need the social service network, the network does not usually need the CRC. Traditionally, many agencies have had little contact with the clientele of corrections, perhaps because of the agencies' attitudes towards the offender. The ex-offender is seen as a "difficult" client, for whom the agency receives little for serving -- except perhaps an increase in the number of their "failures".

Corrections can only offer clients at the present time to other agencies, but ... these individuals have not been wanted by other agencies. The correctional system has something to gain by such a change but the other community agencies, perceiving little to gain, resist such moves.

Duffee and his co-workers go on to suggest that the historical dichotomy between corrections and the community is partly the result of the lack of functional interdependence, scarce resources, and the traditional boundary between corrections (which serves an institutionalized population) and social agencies (serving the free member of the community).

The Self-Evaluation Project is not alone in finding that CRCs often have low utilization rates of community agencies. Both the Duffee evaluation of community correctional centres in Pennsylvania and the evaluation of privately-operated halfway-houses in Ohio by Seiter, Petersilia and Allen have noted that facilities in these states under-utilize community resources.

While observations do seem to indicate inconsistencies between the goals and strategies of halfway-houses, further examination of the issue is imperative before recommendations on alterations in house strategies can be made. More data on the range and type of needs of the recently-released offender are first necessary. It is possible that the majority of the target population do not have "needs" that can be met by referral to agencies. It may be, too, that there are no existing agencies which would be of use for the man or woman re-adjusting to street life. In any case,

any systematic assessment of the needs of the recently-released offender should examine the issue from a variety of perspectives, including that of the offender himself.

C. The Goal of Rehabilitation

It will be remembered that the rehabilitative model emphasizes that the motivation to change comes from: the quality of the relationship between residents and staff; the provision of supportive counselling and advice acceptable to residents so that they come to trust and identify with house personnel; and the open and benign social climate of the CRC. This section argues that the goal of rehabilitation may be unrealistic and unattainable as a consequence of four factors. They are: a large proportion of residents come to halfway-houses involuntarily; restrictions and sanctions exist in almost every house; houses often offer a narrow scope of activities; and, finally, most CRC residents have a short average-length of stay. Each of these factors will be discussed briefly.

1. Involuntary Residence

Many residents have promised to live in a CRC to make parole, or to avoid incarceration (in the case of probationers).

It is a common belief among penitentiary inmates that a commitment to reside in a house upon release will assist their case before the parole board. Thus, it would seem safe to assume that many residents come to houses not completely voluntarily.

There is little or no research evidence available on the attitudes of residents towards the involuntary nature of their stay in the house. In the Ohio evaluation of privately-operated halfway-houses, one-third of the sample stated that they disliked living in the halfway-house; reasons included the lack of privacy, the number of rules and the degree of supervision, and a belief that a personal placement plan would have been an improvement (Seiter, Petersilia and Allen, 1974: 112). Greenberg (1975), noted that many residents to whom he had spoken resented the obligation to reside in the house, perceiving it to be added punishment and a further restriction on their liberty after release from the institution. In the Self-Evaluation Project, operators were asked whether they perceived that the pressure to obtain parole impeded their own efforts in any way. Few believed that involuntary residence was an impediment to goal attainment. Most argued that the resentment of residents usually diminished when they saw that staff were genuinely interested in them and were trying to help them re-adjust to the street.

However, in spite of these comments, it would seem that involuntary residence not only is against current treatment philosophies (which point out that treatment tends to be effective only when freely chosen by the individual), but also would tend to undercut efforts to foster trusting and open relationships with staff.

2. Restrictions upon Resident Behaviour

House rules have been described earlier in this report. Despite disclaimers that they are not institutions, many CRCs possess rules which place many restrictions upon the behaviour of their residents. During the Self-Evaluation Project, residents commented to the authors that they were unpleasantly surprised to discover, upon arrival in the house, that their anticipation of freedom from regulation was not realized. Even though most residents were aware of house rules before they arrived, they resented restrictions, particularly the obligation to meet a curfew found in the majority of CRCs.

Greenberg (1975), also commented that restrictions are a cause of discontent; rules are disliked because they restrict activities which to many residents are a "normal,

sub-culturally accepted way of life". "Released prisoners may feel especially irritated by these restrictions because they are usually eager to engage in hedonistic pursuits after a substantial period of deprivation during incarceration." Resentment is increased, according to Greenberg, because the intensity of surveillance is higher than on parole, a situation which may lead to a feeling of not being trusted (Greenberg, 1975: 8).

Furthermore, the threat of the ultimate sanction -- return to prison -- is available to house staff in instances of resident misbehaviour, even though the actual decision to reincarcerate is mediated by the parole service. All houses are bound to report infringement of legal norms or regulations to the parole officer in charge of the case. In some houses, staff work closely with parole officers in supervising resident behaviour. Other houses tend to dissociate themselves as much as possible from parole decisions, but it is still presumably apparent to the resident that they are not independent of those decisions.

Again, although houses claim to be distinct from the correctional system and to have little resemblance to institutions, their actual similarities would tend to undermine efforts to foster a "natural" and "benign" social climate.

3. Narrow Scope

Scope may be defined as the number of activities in which the participants are jointly involved. CRCs attempting to emulate the rehabilitative model often lack a wide range of activities available to residents. Residents are often out of the house during the day at work. During the evening hours, many are out at local places of entertainment or with girl friends. Residents may thus be involved with other "systems" (friends or family) which affect the extent to which they need or are available for the proffered relationships with house staff.

Few house operators recognize that the house's narrow scope may constrain the extent to which the residents will become involved in the house. This is another example of the unrealistic expectations of the halfway-house whose strategy approximates the rehabilitative model.

4. Average-Length of Stay

The fourth reason houses may have set themselves unattainable goals is related to the length of stay of most residents. While accurate figures are difficult to obtain

from house personnel, it was apparent from interviews that average length of stay in most houses varied from about six weeks to three months. The long-lasting identification with the staff required by the rehabilitative model would not likely be achieved during this relatively brief period.

Several directors did state that the short residency period was an impediment to achieving program goals. They commented that they would prefer six or more months to work with residents, but explained that financial constraints, both for residents and for the agency, precluded long-term stays. However, the majority of directors did not perceive that length of residence as a factor in their effectiveness in inducing change in their residents' behaviour and attitudes.

In summary, four factors have been identified which may work to counteract house efforts to rehabilitate by fostering close interpersonal relationships and a free and natural atmosphere. This disjunction between the ideal and the reality may be especially harmful to those CRCs which assert their differences from the institution and claim that their openness is a key strategy. At the worst, resident respect for the house may be reduced if they come to believe that staff are paying only lip service to the stated goals.

In houses which are closer to the reintegrative model of corrections, there would perhaps be fewer problems created by the existence of these four factors. These houses may emphasize informality and personal attention as much as do CRCs concerned with rehabilitation, but their focus is on providing opportunities in the community, not on personality, attitudinal or behavioural change.

D. Problems of Internal Management

The third major area of concern is internal management. Topics presented here are: the lack of long-range systematic planning, financial constraints, and managerial styles.

1. Planning

There is a general lack of long-range planning in many Canadian halfway-houses. The comment that "we live day to day, responding to crises situations" was repeated a number of times. Most directors had a short- or a medium-range time perspective. The absence of planning in almost any form as a component of the organization is undoubtedly a reflection of the anti-bureaucratic stance of many CRCs.

Plans, like records, are only for "organizations" or governments. The focus on the present is found in many areas of halfway-house structure and in staff attitudes. Concern is expressed for current residents, their current needs, and the current strategies of assistance. Thinking about the future in any systematic fashion is a luxury not easily available to overworked staff constantly under pressure from crises. As a result, planning occurs on an ad hoc basis often as a reactive response to a perceived problem in the present situation.

2. Financial

It has been difficult to assess the degree to which financial constraints affect the operation of the house. The few directors reporting no concerns about finances usually had well-assured community financing. Although the majority of directors voiced some complaints about funds, these complaints usually related to lack of funds for pet projects or expansion and to the time required for fund raising, rather than to a desperate shortage. Only two or three CRCs visited were apparently severely short of funds and thus faced with a threatened existence. It should be noted that the houses interested in self-evaluation (and

therefore included in the sample) would likely be more settled and financially secure than those not in the sample.

Although houses were not generally extremely short of funds, there were concerns about money. Operators complained that the length of time and the amount of effort required to obtain funds took them away from their "real" duties, interacting with residents and running the house. Only in some of the larger organizations, did the director accept that his role was to function as an administrator, whose duties included fund raising and liaison with financing sources.

For a number of sample CRCs, money had been tight and many directors recalled early days of the house when they had had to struggle to stay in existence. A common attitude was that this initial struggle to stay afloat was "good" for the development of the house, indeed it was essential that the director prove his sincerity and commitment to the halfway-house concept. It was believed that an initial year or two of struggle is advantageous because poor programs with inadequate leadership will get weeded out in the process.

3. Managerial Style

Few directors perceived a more structured, systematic or open approach to management as being essential or even useful to their operation. The Seiter, Petersilia and Allen (1974), report on Ohio halfway-houses recommended that the houses in that state adopt more rigorous management procedures, including management by objectives, organization charts, and formal staff performance evaluations. To a good number of CRCs in the Self-Evaluation Project, such recommendations would appear irrelevant and even preposterous.

While it is not suggested here that Canadian CRCs should follow all the Ohio recommendations, there were observed internal problems that a more open, participatory management approach might ameliorate. First, decision-making in the Crc is usually centralized to the director and perhaps his assistant. This fact should not be surprising when one considers that in many houses the director was either the founder or "had built it up to where it is today". Thus, personal commitment to the program and hence to the director's own methods of operation is strong. The attitude of many directors was that it was their responsibility, indeed their prerogative, to decide program and policy issues, and that

these areas should be of little concern to lower level staff. For example, some directors were surprised when the authors asked that staff be included in the discussions on self-evaluation; to these operators, self-evaluation was a management, not an employee, concern.

Management problems also arose in small CRCs, although they were naturally of a different type. In three houses it was observed that communication problems between house parents and parent agency personnel existed. In these houses, the director is neither physically present nor directly involved in most daily routines, while he or she retains authority over key areas of management -- such as finances and intake decisions. In one agency in particular, non-communication between house parents and director had reached the point of being detrimental. (For example, important items of information about resident behaviour were not being transmitted to the director.) Similar, although less extreme, comments were made by two other groups of house parents in an organization with a similar structure. In all three instances, it appeared the house parents were experiencing role strains; the authority of the director to over-rule their decisions was seen as undermining their authority and questioning their judgment.

The origins of staff dissatisfaction were rarely observed as clearly as they were in the above examples. However, staff dissatisfaction was also observed in several of the houses staffed by shift workers. One might hypothesize that staff are less satisfied when decisions are centralized in the office of the director, although contacts with houses were too limited to ascertain if discontent was related to autocratic decision-making. As Sullivan, Siegal and Clear (1974), have observed, the degree to which halfway-houses have an "open" management style is an area which requires more study. Certainly other commentators (e.g., Shain, 1975) have suggested that managerial style (that is, whether it is "open" or "closed") does greatly affect the process of assistance, including attitudes of staff and residents and the quality and type of interaction in the house. Further, more structured investigations of this area of house management would seem to be desirable before conclusions can be anything but tentative.

To conclude, the problems in internal management have been observed to result from the reluctance (and perhaps inability) of many CRCs to engage in a systematic, long-range planning process, the concerns and activities around finances and fund raising, and the managerial style (in many cases autocratic rather than participatory) of a significant proportion of halfway-houses in the sample of the Self-Evaluation Project.

CHAPTER V THE FUTURE OF EVALUATION IN THE CRC:
DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This last chapter of the report of the Self-Evaluation Project provides an overview of the authors' experiences in the halfway-houses participating in the Project, especially with regard to their implications for the future of evaluation in these agencies. From these experiences and the literature on social and correctional program evaluation, there are drawn a number of recommendations on the next step in the evaluation of community-based residential agencies.

The first section of this chapter lays the groundwork for the recommendations by outlining the assumptions made by the authors in three key areas: for whom should the evaluations be conducted; the objectives of the evaluation; and the form the evaluation should take.

The recommendations are broken into four areas: the importance of taking a process approach in future evaluations; the necessity for the gradual development and implementation of monitoring formats; the necessity of continued education of the CRC staff on the practical benefits of monitoring; and, finally, the content and format of the monitoring system.

The chapter concludes with some brief remarks on the desirability of weighing the advantages of evaluation with the possibilities of detrimental consequences for the CRCs.

A. The Premises of the Recommendations

Before the authors can make recommendations on the future course of evaluation in the community-based residential facility, there must be some discussion of the interpretation placed on the word "evaluation" in the recommendations that are contained in the next section. It is necessary to outline the assumptions made in three crucial areas:

Evaluation for whom?

Evaluation with what objective?

Evaluation by whom?

1. Evaluation for Whom?

The authors assume that evaluation of CRCs would benefit the parties concerned:

- the houses
- the financing agencies, both governmental and non-governmental
- the recipients of the houses' services, the residents.

The evaluation should be conducted so that the agencies evaluated benefit from increased credibility (if that is appropriate), the financing agencies obtain greater accountability, and the residents gain from the improved assistance offered as a result of the evaluation.

At the house level, in the short and medium range, the evaluation should:

- provide the means by which the CRC may monitor its own functioning;
- give concrete guidance on improvements in the assistance process; and,
- assist staff in defining their strategies more clearly. In the long term, the evaluation may provide houses with the data base necessary for a more complex evaluation of their effectiveness and efficiency.

From the viewpoint of the financing and related agencies, the purpose of a CRC evaluation in the short and medium time perspective would be to assist the decision-maker by:

- ensuring that the houses are performing in an "accountable" manner;
- providing the base for the development of an "information system" describing the aftercare component of the criminal justice system; and,

- providing data for daily decisions related to the coordination of the after-care process.

In the long term, the evaluation design should be developed in such a way that data collected may be used to draw comparisons among various houses.

2. Evaluation with what Objective?

It is assumed here that the most appropriate over-all goal for the macrosystem would be the improvement of the after-care network in order that those ex-offenders who most need the assistance of the community residence do obtain referrals, and that those referred are provided with the services best suited to their needs. The evaluation format should provide information which describes

what types of offenders with what constellations of characteristics are helped or are not helped by what sorts of programs. In other words, there is needed an objectively-determined basis for the development of programs and the assignment of appropriate offenders to them will be based on substantial and reasonably verified evidence rather than more casual procedures.

Massachusetts Correctional Association:
1971: 32

In a recent article, Sullivan and his colleagues have concluded that "in their attempts to meet the general needs of all, the programs have been remiss in meeting the needs of almost everyone". Despite their judgment, it is not known with any

precision what are resident "needs", nor to what extent the houses are meeting them. The evaluation format should be supplying this information, including the characteristics of residents and the type and level of interventions supplied by the CRCs.

It is not being suggested that sophisticated typologies of offenders and of CRCs must be developed at this time. However, there should be included in the evaluation design a means of providing information on referrals and intake of CRCs. Instead of decisions made on the basis of convenience, personal relationships, or the need to fill a bed, it is desirable to have as an objective the "matching" of client needs with program type. There is some evidence (e.g., Glaser, 1974) that certain types of offenders (in terms of career length and intensity of commitment to criminal activity) may respond better to the type of personal attention and close relationships offered in some houses. Other commentators (e.g., Sullivan, Siegal and Clear, 1974) have urged that variables such as amenability to treatment, and risk or maturity level also be examined as referral and acceptance criteria.

Thus, the authors have worked on the premise that the underlying goal of the evaluation should be to provide the

most appropriate after-care assistance to the ex-offenders most in "need" of such aid.

3. Evaluation by Whom?

It is probably that "self-evaluation" in the form of staff monitoring is an approach that must continue in the near future. It is one of the few feasible approaches in these situations -- situations in which there are a number of facilities, scattered throughout the country, with a range of activities and varying types and sources of clientele. This situation is by no means unique to the Canadian CRC. Alcohol halfway-houses, detoxication centres, alcohol and drug programs and community mental health centres are among the facilities in the "human services" which share similar evaluative problems. In each of these instances, the solution has been to institute system-wide monitoring schemes in which the program staff themselves collect data on their program and clientele. While the solution may not be the most satisfactory in terms of quality of data, it is the most feasible, considering the diversity and far flung locations of the houses.

The experience of the self-evaluation project has indicated that considerable care and support must be given to the CRCs on an individual basis before full cooperation in a

system-wide monitoring format can be obtained. This point will be expanded upon in the recommendations in the next section.

B. The Recommendations on the Future of Evaluation in the Community-based Residential Centre

This section is based on three sources:

- the authors' experiences in speaking to program personnel and their observations in over two dozen CRCs in over two dozen CRCs in many areas of Canada;
- their assessment of the literature on problems in evaluating social programs; and,
- the current research in correctional evaluation, particularly research on community-based programs.

In this section, earlier comments are drawn together in a series of recommendations on the most appropriate, the most "needs relevant", and the most practical approaches to evaluation in the CRC.

Recommendation 1: Process Evaluation

The next step in the evaluation of the CRC should be to develop, test, and implement monitoring instruments for use by CRC personnel in order to collect data on clientele, linkages with other agencies, and program components, including immediate outcomes.

The implication of this recommendation is that goal attainment or outcome evaluation should be delayed in favour of an evaluation format which concentrates on the description of program inputs, strategies, and immediate outcomes.

It is recognized that there may be pressure to assess which CRCs are most "effective" or "efficient", and which provide the most "opportunities for reintegration" or are most successful in "people changing". While reliable answers to these concerns may be possible in the future, it is first necessary to describe the ranges of clientele and of assistance provided by CRCs throughout the country. In any case, process data are necessary before conclusions can be drawn as to why some programs are more "successful" than others in providing the services they claim to be providing, or in changing their residents to the degree they believe they are changing them. Without program data, the evaluator might be able to assess which programs performed "better", but would have little notion of how to replicate the "successful" organization. Before outcome or goal attainment or cost-benefits can legitimately and usefully be calculated, it is necessary to clarify the program components of evaluated houses.

Other arguments against initiating a full scale "traditional" evaluation should also be enumerated. First,

the evaluator often would be faced by an amorphous situation in which the key elements in the evaluation would have to be identified and clarified: goals and objectives, strategies, measures of success. After going through this process, it may be found that there are so many inconsistences within one organization or crucial differences between organizations that the proposed comparisons would be meaningless. The evaluator may discover that to use a single yardstick for all houses is ill advised -- unless, of course, arbitrary success criteria are chosen which ignore differences among CRCs. However, as Weiss (1972) has commented, the goals of evaluation should never be so compelling as to over-ride or discourage diversity in social programming.

Another important factor that would affect traditional evaluation methodology is the variation among houses in their source and type of residents. Programs are not "randomly" assigned to communities, nor are clients randomly assigned to program types. Almost inevitably, the interpretation of the evaluation results would be imprecise because of the uncontrolled, probably unknown, variations among programs. There is no way of controlling local conditions affecting outcomes, the degree of community support and responsiveness, staff capabilities, and alterations in strategies by houses during the comparative study. (See Weiss, 1972: 82 for an extended discussion of these points.)

On the latter point -- changes in program strategies -- one of the more common complaints in the literature is that components alter during the course of the evaluation, creating considerable problems in continuing the original design. Many practitioners believe it their responsibility to change strategies when they have evidence that the feature is not working well. These changes are made despite the harm they may do to the execution of the evaluation.

All these methodological and political difficulties have been among the reasons for the current suggestions found in evaluation literature that "softer", non-experimental methods could provide as much, perhaps even more, data on programs like CRCs with diffuse aims and unclear strategies.

In community corrections, the majority of studies have until recently concentrated almost exclusively on the inputs (that is, clientele characteristics) and outputs (recidivism). This focus has been especially notable in work release, community correctional centres, and other community programs in corrections. A good proportion of these evaluations have had negative or ambiguous findings (e.g., Adams' review of recent work release studies, 1974).

As Morris has noted, "programs that seem logically defensible and potentially good but that work under some circumstances and not others suggest the desirability of seeking out the reasons for their occasions of failure" (Massachusetts Correctional Association, 1972: 32). It is odd that correctional evaluators have allowed the correctional program to remain a "black box" in spite of the probability that the ambiguous results are related to the contents of the box. Future evaluations of community treatment programs should look to the components of the program and its "internal" characteristics for explanations of the conflicting results found in this area of corrections.

Another drawback to many "traditional" evaluations is that they usually ignore the often complex relationships that the program may have with the other sub-systems with which it interacts. (See the discussion of the Coates and Miller paper found in Appendix II of this volume.) Such relationships may have an impact on both the functioning of the program and on its effectiveness. A monitoring format should collect information on the extent and type of interaction between CRCs and key community agencies.

The final reason this report has urged that future evaluations be of a processual nature is related to the difficulty of deriving policy from outcome evaluations. For example, what magnitude of difference among CRCs would create a confidence level strong enough to recommend a change in financing? What inter-program differences in recidivism would be necessary before

there could be little or no dispute that one program was "better" than another?

It is particularly difficult to answer such questions when programs have global or unrealistic goals and when organizations have mandates which are interpreted differently by the parties concerned.

In conclusion, perhaps the problem should be placed in the broader perspective of human services evaluation, where the administrators or planning and financing agencies have long been faced with problems similar to these discussed in Recommendation I. Regardless of evaluation results, it has been observed that most institutions continue to exist. The authors would recommend, as does Scriven (1972), that the question posed should not be "are the CRCs any good?", but "how can they be made better?"

Recommendation 2: Gradual Development of a Monitoring System

Before implementing a monitoring system throughout the country, it is necessary to gradually develop the contents, format, and procedures of that system in selected CRCs.

Pre-testing is, of course, standard practice in social science research. In this instance, it is imperative that

monitoring instruments should be designed and pre-tested in a small number of halfway-houses before monitoring is implemented throughout all CRCs.

During the development of the monitoring format, there should be as much input from the selected houses as possible. An outside researcher should be used to develop the monitoring forms with the house staff. This researcher should not confine liaison activities to the operators of the agencies, for in many houses operators will delegate responsibility for monitoring to counselling staff. Counsellors will thus be the personnel most directly concerned and it is with this group that the researcher should work most closely.

During this developmental period, the researcher should experiment with methods to increase commitment of staff and administration to the monitoring system. Chapter I of this report has described some of the many difficulties that may arise during this initial period of development. By experimenting with reinforcement through feedback of data collected, the researcher should be able to ascertain whether this strategy would reduce resistance of staff. The researchers should also be trying out alternative methods of making routine of these forms -- certainly, the self-evaluation project found that inability to bring monitoring instruments into house routines was an impediment to many houses.

Therefore, the pre-testing period should be used to estimate to what degree assistance (temporary or continuing) is needed by the houses and to what extent reinforcement and feedback would increase both the reliability of the data being collected and the commitment of the houses to the process of monitoring.

Recommendation 3: Continuing Education of CRC Personnel

At the same time as a monitoring system is being developed in selected CRCs, there should be further efforts made to educate the staff of all houses. This development of a "climate for evaluation" will require additional resources.

The authors' experience in the participating houses during the self-evaluation project has indicated that more educational efforts centred on the benefits to the houses of evaluation are essential. Perhaps the next step is to distribute the Guide to Self-Evaluation, Volume I of this report, to federally-financed houses. However, distribution of written material is not an adequate stimulus for most CRCs to implement (or even to be concerned about) a monitoring system.

There must be additional efforts made through personal contacts; the provision of a person skilled in program development

and evaluation may be necessary. Staff training programs should be encouraged as much as possible, and arrangements should be made to include an evaluation component in the course work.

Since many CRCs lack adequate resources for additional program components (including evaluative formats), responsibility for the provision of extra funds will probably fall on the financing agencies who request the monitoring. At the same time, however, the funds should be themselves monitored with care taken to ensure that the primary purpose of back-up assistance and encouragement to create a "climate for evaluation" is kept in view.

Recommendation 4: The Content and Format of the Monitoring System

The format of the monitoring system should be resident-based. Data should be collected which assists in the description of the flow of ex-offenders through the after-care system.

This recommendation is based on two factors: first, house staff look at what they do in terms of the individual and may be more willing to complete instruments geared to the individual case level; and, second, a description of the users of the

privately-operated halfway-house would seem to offer the most immediately relevant data to the decision-maker, both in-house and in associated correctional agencies.

Among the data that should be collected routinely in the monitoring instruments are:

- the background characteristics of clientele;
- the costs (per client and total amounts for various types of services or program components);
- the process of entry into the house (the basis on which each client is selected, by whom, the resident's performance during the probationary period, early leavers, absconders, and rejections);
- discharge variables (educational upgrading, work performance, length of stay);
- immediate or short-run factors (new location, type of placement in the community after departure, and perceived improvement in various categories or "need areas").

As Chapter I of this report has described, many houses resist monitoring for a number of reasons: the time factor, the problems of labelling and the self-fulfilling prophecy, and the resemblance of formal monitoring efforts to institutional practice. The staff of these houses must be made aware that monitoring is an element in their "real" work, in addition to counselling, making referrals, and chatting with the residents.

The process of acceptance may take a considerable period of time. Acquiescence and cooperation of the CRCs may be perfunctory (or even non-existent in a few instances) unless they have something concrete to show for their commitment in time and effort. It is not sufficient to tell house staff that evaluation "does not hurt much, that it is for the good of the program and of your clients" (Trice, 1974). The benefits must be seen to be integral to the continuing operation of the house and preferably have a perceived impact on the process of assistance being provided the individual resident.

C. Concluding Remarks

The question of whether evaluative efforts in the CRC should be expanded is ultimately a policy decision. If evaluation is to continue in a more complex form (more complex than, for example, the self-evaluation format developed by this project), then the implementation of this policy should be guided by the recommendations outlined in Section B.

The authors would like to suggest that the policy-maker be made aware of the CRC belief that the value of their services to the ex-offender is directly related to their independence from the formal correctional system, their flexibility of operation, and their informal, unstructured programs. It is possible that

requests for monitoring will be perceived as an attempt to remove these distinctive qualities. There is strong feeling in a large proportion of halfway-houses against closer involvement with public correctional agencies. Therefore, there is a need for the policy-maker to balance what may be competing objectives. On the one hand, it is desirable to ensure accountability, obtain data on the after-care network, and to match offender with program. On the other hand, the imposition of monitoring on the CRCs may disrupt (in some instances) the quality of assistance being provided by these houses. While informality and an anti-bureaucratic ethos may be unworkable for the evaluator, these may be the very qualities that have a positive impact on the consumer of the CRC's services -- the ex-offender.

APPENDIX I

LETTERS AND QUESTIONNAIRES SENT TO CRCs

This letter is being sent to all C.R.C. operators and associations in Canada. It is designed to introduce to you a project which has recently begun at Systems Dimensions Limited (SDL) in Toronto. At the National Conference on Community-based Residential Centres in Vancouver last year, many representatives of C.R.C.'s expressed an interest in examining their objectives and performance. This viewpoint was voiced by a number of participants in a seminar on self-evaluation conducted by members of the staff at SDL at the conference.

This project has been designed to fill that expressed need: the development of a system whereby privately operated C.R.C.'s can evaluate their own operations in terms of their own goals. The Solicitor General of Canada has agreed to sponsor SDL's Justice and Legal Systems Group to carry out this project.

In this letter, we would like to explain the nature of the project and to ask if you are interested in taking part.

The goal of this project is to create a procedure which will aid C.R.C. operators and their staff in the following areas of concern:

- clarifying program objectives, relating these objectives to the various parts of their program, and
- evaluating the degree of success in meeting the objectives of their own program.

The focus of this study is on the individual house and its own goals and accomplishments, rather than on the comparison of different operations. This aspect is highlighted because, in order to learn from previous experience, it is frequently necessary to examine the strengths and weaknesses of the last step taken in order to plan the next. It is hoped that the self-evaluation format will assist operators in the process of gauging strengths and weaknesses by providing them with information relevant to their decision-making which was previously unavailable.

...

While a description of the range of activities found in Canadian C.R.C.'s would form a part of the final report to be written by the researchers, the information gathered in the course of the project will be seen by the SDL staff only. No references to particular C.R.C.'s or to specific individuals will be made to any government or private agencies or persons without the explicit permission of the C.R.C. operators themselves.

In addition to confidentiality provisions, we would also like to emphasize that your participation in this project would be voluntary. Indeed, much of the value of self-evaluation would be lost if constraints to participate were felt. Because of the nature of the self-evaluation exercise, it is clearly necessary for the participants in this project (who will, in a real sense, be co-members of the research team) to be fully involved and motivated to learn more about their program's effectiveness.

In the first phase of the project, my colleague and I would like to explore with interested C.R.C.'s their needs in the area of self-evaluation. We would like to visit as many community residential centres as possible to give a presentation on self-evaluation and, most importantly, to exchange ideas with directors and staff on the application of the tools of self-evaluation to their own program. If possible, we would like to arrange meetings with groups or associations of C.R.C. operators as well as meeting them on an individual basis. For areas outside southern Ontario, these visits would be arranged during the summer months. In southern Ontario, it is hoped that discussions can take place in May of early June.

If you agree that it is important to try and keep track of what is happening in your program, then we feel that this project could really help in your day-to-day operation. Those who are interested, fill out the enclosed sheet to receive more information about the project. If you have any comments or suggestions about the way in which the research should proceed, please share them with us.

Yours truly,

Sharon Moyer

SM/gm
Encl.

Please fill in this form and return to SDL in the stamped, addressed envelope provided.

_____ I am interested in participating in the project on self-evaluation being carried out by SDL as it has been briefly described in the attached letter.

_____ I would like more information on the project; in particular I would like to know

Name: _____ Position: _____

Organization: _____

Name of CRC: _____

Address: _____

Telephone No. _____

Comments or suggestions about the project:

APPENDIX II

A SELECTIVE REVIEW OF RELEVANT PROJECTS

Introduction

This Appendix presents a review of commentaries and research projects that the authors found to be relevant to the Self-Evaluation Project. The relative paucity of material on several problems inherent in the Project was apparent after an initial library search. For example, few articles were found on "self-evaluation" in any of the human service areas, including corrections. There was not much published research on the privately-operated halfway-house for released ex-offenders. The authors have thus been constrained in their attempts to bring together an analytical review of the literature of the area. In place of the orthodox review, this appendix gives an overview of the key articles and reports on self-evaluation and community correctional programs which have influenced the course of the Self-Evaluation Project.

A. Self-Evaluation Literature

Despite a thorough and continuing search of the literature during the Project, few self-evaluative studies were found. This situation may be a consequence of two factors: either in-house evaluative studies exist but are not published, or service agencies have not yet attempted to apply self-evaluation techniques to their operations. However, several commentaries -- as opposed to research reports -- were found and deserve to be discussed, for they helped to guide the course of this project. Furthermore, the commentaries on self-evaluation may provide a broader perspective on the subject than has been possible in the reports of the Self-Evaluation Project.

Two papers by Shain (1971; 1975) have had considerable impact on the conduct of this research. Shain reports his experiences in trying to initiate evaluative research in small residential organizations for drug abusers. In both papers, Shain emphasizes that organizations of this kind often suffer from what he terms "goal inconsistency", that is, not only may their goals be internally inconsistent, but their means might also be inappropriate to the needs of the target groups being served by the agency.

Shain suggests that decision-making, communication, and the values and capacities of the staff must all be congruent with the stated goals of the organization. Congruence between the agency's goals and the demands of the community within which the facility operates must also exist. Because agencies frequently fail to define goals and methods in a consistent manner, Shain suggests that the evaluator first undertake a role akin to program development "with a view to working towards a situation capable of objective evaluation" (Shain, 1971:17). He notes that program development of this type is more likely to be successful in new organizations, since the task of clarification of an established program may be a formidable one.

During field work for the Self-Evaluation Project, the authors presented a simplified form of self-evaluation to participating houses. As a result of this experience, the authors would agree that there may be more difficulties in well established organizations. However, intensely committed staff may be found at any stage of an agency's existence. It is more than probable that the degree of commitment to a specific approach may also interfere with a commitment to self-evaluation developing within an agency.

Shain has outlined a guide to self-evaluation for residential agencies which recommends that six areas be examined:

- admission and screening criteria;
- matching criteria between staff and clients,
if any;
- the presenting concerns of the client;
- the client's current situation;
- formulation of goals and expectations for each
resident; and,
- formulation of the house strategy.

In this latter area -- the formulation of strategies -- Shain recommends that staff should consider both "structure" and "process" variables. Under structure, he has included the physical plant, the type of interaction in the house (e.g., group or one-to-one), and consistency. Management of power and communication are crucial structural variables. If there is hierarchical decision-making (that is, some staff have more decision-making power than others), it should be known by all staff and residents.

Unfortunately, there is a tendency in some residential settings to cloak the practice of autocracy in the guise of democracy. This practice can lead only to misery on the part of staff and participants, not to mention ineffectiveness.

Shain, 1971: 29

Process factors involved in strategy definition are defined as "the types and modes of interaction developed and

valued by staff, group or participants" (Shain, 1971: 30). Efforts to link helping styles and strategies to specific goals should be made.

Shain's suggestions have been the only ones found in the literature directly derived from a researcher's experiences trying to evaluate (or, more accurately, trying to develop a climate for evaluation in) small residential agencies. His recommendation that the evaluator engage in program development when the organization is in a state of goal inconsistency has implications for many CRCs. However, before program development efforts are initiated, there should be collected descriptive data on the program to be evaluated. These data may, in fact, assist the process of program development by providing staff with information on their strategies.

There has been one approach to self-evaluation directly related to correctional programs. The American Correctional Association sponsored a 1968 project called "Project on Self-Evaluation and Accreditation". The self-evaluation component consisted of a checklist of standards drawn from the Manual of Correctional Standards. While most items are related to central correctional administration, institutions, and forms of community treatment other than residential facilities, there is one section of 28 items concerned with "community correctional centres".

These one-sentence items (for example, "the community correctional centre is close to transportation") were to be answered by program staff of the relevant organizations in a three category format (yes the feature exists, some features are missing, and no). The content of the items varies from safety standards to handling resident debts to the number of house rules.

The project was called self-evaluation because institutional or program personnel are requested to complete checklists for their own agencies and to compile bar graphs illustrating how far the facility is from the total number of positive responses to groupings of items. Administrative staff were then requested to analyze the responses, discuss possible conclusions, and the implementation of any changes as a result of the comparisons with the normative standards.

For the CRC, the 28 items may be of limited interest. While the questions are wide-ranging, they could suggest areas of discussion for house staff. However, many items are ambiguous and, by their vagueness, open to a variety of interpretations or facile answers. (For example, "the length of stay is in accord with the nature of the program".)

As guidelines for nationwide standards or as pointers to areas where agencies can consider their practices, the project

may be adequate. As a method for providing specific houses wanting to monitor, to improve components of their program, or to estimate effectiveness, the "Project on Self-Evaluation" would offer little direction.

Despite the many advantages of becoming a self-evaluation organization, Aaron Wildavsky (1972) has pointed out that there are also pitfalls. Wildavsky suggests that "self-evaluation" and "organization" are contradictory terms. Evaluation demands a commitment to change, a problem solving approach, and the absence of vested interests on the part of the personnel of the organization.

Organization structure implies stability while the process of evaluation suggests change. Organization generates commitment while evaluation inculcates scepticism. Evaluation speaks to the relationship between action and objectives while organization relates its activities to programs and clientele. No one can say for certain that self-evaluating organizations can exist, let alone become the prevailing form of administration.

Wildavsky, 1972: 510

Wildavsky adds that the self-evaluating organization would be well advised not to depend too much on one kind of clientele because "the more diverse its services, the more varied its clientele, the less the self-evaluating organization has to depend on any one of them". Any organization with a limited range of activities is unlikely to abandon one willingly.

A greater willingness to change exists when there is a varied program, where the organization is not dependent on a single approach (Wildavsky, 1972: 518).

These comments clearly have implications for halfway-houses and other social programs limited in both clientele and program elements. Perhaps Wildavsky is correct in his assessment of the difficulties of self-evaluation for the one clientele group agency. It was the authors' impression that the organizations most willing to consider self-evaluation as a viable management tool were those with a broader referral base and more program elements than most houses. For example, the residence itself might form only one aspect of a number of services provided by the agency. (Unfortunately, all these agencies were also professionalized, which may be the more important variable in this instance.)

Wildavsky was writing of goal attainment or outcome evaluation, rather than the processual type being recommended by this report. However, despite this distinction, his comments provide a valuable warning to evaluation researchers whose enthusiasm for self-evaluation blinds them to the possible detrimental effects of the concept.

B. Evaluation of Community Programs in Corrections

Introduction

In spite of a thorough search of the literature, only one evaluation of privately-operated halfway-houses for ex-offenders was found. However, Community Correctional Centres have been more carefully examined, perhaps as a result of federal and state financing agency interest. Several of these evaluations will also be discussed.

1. Ohio Halfway Houses

The 1974 evaluation of Ohio halfway-houses (Seiter, Petersilia and Allen, 1974) is among the very few reports which examines the role of the community correctional agency through the eyes of the residents and the staff, as well as statistical material.

The evaluation of eight privately-operated houses attempted to combine process and outcome evaluation by interviewing residents and staff and then following up a cohort of residents in order to obtain recidivism and social performance data. While there are many methodological flaws in this study, the concentration on the resident's opinions and attitudes is

commendable. An untouched area has been the consumer's perceptions of the services provided in the houses.

The resident follow-up will be discussed first as it poses the more severe methodological problems. The evaluators compared a sample of 236 halfway-house residents with a control group of randomly selected parolees in Ohio. Because there were significant differences in background variables (e.g., legal history and race) between the two groups, analysis of covariance was used to adjust for the differences. The authors did not use one variable -- such as recidivism -- to examine outcome. Rather, they combined the severity of offences committed during the one year follow-up period with another index of community adjustment (largely occupational indicators and other measures presumed to relate to socially acceptable behaviour) to form one "relative adjustment index". Analysis of these indices indicated that the halfway-house residents showed significantly higher relative adjustment than did the comparison group of parolees.

The "degree of benefit" obtained by residing in a house was also calculated by offender characteristics for the two groups, with the following results:

- parolees and federal pre-release offenders had a more favourable adjustment than did probationers;

- there was a significantly higher level of benefits for residents who had more than 12 years of education;
- middle-aged and older (over 46 years) residents showed a higher re-adjustment score than did younger offenders;
- residents who had served a relatively short sentence (one to four years) and had not been incarcerated a large percentage of their lives also appeared to be better adjusted than those more severely involved with the legal system;
- offenders against the person received a significant level of benefit, while victimless crime offenders and property offenders did not;
- those with long work records (i.e., residents who had been employed between 26% and 50% of their lives) showed significant benefits; and,
- the evidence did not suggest that abusers of alcohol and drugs were assisted by the house.

This data suggests that the Ohio houses assisted residents who had not been deeply involved in crime, who were older, better educated and more stable in work patterns. Their characteristics appear similar to the type of offenders that Glaser has labelled "conflicted" -- that is, persons who have not committed themselves to criminal activity and "who have not yet received rewards from their delinquency and crime sufficient to offset clearly their rewards from legitimate pursuits"

(Glaser, 1974: 149). He suggests that this type of person is most amenable to change through the development of personal rapport with institutional staff.

Such findings could have a potentially large impact on intake policies of CRCs concerned with selecting residents who could most benefit from the house. Unfortunately, the evidence collected by Seiter and his colleagues has a number of limitations:

- first, their conclusions suffer from their use of the "relative adjustment index". This index combined severity of offence (aggravated murder equalled 11, and a technical parole violation equalled 0.5) with an index of "acceptable societal behaviour". This latter index emphasized work or educational stability most heavily, although it also included self-improvement variables (participation in vocational, educational, group counselling, alcohol or drug programs), financial responsibility (living within means, opening bank accounts, meeting debt payments), parole or probation progress, and the absence of critical incidents or illegal activities. These indicators were derived solely from records (presumably court, probation and parole files, although this is never made clear in the report). The wisdom of using supervision records for indicators of "positive behaviour" obviously depends on the quality of these records. Unless supervision files in Ohio are of an outstanding quality, it would be indeed amazing to find uniform reporting of the acceptable behaviour indicators.

- second, the content of the adjustment index appears biased against lower class subcultures, with its emphasis on stability.

- finally, nowhere in the report do the authors provide frequency distributions of offences committed by the cohort; nor are there distributions of the index scores. Thus, the reader is faced with analyses of mean index scores (weighted to adjust for sample and control group differences) and little understanding of the components of the indices. One would very much like to have been shown, for example, the recidivism rate (including a distribution of the type of offences) and the degrees of "acceptable" behaviour exhibited by the two groups.

As a result, the analysis is ambiguous and overly compact. The information supplied on the analysis of outcome data is inadequate for an assessment of the validity of the conclusions.

Much less ambiguous is Volume I of the Ohio evaluation, which describes house goals and objectives, resident entry processes, resident needs, house and community services, the physical setting and environment, and house management practices. Recommendations in a number of program and management areas are also included.

The outstanding feature of the research is the breadth of focus. The evaluators interviewed residents, counsellors, directors, community agency personnel, parole and probation officers, and residents of six neighbourhoods surrounding the houses. In addition to an interview held at the resident's entry to the house, there were interviews conducted throughout the three-month period of the evaluation designed to monitor the services provided by the houses.

The next sections will briefly describe the content and conclusions drawn by the Ohio evaluators in key areas of concern.

Objectives

The evaluators asked directors and staff of the eight houses and parole and probation officers to rank a predetermined list of 30 goal statements. From that data, they constructed an "objectives hierarchy". While acknowledging that different houses would possibly have different rankings, no attempt was made to ascertain the precise objectives of the eight houses. After a chapter outlining the importance of a Management by Objectives approach, Seiter, Petersilia and Allen did not refer again to the contents of the objectives hierarchy.

Intake

Initial resident interviews showed that over one-half of the incoming residents liked the house because they needed a place to stay upon release, with about the same proportion commenting they liked it because they found the staff helpful. One-third of the residents questioned found the lack of privacy a cause for dislike, with the rules and the similarity to the institution bringing negative responses from more than one-quarter (Seiter, Petersilia and Allen, 1974: 90-92).

Programs

When asked to rate programs, residents reported that one-to-one counselling was most helpful. A common complaint was that they did not receive sufficient personal counselling. When asked near the end of their stay whether they had liked living in the house, two-thirds of the residents questioned said they had. Of those who disliked their residence, the lack of privacy, the rules, and the similarities to the institution were again the major reasons. Some residents also disliked living with other ex-offenders. However, three-quarters found the staff helpful, with 80% of this group stating that "they care about my problems".

Aside from individual counselling, the most common form of "treatment" was the weekly group meeting, usually supportive counselling or dealing with management of the house.

More sophisticated formats -- guided group interaction or reality therapy -- were found in a few houses. Resident response to, and attendance at, group meetings varied widely. The evaluators recommended that meetings be voluntary, should not be dominated by staff, and that separate management sessions should be held so that group meetings could be solely therapeutic in content.

Two additional forms of therapy were counselling by ex-offenders (on the staff or volunteers) and counselling by other residents (i.e., peer group support). Over 40% of the residents had a "very good" opinion of each. Outside professionals were rarely used in a counselling capacity. Despite the current trend towards volunteers in corrections, the residents by no means unanimously supported the use of volunteers. Just less than one-half believed them "not worthwhile", "worthless", or "not qualified to counsel". Most residents had few volunteer contacts.

It is interesting to note that 60% of the staff interviewed stated that no additional treatment techniques were necessary -- a degree of satisfaction with the status quo that also appeared in the houses visited by the Self-Evaluation Project.

Community Relationships

A chapter on community use by residents notes that

residents reported few contacts with local agencies. "A large majority of the surveyed resident population had never been in contact with any of the social service agencies in their communities" (Seiter, Petersilia and Allen, 1974: 147). The authors urged that the houses initiate closer contacts with such agencies.

Small-scale opinion surveys were carried out in neighbourhoods surrounding six houses to assess the community's attitudes towards the residence. While the authors conclude that "halfway-house communities with a higher socio-economic status displayed a more favourable attitude towards halfway-houses and ex-offenders", they fail to present the data upon which the conclusion is based (Seiter, Petersilia and Allen, 1974: 166). All the Ohio houses were located in neighbourhoods with lower socio-economic status than the city in which they were located. Seemingly, the range between "high" and "low" areas was relatively small.

Similarly, the conclusions drawn about the impact of the type of neighbourhood (access to transportation, racial mix, and housing type) on the resident did not appear to be entirely justified by the data. While attitudes of residents did vary greatly, the analysis was insufficient to explain the relationship between area type and resident attitudes.

This is unfortunate because the effect of the neighbourhood location upon the house and its residents is an area of considerable interest to the halfway-house movement and one that deserves more careful analysis than found in the Ohio reports. Houses are often located in areas of low socio-economic status and high mobility. Their locations are often perceived as detrimental to the assistance process. The Ohio study gives little more concrete evidence on the relationship than the intuitive judgments made at present.

A Major Flaw in the Ohio Evaluation

In spite of apparently collecting (although not reporting) program data, there was no attempt to relate the nature of the in-house experience with post-program performance, nor was there any examination of the relationship between the residents' perception of the assistance provided them and their "success" in the one-year follow-up period. While it is important to collect attitudinal data, objective evidence should also have been part of the analysis.

Furthermore, there was no discussion of the evaluators' problems in evaluating these small organizations, on the degree of cooperation obtained from staff and residents, and no detailed description of the methodology.

Despite these criticisms, the Ohio evaluation should be examined by all those interested in the impact of community correctional facilities on its clientele. Many of the authors' recommendations appear sensible, although it is regrettable that they were not more closely integrated with the research data. Since the multi-faceted approach assumed by the researchers was commendable, it is unfortunate that its execution did not match the basic idea -- that it is important to look at in-program variables as well as outcome variables.

2. Pennsylvania Community Treatment Centres

There have been two recent reports of a processual evaluation of Pennsylvania community treatment centres -- similar, one assumes, to this country's community correctional and resource centres -- by David Duffee and his co-workers. Both reports, clearly directed towards the correctional administration of that state, attempt to combine theory with empirical data.

The major contribution of the Pennsylvania reports is their attempt to range widely over the problems of implementing community programs in corrections. However, none of the issues are researched intensively, with the result that many conclusions

of these preliminary reports must be taken as tentative.

Of most interest are the authors' emphasis on the administrative and procedural problems surrounding community programs. Among the areas discussed are:

- the return-to-prison procedures;
- differences in policy emphasis between the executives of the Bureau of Corrections and the Community Services staff;
- the effects of the termination of an out-residency policy on the centres; and,
- the lack of uniformity in the institutional referral patterns and in the acceptance criteria of the centres.

The authors are also commended for their efforts to describe the system linkages of the centres and the constraints upon them as a result of these links.

While Duffee and his colleagues claim that their approach is process evaluation, there is little discussion or data on the residents and programs of the centres -- other than questionnaire responses to attitudinal and social climate indices, and a comparison of number of "treatment program hours" between the centres and the institutions.

The contents of these reports are of limited substantive interest to this paper, for the centres have been evaluated in comparison to the state correctional institutions. For example,

the research team compared the "social climate" and the costs of the centres with the state correctional institutions. They concluded that the climate is more "humane" and "healthier" and the costs lower in the centres. These may be findings of importance to the Community Correctional Centres in Canada, but they are of no great relevance to privately-operated houses.

3. Work Release Programs

As Burrell and Magid pointed out in the proposal for this study (1974), the disappointing recidivism results of work furlough programs, community treatment centres, and other "community-based" correctional programs have been difficult to assess as a result of their inadequate program descriptions. While it is unnecessary to summarize all the evaluations of community programs reported without such descriptive material, one example may be discussed briefly. Stuart Adams in a 1974 paper reports results from a work release program in the District of Columbia. He found that the proportion of in-program failures was high (40% in one study) and that the offender on a work-release program did not fare better on the street in terms of recidivism than did a matched group of offenders released without such a program. Non-handicapped (i.e., with no drug, alcohol or emotional problems) offenders on a work-release

program showed better community performance (a lower recidivism rate) than did the comparable non-handicapped offenders released directly from an institution.

Adams speculates that program variables might be contributing to the high in-program failure rate. However, no effort was made to investigate strategies, social climate, and managerial practices in the District of Columbia evaluations.

Adams' paper also discusses the economic benefits of work release; lower institutional costs and savings in facility construction were noted as advantages of work furlough programs. He adds, however, that

In the present state of the art, it becomes increasingly difficult to justify work release in terms of improving personalities or reducing crime rates.

Adams, 1974: 22

4. An Information System for a Community Treatment Centre

A recent publication edited by Miller (1975), titled Evaluating Community Treatment Programs, describes a sophisticated information system developed to collect program data for a privately-operated District of Columbia residence for young felony offenders with drug problems. The facility, called SERD/CHHDC, was intensively researched throughout its brief existence; the major contribution of this work is, however, the record-keeping system developed for the centre which is described

in detail in the report.

The forms presented in the report include: comprehensive intake forms, procedural guides for staff, daily and weekly reports of resident behaviour, weekly, monthly and quarterly summary forms of the facility's performance. The monitoring instruments emphasize the collection of objective data but at the same time permit staff to make narrative reports on "critical incidents".

The management information system developed for the SERD/CHHDC program are almost certainly not applicable to the majority of the privately operated CRCs in this country. On the other hand, they would be of considerable interest to administrators of CCCs, for the system emphasizes surveillance and resident control.

Anyone interested in the development of a systematic approach to data collection in community programs should examine Evaluating Community Treatment Programs. While the contents of the reporting system may be most applicable for facilities which offer a well defined set of services to a limited type of clientele (drug abusers serving their time in the community), the format of the instruments -- and the ingenious methods of summarizing data over time -- may be of assistance to many types of agencies.

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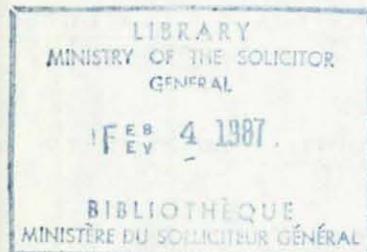
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